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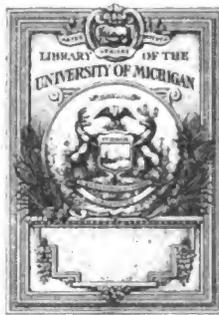
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The Washington Conference

A Note from Moscow

A Year of Eastern Policy

By Chicherin

The Famine and the Next Harvest

An Official Survey

Russia and Mongolia

A Treaty

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A Year of Eastern Policy

By G. CHICHERIN, *Commissar of Foreign Affairs.*

From Pravda, November 6, 1921

THE last year, from November, 1920 to November, 1921, shows a considerable strengthening of the national movement of the oriental peoples who are striving for complete political and economic independence. The history of all eastern states during this period offers the picture of an unceasing and continually closer approach to Soviet Russia, which has met with complete sympathy the efforts of the people of the East to strengthen and extend their economic and political life.

Negotiations between Soviet Russia and Nationalist Turkey began in 1920. The delegation of the Turkish National Assembly left Moscow in the autumn of 1920 to report to their government. Upmal, the secretary of our mission, was the first to arrive in Angora, on November 6. At that time the relations between Turkey and Russia were somewhat troubled, because the Turkish government would not permit a mediation of Russia between Turkey and Armenia. The Turkish army of Kiasim Karabekir Pasha had occupied the line in front of Erivan after a victory over the troops of the counter-revolutionary Armenian Dashnak Government. After the proclamation of the Armenian Soviet Government, Turkey had concluded a peace with the Dashnak Government in Alexandropol, on December 2, which contained extremely severe conditions for Armenia and brought the whole country into dependence upon Turkey. This treaty was not recognized by the Armenian Soviet Government nor by the allied Soviet Republics, and its alteration constituted the subject of negotiations between Russia and Turkey. At the same time, however, the negotiations for a political agreement between the two states were also continued. But Turkey was also negotiating with the Entente states. The first months of 1921 were filled up with these parallel negotiations. The Turkish delegations in London from Constantinople and Angora demanded without success that an alteration should be made in the treaty of Sevres* which had made impossible any development of the Turkish people.

On March 7, Bekir Sami Bey, the chairman of the Turkish delegation in London, concluded an agreement with France, under which the French were to withdraw from Cilicia. However, this agreement cost Turkey great concessions. On March 13 he concluded a similar agreement with Italy. In April both of these agreements were annulled by the Turkish National Assembly and Bekir Sami Bey resigned from his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In the meantime, however, the Turkish Amba-

sador Ali Fuad Pasha and the Turkish peace delegation, with Jussuf Kemal Bey at the head, arrived in Moscow on February 2. On March 16 a treaty was concluded in Moscow which strengthened the friendly relations between the two countries and gave them a firm basis.** Batum was left to Georgia, Kars, Ardagan and Arvin passed into the possession of Turkey. On May 3 Nazerenus was named Ambassador of the R. S. F. S. R. in Angora. His arrival in Angora facilitated the solution of the conflict in connection with the oppression to which the Russian population of the district of Kars was exposed.

Turkey Aids Famine Work

Recent months have been marked by the severe famine in Russia, in combating which the Turkish government has taken part by contributing grain and food for the famine district. During these months the Turkish people had to suffer the severe trial of the Greek offensive. Greece, which had received great support in money and munitions from the Entente, was able to send an army against Turkey much more numerous than the Turkish troops. Thanks to the heroism of the Turkish troops, Mustapha Kemal succeeded in administering a decisive defeat to the Greek army on the River Sakaria not far from Angora and forced them well back to the west. On October 20 the negotiations began between Turkey and Franklin-Bouillon, who had arrived in Angora, which led to an agreement by which Turkish troops must evacuate Cilicia.

In a very serious moment for Turkey, during the Greek offensive, the Ukrainian Soviet Government proposed to send Comrade Frunse to Angora as a delegate of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, to negotiate the conclusion of a treaty between Turkey and Ukraine. Frunse is now on the way to Angora. The Moscow Treaty provides for the conclusion of treaties between Turkey and the Caucasian Soviet Republics. The conference of the representatives of Turkey, Russia and the three Caucasian Soviet republics began on September 26 in Kars and was concluded on October 10, with the signature of a treaty which regulated all disputed points between Turkey on the one hand and Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan on the other hand.***

Relations with Persia

In Persia, the third anniversary of the October Revolution coincided with a radical alteration in the political relations to Soviet Russia. On October 22, 1920, the Central Committee of the Communist

*The Peace Treaty between the Allied Powers and Turkey was signed at Sevres, near Paris, August 10, 1920.

**Full text in SOVIET RUSSIA, September, 1921.

***See page 4 this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Party of Iran adopted the resolution that the revolution in Persia must still pass through the stage of the bourgeois revolution.

An end was thus put to the efforts to introduce the Communist regime in Persia, which proceeded from the local Soviet Government in Giljan. On October 25 the Ambassador of the Persian Government, Moscharevol Memalek, left Baku for Moscow, and there began negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty between the Russian and Persian Governments. Just at this time English diplomacy was making every effort to move Persia to submit to the Anglo-Persian treaty which had been concluded earlier by the government of Wossuk ul Dowles. On October 27 the Democratic cabinet of Mushir ed Dowles, who was an opponent of the Anglo-Persian treaty, refused the demand of the English that the Russian officers who were serving in the Persian Cossack government should be discharged and Mushir ed Dowles resigned. His successor Sepakhdar removed the Russian officers but could not bring himself to summon the Medshlis and submit the Anglo-Persian treaty to them for ratification, although he gave England the assurance that the treaty would soon be ratified.

The extraordinarily favorable course which was taken by the negotiations in Moscow exercised the greatest influence upon the internal political life of Persia. On January 6 we received a telegram that the Persian Government was agreeable to the appointment of Rothstein as Russian representative in Teheran. On January 23 Karakhan handed the Persian ambassador a note in which he explained the grounds which prevented the Republic of Azerbaijan from withdrawing its troops from Giljan and which contained the statement that Azerbaijan would withdraw its troops immediately when the English should have left Persia. The anglophile Sepakhdar summoned the Medshlis for February 2, in order to put through the ratification of the Anglo-Persian treaty. But there was no ratification on February 2. On February 21 Teheran was captured by the Persian cossacks of Risa Kahn and the members of the Sepakhdar cabinet were arrested.

On February 26 the new cabinet of Zia Eddin published a proclamation in which the Anglo-Persian treaty was annulled and a plan for domestic reform proposed. On the same day the Russian-Persian treaty was signed in Moscow, which signified a radical liquidation of the former Tsarist policy towards Persia.

Evacuation of Persia by the English

On April 13 a radio from London announced that the evacuation of the English troops from northern Persia would be completed in the middle of May. At the same time as the evacuation of the English troops the evacuation of the troops of Azerbaijan began. On April 25 Rothstein, the representative of the R. S. F. S. R., arrived in Teheran.

In spite of the annulment of the Anglo-Persian

treaty the cabinet of Zia Eddin pursued an anglophile policy and this led to his fall on May 24. On June 4 the new cabinet with Hawam es Sultaneh at the head had been formed. Zia Eddin went by motor car to the English in Bagdad. On June 22 the Medshlis (Persian National Assembly) was opened. But there was no more question of a ratification of the Anglo-Persian treaty.

On July 13 the delegation of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade with Belgov at the head left for Persia. At this time the evacuation of the Soviet troops from Giljan had already ended. The insurgents still maintained themselves there by their own power. The Persian Government charged the Government of Azerbaijan with supporting the insurgents in Giljan. The Government of Azerbaijan denied this officially and the Persian consul in Baku expressed his official approval of the correctness of the attitude of the Government of Azerbaijan.

After the withdrawal of the English troops from Persia the English instructors were removed during the ministry of Hawam es Sultaneh and on September 18 the English financial advisor left for England. In October the struggle between the leaders of the insurgents in Giljan began, the majority of whom concluded peace with the Persian Government. On October 30 the front in Giljan was finally liquidated and those insurgents who did not wish to submit to the Persian Government went to Azerbaijan.

The opening of the way to Persia over the northern provinces now eased the relations between Persia and Russia very much. The Persian Government in the same way as the Turkish has contributed food for the hunger sufferers in the Volga District.

Russia and Afghanistan

In the relations between Russia and Afghanistan the conclusion of a treaty played the chief role during the whole of the past year. On September 1* a projected treaty was signed by Suriz, the Russian representative, and the Afghan Government in Kabul. In the year 1921 an English mission under Henry Dobbs arrived in Kabul and proposed the conclusion of a treaty between England and Afghanistan. The English proposed to the Afghans that they should give no further aid to the inhabitants of Indīā, who were in continual revolt. On their side the English wished to grant material aid to Afghanistan and to make good all the losses it had suffered during the Anglo-Afghan war in 1919. In reply the Afghans made the demand for a plebiscite in the Indian districts along the frontier.

On February 28 the Russian-Afghan treaty was approved by the Russian Government and the Afghan plenipotentiary in Moscow.

In the spring of 1921 great domestic reforms began in Afghanistan, such as the codification of the laws, laws concerning the abolition of slavery.

*1920, apparently.

creation of land laws, etc., The Afghan Government is striving to develop industry and to raise the level of the culture of the country.

During the following months Henry Dobbs continued his struggle against the Russian-Afghan treaty. In spite of his efforts the exchange of ratifications took place in Kabul.

On July 16 Raskolnikov, the new representative of Russia, arrived in Kabul and was given an extraordinarily hearty reception. The Dobbs mission left Kabul in September and returned to London.

In Bokhara and Khorasin (Khiva) a steady consolidation of the Soviet power was to be observed. On October 6, 1920, the first All-Bokharian Soviet Kurultai (Soviet congress) was summoned. On March 4 a treaty of alliance and an economic agreement was concluded between Russia and Bokhara. The second All-Bokharian Kurultai was opened on September 20, 1921.

Soviet Russia carries on diplomatic relations also with the great Chinese Republic. On February 3 the Chinese Consul Tseng Kuang Ping arrived in Moscow. The Chinese Government had pronounced itself in principle in favor of the visit of a Soviet representative to Peking. The details of this question have been examined during the whole of the recent period. On October 24 the Chinese Consul announced that his Government recognized the Russian Commercial Delegation and on the same day Paikes, the delegate of the Russian Government, left for China.

The Republic of the Far East had already resumed diplomatic relations with China in September, 1920, when its representative Yurin arrived in Peking.

The Japanese at Vladivostok

On May 26 a rising took place in Vladivostok, with Japanese help. With their aid the reactionary Merkulov government was set up. At the same time the White Guard leader Baron Ungern who held Mongolia and who was in close touch with Japan led his troops against the Republic of the Far East and against the troops of the Soviet Government. The People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia, which had been formed on Russian territory during the rule of Ungern in the former country, and had created a revolutionary army, carried on a struggle against the White Guards in close alliance with Soviet Russia and the Republic of the Far East.

The troops of these three powers defeated the troops of Ungern and captured Ugra, the capital. In July the revolutionary government of Mongolia requested Soviet Russia to leave its troops in Mongolia until the final liquidation of the danger from abroad. On August 10 the Soviet Government declared its willingness to meet this wish. On September 10 the Soviet Government declared its willingness to undertake the role of intermedi-

ary between Mongolia and China.* On October 26, with the arrival of the Mongolian Delegation in Moscow, negotiations began for the conclusion of a treaty of a friendship between the two states.** At the present moment there are still White Guard bands in the western districts of Mongolia, which is a huge territory. The struggle against them is being continued successfully.

Negotiations with Japan

For the first time since the November Revolution we had an opportunity for direct negotiations with Japan. On August 26 negotiations began in Dairen between the Republic of the Far East and Japan over the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from the Primoria district and the setting up of economic relations. The Republic of the Far East made the condition that a Russian representative should take part in these negotiations. The Japanese Government was prepared to enter into negotiations with the Russian Delegation on questions which interest both governments. On October 24 Markhlevski, the representative of the R. S. F. S. R., left to take part in the conference with Japan.

Wherever we turn in Asia, a strengthening of the relations of the oriental states with Soviet Russia, or an important approach to friendship, is taking place. The peoples of the East recognize more and more that Soviet Russia is an unselfish friend, who sympathizes with their efforts for the deepening and strengthening of their independent economic and political life.

NEW TREATY WITH TURKEY

ON March 16 of this year the Russian Soviet Government and the Turkish National Government signed a treaty of peace.[†] With the subsequent establishment of the Soviet system in all the three Republics adjoining Turkey, i. e., Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, a clear political understanding between the Soviet Republics and Turkey became a matter of vital importance. With a view to such a settlement a conference was held at Kars in the middle of October, consisting of representatives of the three Caucasian Republics, Soviet Russia, and Turkey. The decisions of this conference, which constitute a new and important factor in the reconstruction of the Near East, have now been made public.

One of the very first matters to be settled by the conference was the fixing of the frontier line between Turkey and her Caucasian neighbors. In the extremely amicable spirit which characterized all the proceedings of the conference this problem presented no difficulties, and new frontiers were easily fixed. To put this decision on a permanent and firm basis the conference declared null and void all the treaties which had been previously concluded by former governments. A resolution was also passed referring the questions of the

*See text of Chicherin's message to Bodo, Mongolian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, SOVIET RUSSIA, December, 1921, page 259.

**See full text in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

†Published in full, SOVIET RUSSIA, September, 1921.

Straits and the Black Sea to a future conference of all the countries bordering on the Black Sea, with a proviso that in no circumstances may such a conference restrict the sovereignty of Turkey or endanger the safety of her capital, Constantinople.

On the question of repatriation of prisoners between Turkey and Armenia a definite arrangement was worked out, which was all the easier to secure as even before the Kars conference Turkey was already repatriating Armenian prisoners.

A more difficult problem was that of repatriating Armenian refugees. The places to which these refugees wish to return have been laid waste by military operations, while on the other hand the existing conditions of transport in Armenia and Turkey provide additional difficulties for such repatriation. It was therefore agreed that both parties will try to solve this problem within the six months following the date of the Kars Treaty.

Among the economic matters dealt with by the conference, a special importance attaches to its decision on the future of the port of Batum. Turkey has renounced her sovereign rights over Batum

in favor of Georgia, which, for her part, has granted the Batum province the right of autonomous administration. Turkey's only economic advantage in Batum will be certain privileges for transit of goods going to or from the Turkish territory. An amicable agreement was also arrived at between Turkey and Georgia on the question of Turkish transport across Georgian territory (this being in some cases the shortest route between various parts of Turkey), as well as the right of the border population to use the pastures across the frontier.

To bring the Caucasian Republics and Turkey into closer economic relations it was decided that immediately after the signing of the treaty at Kars a special conference should be held at Tiflis to deal with this matter.

It will thus be seen that the new treaty has not only removed the old differences which divided Turkey and her neighbors, but has actually cemented the friendly relations which sprang up naturally during the last few months. Nowhere, perhaps, will this bear more fruit than in the relations between the Turkish and the Armenian peoples.

The Extent of the Famine

(A revised estimate published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London.)

ALTHOUGH the most important regions affected by the drought and the consequent famine are in the Volga area, the calamity has spread over a much greater territory of Soviet Russia. In addition to the Nizhni-Novgorod, Yekaterinburg, Perm, and Penza provinces, the Don area, the North Caucasus, and part of the Ukraine have also suffered considerably. Out of 99,867,000 acres of land under cultivation, with a population of 89,137,000 persons in European and Asiatic Russia, there was a complete or partial failure of crops in 32,000,000 acres, affecting 25,889,000 persons. If we include the parts of the Ukraine which were affected by the famine, the total is as much as 56,000,000 acres of land with a population of 37,210,000 persons. About forty per cent of the whole area under cultivation is affected by the famine conditions.

Where Most of the Suffering Is

It is true that the Volga and Ural regions, with a population of about 25,000,000, are the chief sufferers, for there the failure of crops extended over a continuous stretch of territory, but the conditions in the other districts cannot be disregarded, affecting as they do the possibility of relief for the Volga area. On the one hand the available resources of the whole country are diminished and on the other it is almost impossible to send grain away from the provinces situated near the districts where there has been a failure of crops.

The failure of crops in the Volga area was more sweeping, as the following table shows:

Province	Quantity of grain in the province Tons	Total requirements of grain Tons	Deficit or Surplus Tons
Astrakhan ..	25,866	80,008	— 54,142
Bashkir Republic .	128,923	210,193	— 81,270
Votyak Area .	181,083	157,138	+ 23,945
Viатka	518,366	423,680	+ 94,686
Kirghiz Republic .	221,250	376,898	— 155,648
Mari Area .	47,295	80,353	— 33,058
German Volga Commune	16,266	60,680	— 44,414
Samara	239,788	476,346	— 236,558
Saratov	338,968	583,723	— 244,755
Simbirsk	208,850	368,468	— 159,618
Tartar Republic .	329,566	540,853	— 211,287
Ufa	188,833	343,073	— 154,240
Tsaritsin	223,350	236,112	— 12,762
Chuvash Area	100,466	126,636	— 26,170
Total	2,768,870	4,064,161	—1,295,291

Thus, except in the Votyak area and Viатka province, there is everywhere a deficit, which reaches the enormous total of 1,403,922 tons. The shortage for the whole area thus represents one third of the total requirements of the population. If we consider each district separately the conditions are worse still. In the German Volga Commune, for instance, the shortage is two-third of the total requirements. Thus complete famine

reigned there from October of this year. In Samara, Ufa, and other provinces, if we take the average, complete famine will only begin in December. It is, of course, clear that owing to unequal distribution of supplies the condition of the poorest section of the population is much worse, and for them famine conditions began earlier.

The Commissariat for Food is giving from its stores 250,000 tons for spring sowing and is purchasing another 166,700 tons for the same purpose. The Soviet Government is also to supply during the current year 200,000 tons of grain to various feeding institutions in the famine area. This is all in addition to the 400,000 tons of food the Government has to supply to the people whose maintenance normally falls on the State. Thus about sixty per cent of the total deficiency is supplied by the Soviet Government, while the remaining forty per cent will have to be obtained from other sources. But in reality more than that will

be necessary, for we have to take into consideration the unequal distribution of grain amongst the peasantry.

In addition to the quantities supplied by the Government, 33,000 tons of grain are needed each month to keep the people from death by hunger. So far all foreign relief organizations are supplying food to about 1,500,000 children; but these constitute only twenty per cent of the total number of starving children. The principal burden of supplying food to the other eighty per cent as well as to the adult population falls on the shoulders of the exhausted people of Russia. However great their effort and sacrifice, millions will perish unless additional help is forthcoming from outside Russia. And this help must come at once, for the terrible effects of the famine are becoming more pronounced from day to day, with the exhaustion of the scanty supplies obtained from the September harvest.

Next Year's Harvest in the Famine Area

(Statement issued by the Russian Trade Delegation, London.)

ON the basis of the returns available from the famine provinces, the Soviet Government realized as early as July that it would be necessary to throw into the famine area 250,000 tons of seed for autumn sowing, in order to safeguard the crop of 1922. This quantity, of course, was not the total required for autumn sowing, which was estimated at 900,000 tons. But the available information indicated that, in the districts in which the crops had not been totally destroyed, there would be a certain quantity of grain available for sowing; the 250,000 tons to be supplied by the Soviet Government was the estimated amount required for the districts in which the crop had completely failed, or to make up the deficit in other districts. Even with this help from outside, it was not anticipated that the area sown this autumn could exceed sixty per cent of the area sown in 1920; but even this reduced area, given normal wheather conditions, could produce enough for the 1922 requirements of the population in the famine provinces. Thus the position would be safeguarded from the time of the 1922 harvest, even though the Volga provinces might not be able to export any surplus.

In order to achieve this result, all the Commissariats, under the general direction of the Famine Relief Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, concentrated on the sowing campaign in the famine area. The peasants were encouraged to prepare the ground, and from the early days of August the seed began to arrive and was distributed to those whose land was ready. Every assistance and encouragement was also given to the peasants in those districts where the crop was sufficient for seed, and they were induced

to sow as much as possible. The results of the steady work carried out by the various Commissariats are now available, and are given in the table on page 7. From this it will be seen that over the whole of the famine provinces the area sown was nearly seventy-four per cent of the area sown in the autumn of 1920; while in six regions—Saratov province, the Chuvash area, Astrakhan, Tsaritsin, the German Volga Commune, and Uralsk—the area sown actually exceeded the 1920 figure.

The column headed "area intended to be sown" needs explanation. The Soviet Government, after the disastrous years of 1918 and 1919, when the most fertile regions of Russia were in the hands of the invaders, and the area sown had dropped to less than half the pre-war level, had prepared estimates providing for the gradual increase in the area sown in 1920, 1921, and 1922, so as to restore the pre-war agricultural position. The figures given in this column refer to these estimates for the 1921 autumn sowing. Comparison of this column with the column "area sown in 1920" will show that in practically every case the area under cultivation was to have been increased in 1921; and but for the drought this plan would have been carried out. In fact, over the whole of the famine provinces, only sixty-four per cent of the plan was carried out; and this marks the blow which the famine has dealt to the general economic recovery of Russia.

Prospective Consequences of the Drought

The blow is a serious one, and the drought has set back the agricultural position of the Volga provinces to the level of 1919, wiping out the recovery

made in 1920. At the same time, given good weather conditions, the result may not prove to be so serious; for a good crop, even from the small area sown, may provide enough surplus grain for a large increase in the area sown in 1922.

What are the prospects of a good crop? Eminent Russian scientists fear that the drought of this year is only part of a dry cycle, which may continue to affect large regions of Russia for two or three more years. But on the other hand, the measures which are being taken to improve the agricultural methods in the Volga provinces, and the improved facilities in the way of agricultural machinery and implements, justify the hope that the results of a dry year will not again be so serious.

Reports from some of the famine provinces on October 20, indicating the condition of the crops which had appeared above the ground, are summarized in the following table. The results are given in the "five grade system", in which two means below average, three means good average, four above average, five excellent.

Simbirsk	3.1
Viatka	2.8
Ufa	3.5
Tartar Republic	4.0
Tsaritsin	4.2

Good Rains Reported

Generally speaking, the reports indicate good rains and favorable weather conditions which have given the seed a good start.

The information given above deals only with the autumn sowing; the spring sowing still remains to be carried out, and if it is possible to carry out the spring program as successfully as the autumn sowing, the 1922 harvest in the famine provinces will be assured.

Grain Needed for Spring Sowing

According to the estimate of the People's Commissar for Agriculture, 366,700 tons of grain will be needed for the 1922 spring sowing in the famine area; 250,000 tons of grain are to be supplied from the State reserves (mainly the proceeds of the food tax), 83,300 tons are to be obtained by barter from other provinces, and the remainder will be bought abroad, probably in Sweden and the Baltic provinces. Arrangements have already been made to establish an improved organization for local transport and distribution of the seed; the grain available in Russia is already being moved towards the famine area; and the experience gained in the autumn sowing campaign will be fully utilized when the time comes for the spring campaign.

AREA SOWN IN THE FAMINE PROVINCES, AUTUMN 1921, COMPARED WITH ORIGINAL PROGRAM FOR 1921 AND WITH AUTUMN SOWING FOR 1920

Name of province	Area intended to be sown	Area actually sown	Percentage of program carried out	Area sown in 1920	Percentage of area sown compared with 1920
	Acres	Acres		Acres	
Samara	2,160,000	1,152,443	53.0	1,429,920	80.5
Simbirsk	1,350,000	636,743	47.1	1,202,040	52.9
Saratov	2,700,000	2,430,000	90.0	2,072,520	117.2
Mari Area	377,881	200,277	53.0	367,200	54.5
Chuvash Area	472,119	393,840	83.4	373,680	105.3
Tartar Republic	2,594,400	969,734	37.3	2,284,470	42.4
Ufa	648,594	591,391	91.0	1,407,240	42.0
Viatka	1,952,739	1,472,850	75.0	1,857,610	79.2
Votiak Area	774,306	395,150	51.0	619,380	63.7
Astrakhan	129,165	130,950	101.4	51,570	253.9
Tsaritsin	1,078,029	869,175	80.6	776,790	111.8
German Volga Commune.....	621,000	372,600	60.0	351,270	106.0
Bashkir Republic	337,500	66,744	19.4	408,780	16.3
Uralsk	124,200	108,000	87.0	64,800	166.6
Total	15,322,933	9,789,897	63.9	13,267,270	73.8

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The Ethical Revolution

By PIERRE PASCAL

SOVIET Russia, deprived of almost all its grain and of its mines, lacking its northern and southern provinces, cut off from Siberia, a pitiable trunk of a country, a prey to cold and hunger, attacked by all the bandits of both hemispheres, has nevertheless been able to hold out for four years, has carried off the victory and may now look with calm assurance into the future. This is the tremendous accomplishment whose causes must be steadfastly kept in mind by the proletarians of the West. To be sure, it is a miracle of negative nature, for while it is a mighty consummation to have held off savage hordes and wild beasts, to have defended one's life against them, it is necessary also to make use of life for some purpose. I might point out all the things that the Russian proletariat has undertaken in order to repair the damage of the war, in order to utilize the ruins of capitalism which collapsed under its blows, in order to erect on these ruins the new and rational structure of labor. The political authority, the administration, the army, production, transportation, distribution, relations between individuals, in a word, all the social functions have again been restored, but on a new basis, with an entirely new content, demanding the highest level of perfection reached by man. The bourgeois state has been succeeded by the Proletarian state. Already it exists, already it works; its successes are daily growing. This state puts railroads in motion, develops the natural resources of the country, administers the laws, spreads knowledge — better today than under the old regime—and all this it does, not in the interest of a minority of profiteers, but in that of the workers, who constitute the vast majority of the population.

Ethical Accomplishments of the Revolution

But the Proletarian-Communist State has achieved other equally valuable results, even though they be not so striking as the above. The calm analysis of material conditions, historic materialism, which forms the basis of the philosophy and politics of scientific socialism, by no means makes the Russian Marxist forget that the final purpose always is man, to be sure man in his social relations, but always man. Marxism differs from the other so-called humanist teachings not by the fact—as is generally believed—that it denies all ethical, spiritual or moral values, in order to drop back into materialism as vulgarly understood, but by the fact that its rational materialism permits it to reckon with all the facts, to assign to each its appropriate place. Other teachings, on the other hand, devoid of all material foundation, lose themselves in the mists of sentimentalism, of spiritualism, or moralism. Instead of considering the facts, they forget or falsify them by approximating them

to absolute ideals. The individual is an abstraction having as little real existence as has society when considered without reference to its members. Marxism is just as far removed from making of "society" an entity, a transcendental and invisible thing, as it is from imagining an absolute individual, a monad, that could be considered as self-existing and self-important. It always considers together both society and the persons creating it, the persons active in society. Therefore, even though the material circumstances and the economic situation may be the basis of all things, the ethical factors arising from this basis are not overlooked.

What a lesson it must be for the pseudo-Marxists, for those superficial spirits who find contradiction everywhere because they are not capable of grasping inner realities, what a lesson it is for calumniators who find in Communism merely a doctrine of barbarism and of the grossest materialism, denying all human values, when they behold a Bukharin, the mightiest theoretician of Communism, the coldest, in a word, the "most unsentimental", praise in the following words Professor Sternberg, the astronomer, who died last February while serving as a revolutionary military adviser on the western front: "As a man Sternberg was a distinguished soul, a warmly feeling heart, such as there are few. The imposing exterior of a Scandinavian divinity concealed a tender spirit, a profound, penetrating humanity, such as is rarely met with." (*Pravda*, February 3, 1920). And these lines were written by one of the worst Bolsheviks! He underlines the word "humanity". In another passage, he emphasizes the "enthusiasm" with which Sternberg devoted himself both to the fight on the barricades and to his science. Yanishev, who fell on the front, was called a "saint" by Bukharin, who described his moral superiority as so great that all his comrades, during his long banishment in America, sought his counsel in their most intimate affairs. (*Pravda*, July 14, 1920).* Is it necessary for us to allude again to Lunacharsky, who in hundreds of articles and manifestoes speaks again and again of the new humanity, in which all the precious things of the old idea are to be fused with the still greater values of the proletarian idea, in order to elevate the capabilities and the worth of man to a level hitherto unknown? Why should Romain Rolland say, in a fine article in the *Berlin Forum*, that "the orthodox Marxists despise enthusiasm?" Political economy and enthusiasm are by no means contradictory concepts. Is the worker who voluntarily works overtime without pay, who burns with zeal to do his duty, to do even more than is necessary, because his duty to the

*For an interesting account of Comrade Yanishev, see "Through the Russian Revolution" by Albert Rhys Williams; Boni and Liveright, New York, 1921, pp. 41, 292.

proletariat requires it, is he any the less good a Communist?

Is a soldier on the rack of his White torturers a less good Communist if he pronounces in dying the words: "It is sweet to die for Communism"?

Communism contains an ethical program, even though it be inexpressed: the abolition of classes and of economic inequality, the realization in each individual of the ideal of humanity, the conscious inclusion as an active member of the community of each worker, the development of the necessary qualities, honesty, frankness, unselfishness, perseverance, energy, courage, love of work and struggle, fidelity, devotion, heroism, all these in the highest degree in all fields, all moments, in spite of all obstacles. Is this not to be considered an ethical program?

The Communists in Life

Thousands, tens of thousands, of Communists are the living evidence of this program. The story of their lives would make a magnificent symposium. You would behold in it People's Commissars who, although they have been laboring for years, grant themselves not more than four or five hours of sleep at night; military commissars who call out as they die: "And I still had so much work to do!"; agitators and theoreticians rushing from a meeting at which they have just spoken to an important political conference, and then sitting down in their offices to write an article, and then, when they have reached their little hotel room at night, devoting themselves to the writing of a book on political economy. You would see soldiers and leaders of the great Communist army, when the word of command is issued, leaving not their comfort, their homes, their families—for from these fetters the creators of the new world have long freed themselves—but their immediate task, in order to substitute another task for it, to go, if they are soldiers, to an endangered front, or, if they are workers, to a demoralized factory, or, if they are commissars, to a rebellious region, or as representatives of the Soviet State abroad, or as food commissars into the provinces; everywhere they bear with them organization, energy, justice and life; everywhere it is their duty to set an example, to work more and better than the others; and they are censured and considered worthy of censure if they accomplish only a normal day's work. There are thousands and tens of thousands of this stamp, and hundreds of thousands are being trained in this spirit.

"Inertia of the soul may find no place in the Communist Party. Heroism, determination, discipline, all this must be found in the party of the proletariat." I take these words from the Petrograd *Pravda* of August 19, 1920. I have selected them at random, out of a thousand similar sentiments. Where is there any other political party, particularly a political party in power, that ever made such demands as these? These men usually meet with an untimely death, brought about by exhaus-

tion or by a bullet on the battlefield, in the prisons or on the rack of their White enemies; and yet the Communists are happy if they know that their work is being continued; they feel themselves to be a part of a great class, and that the zeal which consumes them will bear fruit; after them there will live the reborn Russia, the reborn world. The ethical program of which their lives are an example will penetrate into the masses, will transform a whole people and will cause *men* to grow where formerly there were only *subjects*. The ethical advance recorded in Soviet Russia is an undeniable fact. But we must look at it from close at hand, for it is less obviously striking than the miracle of which I spoke in the beginning of this paper, than the military triumph or the economic success that has been achieved in spite of all the obstacles encountered. This advance cannot be detected from a distance, nor can it be detected at first glance. Delegations, or journalists, may spend weeks in Russia without noticing it. It is not sufficient here to make a comparison with the West; Russia must be compared with itself; the Russian people of 1920 must be compared with the Russian people of 1917. We must remember that the man who is today Chairman of a Soviet may still remember the time when his father was a serf, chained to the soil, delivered body and soul to his feudal master, that the delegate to a women's congress may, when she was a young girl, have been discharged by her mistress because she made an effort, when still a servant, to learn secretly at night, in the kitchen, how to read. In 1917 a chambermaid to whom I had given forty rubles kissed my hand; in the same year a hotel clerk in Petrograd refused to permit a friend who was visiting him to come up the main stairway, because the latter was a soldier. "Such people must use the servants' entrance," said this man, who was then not yet a man, and I asked myself in sorrow how many revolutions would be required to make a human being out of this watchdog or out of that slave of a servant girl.

The Peasants

And now this hope of mine is coming true, by reason of the mere existence of the Communist Soviet State. I do not mean to maintain that incidents such as those mentioned above may not take place somewhere in Russia today. In this immense country there are still regions, for instance, Pechora, that are reached by the post office only during a few weeks of each year. Of course, this is an extreme case, but it gives an idea of the amount of time that will be required before the revolution has permeated this continent and these masses. I should not be astonished to learn that in some remote provinces the peasants may have been sentenced by their Village Soviet to "stand for three days in a ditch," as their ancestors once were sentenced by their feudal lord, or by the sheriff. What man could be so stupid as to imagine that a revolution, especially an ethical revolution,

could reach its goal in two, or in thirty-three, months?

On the contrary, vestiges of the old days are still observable, valuable stepping stones that enable us to measure the distance we have covered. For these peasants, or perhaps those of the neighboring village, already have a schoolhouse in which old and young may learn to read, a reading room in which they will find newspapers from Moscow and from the provincial capital, a stage on which youthful amateurs may give their plays. In the village there is already a Communist club; former Red soldiers, young people who have stripped themselves of the old prejudices and are imbuing the village inhabitants with the principles of rebirth and reconstruction, who teach old and young and make citizens of the serfs of yesterday. The peasant, who once passively, submissively, cut off from all, bore the burden of a state and of a civilization in which he had no share, of which he did not even know the formation, seems today for the first time to be entering into the life of a modern society.

The Peasant's New Outlook on Life

Perhaps his burdens have become heavier; yet the soil belongs to him, which once he tilled for others, and he already has some share in the government of the nation. His delegates to the Soviet Congress go to Moscow; his delegates in the provincial congresses make political decisions; Lenin's appeals, as well as those of the Central Executive Committee, or of the Communist Party, are addressed to him; for the first time the foundations and consequences of government decisions are explained to him as to a human being. Some will tell you that the peasant never had to bear under the Tsar half of the burdens that he now carries under the Soviets. I do not know whether this is the case; but there is no doubt that the peasant is answering the call to arms, prosecuting the saboteurs, handing over for hardly any compensation his surplus of grain, a portion of his cattle, his hides, milk, cheese, game, and eggs, to the national stores, contributing the power of his arm and of his machines for cutting wood, clearing the railway tracks; all because the appeal has been made to his reason and to his interest as a human and social being. It has been explained to him that he must make this advance to the working class, which will pay it back a hundredfold. And the peasant knows very well that this is not an attempt to exploit him, for experience has shown him what counter-revolution, or Kolchak, or Denikin, means for the poor peasants. The poor and middle peasants have become conscious not only of their functions and of their duties in the Proletarian State, but for over a year the Commissariat for Provisions has observed that the peasant is beginning to recognize as a duty to the government of the working class the delivery of his surplus grain.

The peasantry was formerly a mass, endowed

with certain valuable natural qualities, but untrained, inorganic, ignorant, cut off from modern civilization, the slaves of a nation of which they were hardly a part. Now they have become members, increasingly conscious members, of the great organization of workers of which they also are a part and which gives them the possibility of developing their humanity more and more. This is the immense ethical revolution that has been attained by the political and economic revolution of the proletariat, against all obstacles. Although it is not to be observed in the same strength in all quarters, this revolution has nevertheless actually taken place everywhere and is everywhere advancing.

Economic and Ethical Equality

If the Russian revolution has succeeded, in spite of the vast extent of the country, in moulding and transforming the peasants to this extent, it has achieved even more in the cities. The French prisoners at Archangel were most impressed by the equality, not merely in words, but actually made a reality. Of course differences of function remained, differences of occupation, of authority, but the barriers have already been removed, that separated the soldier from the officer, the worker from the director, the administrator from his employees, the servants from their masters. The workers of all callings are united in the same great unions.

The government officials, deprived of their privileges (pensions, leaves of absence, advancements, insignia, uniforms, of all the half-concealed class distinctions that still exist in so-called democratic republics), are now in no way different from the employees of the factories or concerns.

All these functionaries have their working days, their hours of repose, their right to be supported in case of sickness or in advanced age, equality of conditions at appointment and dismissal, their wages, their dwellings, etc., all of which are determined by the same rules that apply to the workers. It would be impossible for any one in Moscow to understand the regulation that prevails in France, forbidding the office staff from joining the *Confédération Générale du Travail*. You must live in the land of the Soviets in order to grasp the full charm of true equality. There are no longer any "prescribed modes of life" and "social degrees", no bourgeois habits as to food, clothing, dwellings. There is no distinction of classes in the railroad trains (there used to be four such classes). No doubt the English correspondent thought he was very clever when he spoke of the "Soviet aristocracy" living in the old nationalized hotels; in the restaurants of these hotels he could have learned that he was using the expression "aristocracy" in the loosest sense of the term, since all the comrades, including those filling the highest positions in the Republic, as well as the force employed in the establishment, eat at the same table, and are served from the same dishes. This is the Soviet aristocracy. The doorkeeper, the woman who serves the

food, the chauffeur who guides your automobile, they wear no lackey's uniform, they lack the subservient alacrity that is valued so highly by the bourgeoisie: a single glance will tell you that they are engaged in a calling that is by no means less worthy than any other calling. The same hour will find them assembled at the same table, at the same concert, at the same lecture, all in the same room.

Pleasures of Past and Future

From the economic standpoint it may be urged that equality means poverty; this is not entirely true, and besides, the misery of the masses could hardly counterbalance the wealth of the few if it were not for this equally distributed poverty; and furthermore it is on this uniform poverty that an increasing prosperity is slowly but surely being built up. There are, I admit, no longer any splendid restaurants, like the "Bear," "Praga," "Yer," where rich speculators devour dinners of many courses in the company of the well-paid officers of the foreign missions, while the strains of "Tipperary" or of some waltz played by a Rumanian orchestra delights their ears; but, on the other hand, you no longer find any of the horrid *traktirs* (saloons) with their fetid and choking air, where common men obtained a cabbage soup or a bit of herring for a few kopeks, accompanied by the melancholy whine of a mechanical piano. The day will come when the "Praga" will offer to all the workers attractive and spacious rooms, nourishing and healthful meals, and music that deserves the name. Before that time comes, however, these apartments will have to be given up by the artillery school now occupying them, but this does not depend upon the Bolsheviks, but on the capitalists of all lands.

At any rate you see nothing of the utopian leveling desired by certain anarchists; each person remains in his place; any of them, either the People's Commissar from his office, the doorkeeper from his door, the professor from his university or the organizer, when his time is valuable, will set forth for his destination in an automobile or a carriage; the professor is entitled not only to a bedroom, but also to a study; the engineer earns more than the skilled worker, and the latter more than the unskilled worker.

But as soon as the differences arising from the variety of occupations yield to the hours of leisure, true equality again asserts itself. The unskilled worker and the People's Commissar, when their health requires treatment, will meet at the same sanatorium; the children of the engineer and the worker attend the same school; these are by no means theoretical hypotheses but actual facts occurring daily; I might cite the individual cases by name.

(To be continued next month)

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

(Translation of the note addressed by the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, on November 2, 1921, to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States of America, as it appeared in "Izvestia", November 4, 1921.)

The protest voiced by the Russian Government on July 19, 1921, against the calling of an international conference on the problems of the Pacific without Russia's participation, was disregarded by the powers. In view of the approaching conference, the Russian Government repeats its protest against this attempt to decide, in the absence of a Russian representative, questions which directly concern Russia. The Government of Russia also wishes to reiterate the statement that it reserves for itself complete freedom of action on all questions which will be discussed at this conference and that it will make use of this freedom on all occasions and by all means which it will deem expedient for this purpose.

The toiling masses of Russia received with the greatest indignation this new manifestation of a policy of violence and injustice towards their country. The Government of workers and peasants of Russia affirms that the 130 million people of Russia will not permit others to force their will upon them or to treat them as the voiceless objects of their decisions. The toiling masses of Russia, who are straining every effort in the work of economic reconstruction, know that in spite of the famine caused by the allied blockade and the drought, the moment of Russia's economic restoration and the strengthening of her political power is speedily approaching.

Those who are now violating the most elementary requirements of decency and respect for Russia's sovereign rights, will then be faced with the consequences of their actions towards Russia. It is only with the greatest indignation that the people of Russia can view the statement that the great powers are taking it upon themselves to safeguard Russia's interests. During the last few years Russia has had sufficient experience of the "solicitude" of the great powers. Her interests are now to be guarded by the same Governments that have been bleeding her, sending the Tsar's generals against her, trying to strangle her by a ruthless blockade. The laboring masses of Russia understand full well that when these powers will undertake to solve for Russia questions involving the interests of Russia, these questions will be decided on the strength of considerations entirely foreign to the interests of Russia, and to the detriment of the people of Russia. The latter know in advance that any agreement of the powers, which would undertake to decide anything for Russia, would undoubtedly turn out to be of the same order as the Versailles and Sevres treaties.

But Russia is not a vanquished country. She has issued forth triumphantly from all the trials to which she was subjected by the very same powers who now assume the task of caring for Russia's interests. The laboring masses of Russia have already shown sufficiently that they can withstand any attempts at violence directed from abroad and they will in the same manner be able to repel every new attempt of a similar nature. No matter what are the public agreements that will be concluded in Washington, there will always remain the suspicion, almost the certainty, that secret agreements have also been made, directed against Russia, and as a result an additional element of mistrust, suspicion, and complications of all kinds will be introduced into international relations. Under such circumstances the decisions of the Washington Conference will inevitably become merely the sources of new conflicts, new entanglements, and new catastrophes. Not peace, but discord and strife and hatred will be brought into international relations, surely to become the cause of new disasters for the entire world.

CHICHERIN,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Education in Russia

(The following summary of the work of the Commissariat for Education has been prepared by the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation in London.)

IN pre-revolutionary Russia the work of educating the people was carried on by the Government, the Church, and the Zemstvos and municipalities. The Government schools were further divided between the Ministry of Education, which controlled the bulk of elementary and secondary schools as well as universities, and several other ministries, under whose supervision were technical and military schools. The Revolution swept away all this multiplicity of control and substituted for it a single authority—the Commissariat for Education. The scope of educational work was vastly enlarged, so as to include all forms of educational activity. The work was divided among three sections of the Commissariat: (1) the pedagogical section, which combined the departments for general elementary and secondary education, “the uniform labor school”, “school reform”, technical schools, pre-school education, and training of teachers; (2) the scientific section, which included departments of scientific societies, higher educational institutions, and libraries; (3) the art section, in which were combined departments of the representative arts, preservation of monuments, music, theatres, and motion pictures.

The department of adult education, originally included in the Commissariat, has lately been transformed into an independent organization, the Chief Political Education Board. The latter, as its name suggests, controls a special sphere of educational work, its object being to inculcate Communist ideas and the spirit of the Communist State into the masses of the people. The same purpose naturally governs the work of the Commissariat for Education, but only as a general principle, the main concern of the Commissariat being the provision and control of general and technical education.

In this principal field of education the work accomplished, in spite of all its deficiencies and imperfections, has been considerable. The following table shows the growth in the number of schools and pupils in the territory of Soviet Russia:

	Elementary and Secondary Schools	No. of Pupils
1911	47,855	3,060,400
1919	63,317	4,796,284
1921 (Jan. 1).....	91,500	7,200,000

It will thus be seen that since the Revolution the number of schools and pupils has, roughly, doubled. Two important qualifications, however, must be made in this connection. To begin with, the figure of 7,200,000 pupils represents only half the children of school age in Russia. And, in the next place, the number of schools provides no certain criterion of the work accomplished, as it is well

known that at the present time most of the country schools have hardly any writing materials or books, while the number of teachers in each school is considerably below the pre-war average.

Complete Reorganization of the System

Nevertheless, the Commissariat for Education is not only valiantly and, to a large extent, successfully struggling against enormous odds, but is also laying firm foundations for a completely new educational system. Its principal reform has been the creation of the “uniform labor school”. The extreme variety of types of school in Tsarist Russia was the natural result of the policy which measured out the allowance of education according to the “station” of the pupils. The “lower school”, i. e., village schools, town-parish schools, trade schools, etc., was not just the first step in the educational ladder, leading to the higher steps, but provided all the education that was considered good for the “lower classes”. The so-called “middle school” was entirely the preserve of the well-to-do classes, corresponding in its programme to the public school in this country. As to the “higher school”—universities, colleges, etc.—it was open only to those who had already matriculated in the middle school, and consequently was completely outside the reach of the masses of the people. The Revolution has broken down all these social barriers. The “uniform labor school” has replaced all the other types of elementary and secondary schools by establishing a single program of education for children of all classes. It has only two sub-divisions based on the differences of age, namely, schools of the first grade for children from eight to twelve years old, and schools of the second grade for children from twelve to seventeen years old (originally; now from twelve to fifteen years). Nor is this the only change compared with the past. Education being regarded by Soviet Russia as a means of bringing up citizens capable of taking an active part in the productive life of the country, work of a productive character has been made the basis of all school education. This principle, however, should be distinguished from mere technical training. Workshops there may or may not be in the Russian schools. What matters is that children should be engaged in work of direct practical use. Thus, in the schools of the first grade the object aimed at is to make them, as far as possible, self-supporting, the children being taught and encouraged to produce all that can be produced with the means at their disposal. In the schools of the second grade the productive work is taken a step higher. Here the pupils are attached to some industrial enterprise and are given such tasks as are

compatible with their theoretical studies in the school. The recent lowering of the age for the children of the second grade schools has been adopted as an emergency measure, in view of the great shortage of skilled workers in the national industries. It is hoped as soon as the emergency has passed to restore the original school age limit of seventeen.

Side by side with the work of training children for future productive occupation the Commissariat for Education has had to solve a completely different problem: providing general education for children actually employed in industry. Although the Soviet Labor Code prohibited the employment of children under the age of fourteen, the pressure of economic conditions and the attractions of independent life have been so great that the rule remained a dead letter, and ultimately was altered so as to fix the age limit at twelve years. Education being compulsory in Russia, all factory children are obliged to attend school for four hours a day. Special second grade evening schools were found necessary for this purpose, and in Petrograd alone there are forty-six such schools with 10,000 pupils.

The Education of Factory Children

It will be easily realized that in undertaking to educate the great mass of factory children the Soviet authorities were faced with a very difficult task. The abnormal conditions of life during the first period of the Revolution, particularly in the big cities, drove thousands of children into the streets and turned their life into one of vice and crime. Those of the children who had worked in the factories were further demoralized by the pernicious influence of the old factory system. To educate such children, to make them conscientious, decent, and industrious, would have been little short of a miracle. Yet this miracle was performed, and perhaps nothing can encourage more faith in the progress of education in Russia than the success in educating factory children wherever there were any facilities for accomplishing this task.

The importance and comparative novelty of this side of the educational work in Russia are such that a few illustrations taken from the work in Petrograd will be not without interest to the reader.

There are the famous Putilov works in Petrograd. A school for the children employed in them was opened in the house of their former director. Experienced teachers were invited to conduct the classes. On the opening day a large number of boys and girls attended the school. But no sooner were the classes over than disillusionment came. The masters discovered that all their pockets had been most effectively picked, while all the door handles in the house were stolen. Two years passed, years of hard work and many bitter disappointments, and it was impossible to recognize the school: it became as good as any that had to deal with the most "respectable" children.

There is another such school in Petrograd, on the

Yelagin Island. It is now a model school. The pupils have repaired the whole building, made a kitchen garden, repaired the water pipes, re-built an old shed into a dining room, and built a meteorological observation hut in which, of course, they themselves take the readings. They live in a commune as good comrades, and their moral tone is as high as could be expected in a model school.

There is no need to multiply examples. They all serve to confirm the statement that where means were available the efforts of the educational authorities were in most cases crowned with success.

But schools are not the only influence fashioning the minds of the children. Side by side with them are working their institutions, and one of them—the Children's Village near Petrograd—deserves special mention as an institution the like of which is not to be found in any other country.

The Children's Village, formerly Tsarskoe Selo, is both a children's colony and a health resort providing facilities for short visits to a beautiful country spot abounding with magnificent old palaces. Children come to the village in groups. Two so-called "excursion stations", one of them with a hotel accommodating 150 children, serve as feeding and play centres. The hotel is used for children coming for two days—usually Saturday and Sunday. After arrival children play various games (croquet, lawn tennis, rowing, etc.). In the evening, or if the weather is bad, lantern lectures or concerts are arranged. The following day, before dinner is served, is devoted to serious study. Under the guidance of teachers some children go to the forest or pond and collect various specimens, which are afterwards sorted out, prepared, stuffed, and studied in the special museum attached to the "excursion station". Other parties visit the surrounding palaces, farms, the Pulkovo Observatory, or go farther into the country for geological studies. After dinner, games again, then resting in the comfortable sitting rooms or reading in the library, and in the evening the return trip home. As factory children each year have an obligatory fortnight's holiday, many of them spend that time in the village under the supervision of the special staff of teachers attached to the excursion station.

Excursions to places of interest are now a recognized part of the general education of children and, together with the more modern methods of school education, such as dramatic performances, games, etc., have been a very potent means in raising the moral and intellectual equipment of factory children.

Pre-School Education

A word should also be said on various pre-school institutions. There are about 5,000 of them in Russia now, with 300,000 infants, and they are entirely the product of the Commissariat's efforts, having been practically non-existent in the pre-revolutionary days.

Turning to the general problems of the educa-

tional work in Russia, we come first of all to the question of finances. The existing schools of the first grade (83,000) satisfy about sixty per cent of the need of the country; schools of the second grade (3,500), barely five per cent. To make up the deficiency would involve an enormous outlay. Yet with school fees abolished and all expenditure borne by the central Government, the latter is actually able to provide less than a quarter of the total amount required (i. e., in money and kind). To remedy the situation a decree has therefore been issued placing the burden of financing educational work on the shoulders of the local population and authorizing local institutions to levy a special education tax. It is hoped that by this taxation adequate means will be found to carry out the whole educational program.

Another great obstacle to be overcome is the shortage of trained teachers. The demand for school teachers this year is more than 200,000, whereas the supply from various pedagogical institutions is not anticipated to reach even 30,000 teachers.

In the sphere of technical education the position is better; in the case of engineering 4,000 qualified engineers and 13,000 mechanics left the schools this year; but it falls far below the requirement in the case of agricultural specialists (600 qualified against 10,000 required).

Adult Learners

Finally, in the field of adult education, apart from innumerable continuation schools, clubs, etc., the most important achievement has been the campaign against illiteracy. Within less than a year 4,800,000 adults were taught to read and write. In the Red Army the illiterate number now only forty-five per cent as compared with eighty-five per cent in the old army.

To sum up, it is sufficient to say that Russia has never seen such a determined national effort to extinguish ignorance as is being made to-day. Work carried on with such courage and determination is bound to achieve its aim; and the results so far obtained in spite of all difficulties give real ground for confidence.

Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony

THE climatic conditions of Russia make communication by ordinary telegraph and telephone peculiarly difficult at certain periods of the year. In some provinces forest fires are usual every year; in others the snow is so heavy in winter that it is difficult to keep the ordinary telegraph wires in good condition. Wireless telegraphy is naturally the most efficient method of communication over vast distances, and for the reasons given above its widest development in Russia is necessary if close touch is to be kept between the outlying provinces and the centre.

Before the October revolution all wireless apparatus in Russia was controlled by the Ministry for War and used exclusively for military and naval purposes. After the revolution all radio stations were handed over to the Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs, which began to increase the number of these stations, and introduced considerable improvement in the methods of working. Small naval wireless outfits were taken from the fleet and sent to provincial towns. Portable military outfits, mainly receiving stations, were also gathered together and sent out with efficient operators. A network of wireless connections was thus formed, and in 1920 there were 250 receiving radio stations belonging to the Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs, and fifty stations belonging to the army, but receiving and distributing the news service sent out through the Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs. There were also forty-seven land transmitting stations, many of them of considerable power. These are being extended in spite of Russia's complete isolation during the period of civil

war and blockade and her economic conditions at the present moment. An entirely new station near Moscow, capable of sending messages across the Atlantic, has been almost completed. This station will be able to communicate with practically every large receiving station in the world. It is equipped with a high frequency alternator of a new type giving 20,000 alternations per second. It is hoped that besides the obvious utility of this station for immediate practical purposes, it will be possible to gain from it extremely useful material for the study of atmospheric and magnetic phenomena.

The progress made in Russia in the field of wireless telegraphy and telephony has been almost entirely due to the magnificent work done at the radio laboratory at Nizhni-Novgorod which was organized in 1918. The high frequency alternator already mentioned was invented by a member of the Laboratory Council and all the work of calculation and construction connected with it was done in the laboratory. Later the laboratory turned to the preparation of plans and material for a number of radio wireless telephone stations. One of these has already been equipped, and the transmitting station of Khodinka near Moscow was adapted for its use. After preliminary experiments the first tests of this apparatus were made on December 16, 1920. The second test at full power was heard clearly at Astrakhan on the Caspian and at Semipalatinsk in Siberia. It was found possible for the receiving station to be connected to the ordinary town telephone in several places, and for a speech made at Moscow to be heard by individuals many miles from any wireless receiving station

by this means. The wireless experts in Moscow had received answers from Siberian stations on the day the experiment was made, but they were amazed to find two days later that the receiving station at Irkutsk, over 2,500 miles away, had heard their work but had been unable to reply owing to the fact that their transmitting instrument was not sufficiently powerful to cover the distance. Finally, three days after the experiment was made, a telegram was received from Chita, fully 3,000 miles away, stating that some portions of their message had been heard distinctly.

The German Government placed the wireless station of Gelthoff at the disposal of Russian scientists and inventors for experimental purposes. In the first experiment Dr. Ruhkopf, head of the experimental service of the Telefunken Company, was present, together with the engineers and technicians of this receiving station. Conversation was heard so distinctly that it was possible for the Russians present to distinguish the voices of their friends speaking in Moscow. The German Ministry for Posts and Telegraphs, being greatly interested in this experiment, ordered its scientific experts to verify the claim that it is perfectly possible to carry on regular telephonic conversation between Berlin and Moscow irrespective of climatic conditions. They found that even when the Moscow transmitting station reduced the power used to one half it was possible under good conditions to hear what was said.

The laboratory at Nizhni-Novgorod is now working on a new task, that of organizing a "talking newspaper". The idea is to connect the receiving station of a wireless telephony outfit to an "amplifier" such as is sometimes used in America to make speeches audible in various parts of the country. In 1920 several such outfits had been prepared,

each of which could make a speech in Moscow audible to an audience of 250 to 400 persons 400 or 500 miles away. The scientists working on this problem, however, are not satisfied with an attempt to develop this process on such a small scale. An "amplifier" has been invented, and is being perfected, for use with receiving stations receiving the high power telephone messages from the new station near Moscow. It is possible for a large audience to hear clearly all the vowel sounds and to hear and enjoy the playing of a violin or 'cello in Moscow, three thousand miles away. It is still necessary to intensify and make sharper the consonant sounds, but there can be little doubt that this will be achieved.

Although considerable progress has been made, as may be seen from the short sketch of new developments given above, the Russian workers in this field are still hampered by lack of materials. For example, in 1919 they completely exhausted their stock of Mayerov condensers which hitherto had been imported from abroad. Their first attempts to make substitutes were unsuccessful, as the close insulation they used was not sufficiently reliable and was extremely difficult to work with. Later they succeeded in compressing ordinary paper insulated in "Tourmaline" into the various shapes necessary. Lacking ebonite, which is also necessary for insulation purposes, they were forced to turn their attention to another substance called by them "Bacalite", which is considerably easier to work with and equally good as an insulator. The difficulties they have had to face in securing materials have led them to make considerable advances in technique which otherwise, if materials had been handy and plentiful, might never have been made.

Researches in Pure Physics

The following article by Professor A. Timiriázev ("Krasnaia Nova", No. 2, August, 1921) describes the research work in pure physics carried out in Petrograd and Moscow since the November Revolution. The author points out that his information about Petrograd and Moscow is incomplete, and that he makes no reference to the work done in the provinces.

DURING the period following the November Revolution, research work in physics has been carried on not only in the old laboratories which existed in the pre-revolutionary days, but also in a number of newly-established institutes. As early as 1918 there were founded in Petrograd the Optical and the Röntgen Institutes, which during the short period of their existence have succeeded in publishing several volumes of their transactions.

Among the work they contain, one of the most important researches is that by D. S. Rogestvensky, the organizer of the Optical Institute, on the spectrum of lithium and other alkali metals.

His principal idea may be stated as follows:

In analyzing the innumerable empirical formulæ with which the physicists have tried to state a law regulating the spectral lines of various elements, D. S. Rogestvensky discovered that in point of fact all the spectra of alkali metals are, in spite of all their seemingly striking differences, built upon the same single type, namely, the spectrum of hydrogen. He discovered a method for correlating any spectral lines of lithium, sodium, potassium, and other alkali metals with definite lines of the hydrogen spectrum. At the same time, he found that the greater the atomic weight of an element the more difficult is the work of correlating

spectra and the more "distorted" is the original type of the hydrogen spectrum. From this it is concluded that the visible spectrum is determined by the "leap" of the electron in the atom from the one possible orbit to the other.

These possible or stable orbits are determined by means of the so-called "quantum" theory. They are situated round a central nucleus of the atom charged with positive electricity, and enclose a number of smaller orbits in which the electrons revolve. The number of orbits and the number of electrons increase with the increase in the atomic weight. It is this nucleus with its surrounding electrons which causes the "distortion" in the orbit of the extreme electron whose leaps from one of its numerous stable orbits on to another are responsible for the formation of spectral lines. To calculate the orbits of electrons there has been set up at the Optical Institute a special "atomic commission", which includes amongst its members not only physicists and mathematicians, but also astronomers, since the problem of determining the motion of electrons is the same as calculating the orbits of planets, their satellites and comets.

Electron Studies

At the present time detailed knowledge has been gathered concerning the atom of lithium with its nucleus, the two electrons revolving in the close circular orbit round the nucleus, and the one electron producing the lines of the visible spectrum. All the orbits of this electron have been calculated with great accuracy. But the most important fact, of course, is not so much the exhaustive study of the atom of lithium, as the discovery of a common method of investigation and the proof of the similarity of construction of all spectra.

The radiation of electrons, moving in the inner orbits of the atom, produces the X-ray spectra. These spectra are studied in the newly-opened Röntgen Institute under the general direction of A. F. Joffe. Important research work is being done in this institute also in the sphere of medical application of X-rays, under the direction of Mr. M. Nemenov, the organizer of the institute.

X-rays, as is well known, are now used for determining the structure of crystals. In this province a great success has been achieved by N. E. Uspensky and S. T. Konobeievsky, who conducted their researches in the Karl Marx Economic Institute in Moscow. Their work, entitled "The Investigation of Microcrystalline Structure by means of the Diffraction of X-rays", has made clear the disposition of crystal in rolled laminæ of metals, and aroused great interest at the Metallurgical Congress held in Moscow last winter. It is shortly to be published in Germany.

Working also in Moscow, G. V. Wulf has succeeded, by ingenious experiments and reasoning, in determining the disposition of atoms in the crystals of sodium chloride salts. This research was conducted in the newly founded Institute for Solid Substances, which is attached to the Supreme Economic Council.

The latter also has attached to it the State Institute of Technical Sciences. The physical and electro-technical branch of this is closely connected with the Physical Institute of the First University of Moscow, which, since the death of its famous leader, P. N. Lebedev, in 1911, resumed its work only in 1918. At the present time more than thirty special researches are being conducted in the Physical Institute and the Institute of Technical Sciences, which are both under the general direction of V. I. Romanov. During the last three years the following work was completed in these institutes.

A. Danilevsky designed an apparatus for finding the direction of sound. It is so constructed that the indicator of an electric measuring instrument points to zero only when the apparatus is placed in the direction of the sound. The apparatus may prove of great value for reading sound signals at sea during a fog.

New Electrical Achievements

A work of considerable scientific interest is the model constructed by N. Kaptsov and V. I. Romanov, which reproduces by means of short electromagnetic waves (from six to four cm.) all the phenomena observable in the passage of X-rays through crystals. Thus, the theory of the construction of crystals, i. e., the disposition of their atoms, can now be verified by the artificial models of such crystals.

As late as June, 1921, successful experiments were carried out in the two institutes mentioned, with the simultaneous conveyance of several telegrams and telephone conversations through one single wire. Thus methods of wireless telegraphy and telephony were used for the ordinary wire dispatch. Special wireless outfits, adjusted for several different periods, were used for that purpose, two telegraph lines (one a loop line 160 kilometres long and the other eighty kilometres) having been put at the disposal of the experimenters.

In the same sphere of electro-magnetic oscillations, the following researches are being conducted. G. V. Potapenko is investigating the absorption of short electro-magnetic waves (from twenty-five cm. to fifty cm.) in a number of organic substances, using for this purpose a spectrometer constructed according to the design of V. I. Romanov. (This work is being done in the University.) A similar study of longer waves (from ten to thirty metres) is being carried on by K. Theodorovich in the State Institute of Technical Sciences. The aim of these studies is the determination of the laws regulating the spectra of electro-magnetic waves and their comparison with the visible spectra. K. Theodorovich and B. Vvedensky have made considerable improvements in the methods of measuring dielectric constants, as well as the magnetic properties of matter, applying for this a new method based on the beats of electro-magnetic oscillations such as are used in wireless telegraphy. This work

is conducted in the Physical Institute of the Moscow University, where the magnetic properties of matter are also studied by a number of other physicists under the general direction of V. Arkadiev. The following of their studies may be mentioned here: By V. Korchagin, "Magnetic Permeability at Frequent Electro-Magnetic Oscillations"; by M. Chuprov, "Magnetic Permeability of Cylinders"; by A. Leontiev, "The Discharge Potential at Electro-magnetic Oscillations"; by B. Vvedensky, "The Rate of Demagnetization." The author of the last-mentioned work succeeded in improving the method for determining short intervals of time, so as to attain the accuracy of a few ten-millionths of a second. Working in the same institute, S. Livshitz devised a method of projecting stereoscopic pictures on the screen, and also conducts studies of the mechanism of spark discharges.

H. Metelkin (died June, 1921) made a number of interesting studies of phosphorescence of gases at electric discharge. V. Volkov (under direction of A. Timiriazev) is investigating the problem of "The sliding of rarefied gas along hard, gas-absorbing surfaces." A. Timiriazev has completed a study on "The application of the method of integral equations to the theory of gases." This work, together with the closely connected work of V. Kostitzin on "A special type of integral equations", was the subject of reports made before the Congress of the Association of Physicists, which was held in Moscow in September, 1920. At the same congress a paper was read by V. Michelson on "Dynamic Heating", suggesting a detailed and ingenious plan for effectively utilizing solar heat.

Mention should also be made of the following important theoretical studies by A. Eichenvald: "Stationary Waves of a Final Amplitude"; "The Theory of Asymmetric Oscillations"; "The

Origin of Harmonic Overtones". All these investigations give a profound mathematical analysis of sound and electro-magnetic oscillations, and, while explaining well-known phenomena, suggest the existence of new facts, hitherto unobserved. Subsequent experiments have already justified several of these predictions. These studies were reported before the P. N. Lebedev Physical Society, of Moscow, but have not so far been published.

The following studies are still being conducted: By V. Romanov, "Construction of cathode relays of a new type for wireless telegraphy"; by V. Baranov, "The electric arc under low pressures"; by K. Kulman, "Preparation of resistances by pulverizing metal in a vacuum"; by A. Irissov, "Determination of co-efficients of expansion of alloys"; by A. Timiriazev, "Investigation of the optical anisotropy of rarefied gas traversed by a stream of heat"; by V. Volkov and A. Timiriazev, "Construction of a micromanometer for measuring small gas pressures (up to one ten-millionth part of a millimetre of mercury column)"; by G. Simanov, "Internal friction of liquid di-electrics in an electric field."

Finally, in the Physical Institute of the Second University of Moscow the following studies have been completed: Mrs. A. Arkadieva has constructed an apparatus for measuring photographs of X-ray spectra; A. Mlodzeievsky has carried out a number of studies on the theory of liquid crystals, as well as the asymmetry of molecules in running liquids, by an optical method; N. Vvedeneieva has completed an investigation into "The anomalous revolving dispersion." A work still in the process of study is that by A. Timiriazev and Miss N. Razhivin on "The construction of an apparatus (centrifuge) for studying the friction of dissolved particles during their motion in the dissolver."

White Guards Repentant

(In the November SOVIET RUSSIA we printed a short article, "Plans for New Pogroms", in which the name of General Slashchev appears as that of a prominent and active counterrevolutionist. General Slashchev has since agreed to work with the Soviet Government and is now again in Russia, as the following article points out. The reader is referred in this connection to the book reviews in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, which deal exhaustively with the problem of the reformed as well as the recalcitrant intellectuals.)

AN official statement issued by the Soviet Government announces the arrival in Soviet Russia of several officers formerly prominent in Wrangel's Crimean army who recently fled from Constantinople. Among these was a former chief commander in the White Guard Crimean army, Lieutenant General Slashchev, the former Assistant War Minister in Wrangel's Crimean Government, Major General Milkovsky, the former chief of the Sevastopol garrison, Colonel Gilbich, and

also Colonel Mezernitzky and Captain Voinakhovsky.

General Slashchev's name is associated with many painful moments for the Soviet Government, the official statement points out, and with many of the hopes and plans of international counter-revolution. After the Crimean debacle Slashchev retired from active participation in the counter-revolutionary movement; and yet his former activity makes it important to understand his motives

and those of his companions in returning to Soviet Russia. General Slashchev and the other officers who returned with him were essentially soldiers rather than politicians. It was only after their defeat that many of Wrangel's officers and soldiers discovered that they had been mere tools for international counter-revolutionary adventures and that the "Great Russia" so loudly proclaimed in their circles had real existence only in Soviet Russia, where the toiling masses struggled heroically for a glorious future. Slashchev and his companions admit that they are ignorant of socialism, but they are offering their services to the Soviet Government as the only government of the Russian people capable of representing the nation before foreign powers, the only government which is supported by an overwhelming majority of the people and which alone can save Russia from the ruin wrought by prolonged war and stubborn counter-revolutionist destruction. Slashchev has declared in a public statement: "Although not a Communist nor even a Socialist, I consider the Soviet Government the only government representing my native country and the interests of the entire people. It vanquishes all opposing movements and completely satisfies the demands of the majority. As a soldier, I belong to no party, but wish to serve the people, and wholeheartedly submit to the government established by them." General Milkovsky declares: "I was moved to return because I learned the truth about Soviet Russia and because I did not desire to participate in any new attempts against Soviet Russia, which are only useless adventures profitable to foreign imperialists and harmful to Russia. I wish to serve my native country and people and the government which enjoys the support of the great majority and which in four years has recreated the regenerated Russia out of complete ruin." Similar declarations were made by Colonel Gilbich and the other officers.

The official statement issued by the Soviet Government expresses the conviction that Slashchev and his companions represent the sentiments prevailing among the mass of civilian and military Russian refugees languishing in foreign countries under most frightful conditions, merely lacking the courage of these pioneers who bravely returned to their native country to face judgment before the workers and peasants. The Soviet Government has pardoned the new arrivals for all their past transgressions against the people, and announces that all truly repentant counter-revolutionists will be given the possibility of participating in the regeneration of the country. The doors of the Workers' and Peasants' Russia are open to all who acknowledge their past errors and who are determined to serve honestly the toiling people. Anyone who abuses this generosity of the Workers' Government by counter-revolutionary activities will

meet with severe punishment. The official statement concludes: "Information presented by Slashchev and others proves quite unmistakably that influential circles in France and England and other countries have by no means renounced new attempts against Russia. The Soviet Government must maintain all its vigilance. Yet the very fact of the voluntary return to Soviet Russia of the most prominent members of Wrangel's army shows the deep decay in the White Guard ranks, which is making it ever more difficult for foreign imperialists to use the Russian White armies as cannon fodder for their predatory plans."

Upon his return to Soviet Russia, General Slashchev issued the following appeal to his former fellow officers and soldiers in the Wrangel Army and to other Russian refugees abroad:

"Since 1918 Russian blood has flowed in inter-necine war. Many have styled themselves the people's champions. The White Guard Government has proved itself a fiasco, unsupported by the people. The Whites, being vanquished, fled to Constantinople. The Soviet Government is the only power representing the Russian country and people. I, Slashchev-Krimsky, call upon you, officers and soldiers, to submit to the Soviet Government and to return home. Otherwise you will prove to be the hirelings of foreign capital, and what is worse, hirelings against your native country and people. Any minute you may be sent to invade Russian territory. For this, of course, you will be paid, but your taskmasters will derive all the material and territorial gains, will enslave the Russian people, and the people will curse you. You are frightened by the bogey of alleged repressions inflicted on returning Whites. Coming here to investigate, I found that all the past is forgotten. I arrived accompanied by General Milkovsky, Colonel Gilbich, several officers, and my wife. And now, as one of the former supreme commanders of the Volunteer Army, I command you 'follow me'. Do not believe any calumnies against Russia and do not dare sell yourselves for war against Russia. I order you to submit to the Soviet Government for the defense of your native country and your people.

"(Signed) SLASHCHEV."

November 21, 1921.

Major General Milkovsky and Colonel Gilbich added their signatures to Slashchev's appeal with the following note:

"Being of the same mind with Slashchev, and adding our signatures to his present appeal, we on our part appeal to all who know and trust us and who sincerely love their native country to answer this call without the slightest hesitation.

"(Signed) MILKOVSKY

"GILBICH."

RUSSIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO REGULATE IMMIGRATION

(A Communication signed by Mr. Heller and bearing the seal of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia)

The Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia, which is the department of industry of the Russian Republic, has appointed as its representative in the United States Mr. A. A. Heller, formerly Director of the Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York. Mr. Heller is authorized by the Supreme Council to represent it in the United States, especially in connection with the organization of groups of workers and technicians to take part in the economic reconstruction of Russia.

Following the line of the new economic policy of the Soviet Government, the Supreme Council of National Economy is inviting organized groups of workers, agricultural and industrial co-operatives, partnerships, groups, etc., to come to Soviet Russia for the purpose of leasing or taking on concession, industrial establishments, factories, mills, agricultural colonies, etc., in accordance with recent decrees of the Soviet Government. The Supreme Council of National Economy also invites engineers, skilled mechanics, electricians, miners, builders, and trained men in all branches of industry, to come and take part in the building up of the economic life of Russia. For the development of Russian agriculture, it invites also farmers, especially organized agricultural colonies, to come and introduce modern methods of agriculture and machine farming in Soviet Russia.

While technicians and skilled men are thus invited to Russia to undertake special tasks, it must be understood that this does not imply at this time an opening of the Russian border to general immigration. On the contrary, the Russian border remains closed to general immigration until further notice, and only those who come under the head "Industrial Immigration" will be admitted.

The regulations governing industrial immigration to Soviet Russia are set forth in the decree of the Soviet Government of June 29, 1921,

"Industrial enterprises which, by reason of their equipment, or because of other particular conditions, are suitable for operation by foreign workers, may be turned over to such workers organized into Artels, Co-operatives, etc., on the basis of lease in accordance with the Decree on Leases, or on any other basis that may be found suitable, such enterprises to enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, which will be determined in each case between the contracting parties, and to be under the supervision of the Supreme Council of National Economy."

The representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy in the United States will work in conjunction with the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia in the U. S. and Canada, Room 303, 110 West 40th Street, New York City, to whom inquiries and correspondence should be addressed.

A. A. HELLER.

*Representative of the Supreme Council
of National Economy of R. S. F. S. R.,
110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.*

"LET US GO TO RUSSIA"

Under the above title the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia on December 13, 1921, issued the following appeal to Russian workers in America, which has since been printed in a number of Russian newspapers in America:

"The Supreme Council of National Economy has appointed Comrade A. A. Heller its representative in North America, charging him to undertake the organization of industrial immigration to Russia.

"To carry out the enterprise of industrial immigration, the Supreme Council of National Economy requests the *Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia*, through Comrade Heller, to organize those who desire to go to Russia in industrial groups, co-operatives, artels, etc., and also to supply Soviet Russia with the necessary experts in the various branches of technology and industry.

"Comrades, this is a short communication, but one that is very significant for the Russian colony and all other persons interested in Soviet Russia.

"While the Russian borders will remain closed to general immigration, they will be opened wide for the organized workers who are ready to put their knowledge and skill to the reconstruction of the country's economic life.

"The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia may now proceed to carry out its principal task, the sending of shock battalions to the economic front for the final defeat of Soviet Russia's worst enemy—economic disorganization.

"The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia opens wide the doors to the workers of the Russian colony and to all true friends of Soviet Russia and invites them to translate their words into actions.

*"The Central Bureau of the Society
for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia
in the United States and Canada.*

"F. WILGA, Secretary."

"110 West 40th Street,
"Room 303, New York."

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

Printed in booklet form (85 pages). Complete official text of the laws regulating marriage and divorce, civil status and domestic relations, rights and duties of husbands, wives and children, property rights of children and parents, guardianship, inheritance, etc. Copies of this booklet sent postpaid for 25c each.

Send orders and remittances to

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th St.,

New York, N. Y.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE Index to Volume V of SOVIET RUSSIA has been received from the printer and will be forwarded to all libraries on our subscription list. Other readers desiring to receive it must request it by mail, enclosing a two-cent stamp, before February 1. The bound volume for July-December, 1921 is also ready for delivery, as announced elsewhere in this issue.

* * *

BEGINNING with the next number SOVIET RUSSIA will become the official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The enthusiastic and generous interest which our readers have shown in the cause of famine relief give assurance that this arrangement will meet with general approval and support. The magazine will continue under the editorship of Dr. Jacob W. Hartmann who will also become the publisher, conducting the paper in the interest of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Readers of SOVIET RUSSIA may thus be assured that their paper will maintain its present high editorial standard and will take on the added interest of being the official spokesman for this great working class appeal on behalf of the Russian Worker. SOVIET RUSSIA will continue the publication of articles by revolutionary leaders, as well as official documents of the Soviet Government. In addition it will include news of the famine relief campaign of the Friends of Soviet Russia and the official reports of that organization.

The principle of the Friends of Soviet Russia is: "A working-class appeal to save the Russian workers' revolution." That has always been, and will continue to be the principle of SOVIET RUSSIA.
The Publisher.

* * *

EACH year *The New York Times* appeals to its readers for contributions of money to aid "The Hundred Neediest Cases" in New York, which are fully described at the beginning of the annual drive for this collection, a few weeks before Christmas. Last year (1920) the total amount gathered was \$111,126, and the 1921 gifts may reach the same sum. As we go to press this figure has not yet been announced, but a recent issue of the *Times* tells us that \$11,039.56 was received on December 13, \$6,124.38 on December 13, and

\$4,775.83 on December 15. It is right that those that suffer from the results of the present system in America should receive assistance, and the reflection that the beneficiaries of these gifts are necessarily few in number makes one regret that larger things are not done. The *Times* explains that no mere temporary charity is intended, but that substantial sums are to be distributed to the families in question, so that they may be assured of support for a year at least. The Russian Revolution also needs support: millions in Russia are in a worse plight than even the "hundred neediest" in New York, and their situation is so hopeless that Mr. George Barr Baker writes to the *Times* to say that there is no sense in feeding them temporarily, as it may be necessary to let them starve a few months later anyway. The many for whom the accomplishments of the Russian Revolution are a promise of a new life are beginning to send large cargoes of foods, clothing, and other supplies to the Soviet Government for distribution to its starving people. But they are not sending enough. Even "The Friends of Soviet Russia", who are the most energetic and successful of the collecting agencies that appeal directly for aid to the American workers on the ground that support must be given to the Russian Revolution and to the population that is attempting to safeguard its victories, has not been obtaining as large a response as Russia needs. On the same days when the receipts of *The New York Times* for the "Hundred Neediest Cases" were respectively \$11,039.56, \$6,124.38, and \$4,775.83, the Friends of Soviet Russia report that they received the following sums: \$2,000.89, \$2,010.29, and \$2,027.20.*

This must change. It is time for Americans to wake up. The Russian Soviet Government needs food for its people, and it needs to receive it from the workers, particularly the workers of America, who in spite of the hard times now and the harder times that are coming, are still better able than the workers elsewhere to do something for Russia.

* * *

NEWs of interference with the relief action of the Polish workers for their comrades in Russia has reached us on several occasions. We now learn, from a communication from Warsaw, dated November 18, signed L. Georges, to a German newspaper, that on that day Fridtjof Nansen was enthusiastically received at Warsaw, while the "liberal" Polish Minister of the Interior, Downarowicz, on the same day wrote the Workers' Relief Committee, forbidding them to continue their activities for Russian relief and ordering them to disband their local branches all over the country. The basis on which this order was issued was the notorious Paragraph 6 of the Police Regulations on Associations "giving evidence of immoral tendencies" or "disturbing the

*But we are informed that the Friends of Soviet Russia on the following day, December 15, received from its contributors \$5,785.99.

peace". At the Nansen dinner, which was attended by Minister Downarowicz, fervent speeches were delivered, expressing Poland's gentle human kindness toward Russia. Nansen's stomach must have turned to hear them, for he is a man of honest purpose and courage, as his recent remarks at Geneva showed. Perhaps he would not have countenanced the Polish officials by dining with them if he had known what they were doing in their own country while professing the gentlest and most humane feelings for Russia.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The Friends of Soviet Russia send us the following account of their recent activities:

During the first few months of our work, the main emphasis was laid on the organization of permanent local Conferences in the cities of the United States and Canada, who arrange the holding of meetings at which appeals are made for funds, as well as on the circulation of subscription lists for the collection of money from individuals. These methods were effective and yielded \$250,000 by the end of November.

It has been felt desirable to put forth additional effort in new fields of money-raising, and stress is now being laid on the necessity of keeping the friends of the working-class revolution in Russia fully informed as to the course of the Famine Work and the needs that yet remain unfilled, in order to stimulate them to further efforts in the gathering of the needed funds. With this object in view, the Friends of Soviet Russia have already published three issues of a semi-monthly *Bulletin*, which is distributed free to all active workers in the field and to all contributors to the collections whose names and addresses are known. In addition, a series of pamphlets describing and picturing famine conditions is about to be issued, which will be sold at a low price; these pamphlets will not only encourage their readers to make further donations to Famine Relief, but the sale of them will also yield a small profit which will be devoted entirely to the same purpose. Two of these pamphlets have already come from the press: "The Russian Famine in Pictures" (richly illustrated), and "Famine in Russia and Capitalism Abroad" (descriptions of famine conditions and the reactions they call forth in capitalist governments of foreign countries). The report of the Russian Famine Commission of the Near East Relief has so impressed the Executive Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia that it has purchased a large number of copies from *The Nation*, which is printing the pamphlet, and intends to sell it together with its own literature, and with the same purpose.

In addition to the sale of literature, interest in the Russian famine conditions will also be kept awake by means of stereopticon lectures and moving-picture exhibitions (the latter without lectures). These will depend for their profit on

the gate receipts, as collections will be limited, in the main, to the larger mass-meetings, addressed, as heretofore, by prominent speakers, who will continue traveling from city to city, talking to gatherings that are being efficiently organized by the Local Conferences and the special organizers assigned to the task. One of our speakers, William Z. Foster, after completing a very successful lecture tour through the Middle West, is now moving eastward, speaking at Pittsburgh, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Wilmington, late in December, and will address a number of meetings in New York in January. The sale of Foster's book "The Russian Revolution" has been an important factor in the raising of money at his meetings, as well as the auctioning of 1000-ruble Soviet notes, autographed by Foster, which have brought all the way from \$5 to \$100 a piece.

The National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia is at 201 West 13th Street; the Treasurer is Jacob W. Hartmann, who is also Editor of *SOVIET RUSSIA*. There is every indication that the total amount collected will be considerably more than \$300,000 by December 31, 1921.

"FAMINE RELIEF FUND"

As a result of an appeal published in our September issue contributions to the amount of \$2,678.99 were received for the "Famine Relief Fund" of *SOVIET RUSSIA*. The All-Russian Non-Partisan Relief Committee of Moscow, to which we had originally intended to transmit these contributions, was disbanded before any contributions were received. Notice of this circumstance was sent to each contributor and in accordance with instructions from the contributors the donations were turned over by us to various organizations collecting funds for Russian Famine Relief. All contributions concerning which we received no instructions, after due notice to the donors, were turned over to the American Friends' Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., the organization of the Quakers which applies all donations for Russian relief to the purchase of food and medicines without any deductions for expenses. The books of the "Famine Relief Fund" of *SOVIET RUSSIA* are now closed and all records have been turned over to Certified Accountants for audit. Any contributors to this fund desiring information as to the disposition of their donations should write to: Michael Schimmel & Associates, Certified Public Accountants, 1170 Broadway, New York City.

"Famine Relief Fund" of *SOVIET RUSSIA*,
H. S. REIS, Treasurer.

MORE ON THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

In addition to the Note of July 19 and the Note of November 2, the latter printed on Page 11, protesting against the disregard of Russia by the powers assembled at Washington, the Soviet Government, according to press dispatches of December 13, addressed a third communication to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan, protesting specifically against the discussion of the Chinese Eastern Railway at the Washington Conference without the participation of Russia. The Chinese Eastern Railway, this note is reported to declare, is the exclusive concern of China and Russia. In 1918 the Soviet Government expressed its willingness to hand over the Chinese Eastern Railway to China under certain conditions. Pending the conclusion of an agreement on this point between China and Russia, the Soviet Government claims that its rights with respect to the Railway remain in force and cannot be set aside by a conference to which Russia is not a party.

Agreements with Relief Organizations

(Contracts with Frithjof Nansen and the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

I.

THE NANSEN AGREEMENT

AGREEMENT between Dr. Frithjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Russian Relief appointed by the Geneva Conference, and George Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Whereas the Russian Government has learned that a Conference was recently held at Geneva, Switzerland, at which eighty delegates of Governments and private organizations were represented, to consider the measures to be taken to render assistance to the famine and disease-stricken areas of Russia; and

Whereas Dr. Nansen has accepted the invitation of this conference to act as high commissioner to co-ordinate the various activities, governmental and private, deriving their authority from the said conference; and

Whereas Dr. Nansen has arrived at an agreement in regard to the despatch and distribution of supplies to be furnished to Russia by voluntary societies, the main lines of which are contained in Annex A of this agreement; and

Whereas Dr. Nansen has conferred with the Russian Government as to the extent of the needs of the afflicted areas, and as to the physical factors, climatic and transport, which limit the assistance which can be effectively rendered; and

Whereas the Russian Government has furnished information contained in Annex 2 of this agreement, which shows in detail the extent to which relief is required in each of the provinces, and the methods by which relief can best be sent to these provinces; and as this information shows clearly that the amount of relief required far surpasses the maximum aid which can be rendered either by gifts or by the efforts of European charitable organizations—

Therefore the Russian Government, realizing that funds are required to prevent a catastrophe, which would not only bring appalling misery to vast numbers of Russians but also have lasting effect on the economic life of Europe; requests Dr. Nansen, in their name, at once to approach European Governments to secure a credit for Russia of \$10,000,000, which sum, although not in any way adequate to meet the present condition, would enable immediate steps to be taken to counteract the existing distress.

In requesting Dr. Nansen to undertake this mission on these lines, the Russian Government expresses itself willing to undertake the following obligations towards the Governments providing the loans:

- (a) The Russian Government, on being informed of the credits which would be found by any one Government, will furnish that Government or any organization formed by it with forms of request signed by the Russian Government, and containing a clause binding the Russian Government to give relief bonds, somewhat in the form attached, for the value of commodities delivered;
- (b) As soon as the credits are announced, the Russian Government will, in conjunction with Dr. Nansen, draw up a detailed programme of the commodity requirements, and of the ports at which they are to be delivered; and the lending Government, or Dr. Nansen, will make, through qualified experts, the most economical arrangements possible for the purchase and shipment of the supplies;
- (c) In cases where the sea transport ends at a port outside Russia (e. g., Riga), the arrangements for transport on rail to the Russian frontier will be carried out by Dr. Nansen, in conjunction with the neighboring Governments concerned;
- (d) Delivery of supplies will be taken against bills of

lading or other documents to be signed by duly authorized representatives of the Russian Government at the frontier stations or the Russian ports concerned;

- (e) Distribution of supplies should be undertaken by the International Russian Relief Executive Committee in Moscow, constituted in accordance with the provisions of Clause 1 of the agreement contained in Annex 1, and on which a limited number of representative of the principal lending Governments will be added, and the provisions with regard to distribution and supervision shall apply *mutatis mutandis*.
- (f) In order effectively to supervise the distribution both of gifts furnished by voluntary organizations and of any supplies furnished against governmental relief credits, the Russian Government undertakes to allow Dr. Nansen, with the approval of the Russian Soviet Government, to send into Russia such personnel as he finds necessary for the relief work, and the Russian Government guarantees them full liberty and protection while in Russia.

In addition, the Russian Government agrees to accord Dr. Nansen the same facilities which have been accorded to the American Relief Administration in Clauses 2—6, 13—17, 18—21, 25, and 27 of the agreement made with the American Relief Administration at Riga on August 20, 1921, and signed by M. Litvinov on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Dr. Nansen undertakes that his personnel in Russia will confine themselves strictly to the administration of relief, and will engage in no political or commercial activity whatever.

Dr. Nansen will carry on his operations where he considers relief can be administered most effectively and with the best results. His principal object is to bring relief to the famine-stricken areas of the Volga.

(Signed) GEORGE CHICHERIN,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(Signed) FRITHJOF NANSEN,
High Commissioner for Russian Relief
appointed by the Geneva Conference.

Moscow, August 27, 1921.

ANNEX A

Dr. Nansen, High Commissioner for Russian Relief appointed by the conference held at Geneva on August 15, 1921, and Mr. G. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, representing the Russian Soviet Government, have agreed upon the following principles of European voluntary effort to help the famine-stricken population in Russia:

- (1) A commission shall be formed in Moscow, which shall be called the "International Russian Relief Executive," consisting of one representative of Dr. Nansen acting on behalf of the International Relief Conference, Geneva, and one representative of the Russian Government.
- (2) The I. R. R. E. shall alone decide with regard to the distribution of supplies to Russia by the I. R. C. G., or any other organization acting in conjunction with it.
- (3) The supplies thus sent to Russia shall remain the absolute requisition property of the I. R. C. G., until their final distribution.
- (4) All supplies sent to the I. R. R. E. for distribution will be delivered free at the Russian frontier.
- (5) In the case of supplies sent by sea to Russian ports, the Russian Government undertakes to secure their discharge in accordance with ordinary commercial

conditions. In case of failure in this respect, the Russian Government will bear the liability for the consequent expense.

- (6) The Russian Government undertakes to transport, free of cost, all supplies from the Russian frontier to the distributing centres. The I. R. R. E. shall have the right to supervise the transport of these supplies.
- (7) The I. R. R. E. shall decide the general lines on which detailed relief action shall be carried out, and for this the Russo-American Agreement of August 20, 1921, shall serve as basis.
- (8) In the interests of systematic distribution and of the best possible use of transport facilities, the Russian Government undertakes to make use, as far as possible, of the I. R. R. E. for distribution of all free gifts sent from outside Russia to relieve the famine, and to inform the I. R. R. E. of all such free gifts, of whatever origin, sent from outside Russia for that purpose. This does not affect the arrangements already made between the Russian Government and the American Relief Administration.

DRAFT BOND TO BE FURNISHED BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AGAINST SUPPLIES OBTAINED BY MEANS OF GOVERNMENTAL CREDITS

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF CREDITS OBLIGATION OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

RELIEF SERIES "A" OF 1921 No.....

The Russian Government, for value received, undertakes to pay the..... Government on January 1, 1931, the sum of £.....sterling, on which principal sum interest will be paid half yearly, on January 1 and July 1, at the rate of 6 per cent per annum.

The Russian Government undertakes to pay in the currency of both principal and interest, on the appointed date, to.....

Payment of principal and interest on this obligation shall be free from all taxation within Russia or its possessions. This bond is one of a series of obligations of the same nature, and no payment shall be made by the Russian Government for principal and interest on this series of bonds unless a similar payment is correspondingly made in respect of the other relief obligations belonging to the same series.

This series of obligations shall be first charged on the assets and revenues of the Russian Government, and shall have priority, until repaid in full, over any payments made by the Russian Government as a consequence of previous governmental debts of any description whatever.

(Signed) On behalf of the Russian Government.

II.

TRADE UNION RELIEF

(Text of Agreement between the Famine Relief Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in the text called the Commission, and the International Federation of Trade Unions, called the I. F. T. U.)

(1) In accordance with the rights which the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic shall grant to the I. F. T. U., the latter body shall appoint its representative in Russia, in order to provide the famine-stricken Russian population with foodstuffs, medicaments, and clothing.

(2) The I. F. T. U. shall establish at Petrograd a central office under the management of its special authorized representative in order to carry out the above-mentioned object.

(3) The representatives of the I. F. T. U. travelling to Russia shall receive visas to their passports, in accordance with the general provisions of the R. S. F. S. R. In Russia these representatives shall receive the necessary credentials from the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and from the Commission.

(4) The Russian Soviet Government shall grant to the representatives of the I. F. T. U., when carrying out their duties in Russia, the same protection and the same personal rights which the representatives of other relief organizations (American Relief Administration, German Red Cross, Nansen Relief) enjoy in Russia.

(5) The foodstuffs, medicaments, and other articles sent to Russia by the I. F. T. U. shall be admitted without payment of any duty, and shall be loaded, transported, and unloaded free of charge, and receive preferential treatment on all railways and other means of transport of the R. S. F. S. R. The Staff of the I. F. T. U. shall also enjoy preferential rights in the use of all means of conveyance and communication when carrying out their duties in connection with the relief work. Lists of the goods to be transported by the I. F. T. U. to Russia shall be submitted before they are shipped to the foreign representative of the Commission.

(6) The representatives of the I. F. T. U. in Russia shall refrain from all political activity, and shall abstain from interfering with the domestic affairs of Russia.

(7) The I. F. T. U. shall have the right to make use of the post and telegraph services free of charge in the discharge of their duties.

(8) The Soviet Government shall place at the disposal of the I. F. T. U. all storing, housing, and office accommodation necessary for the relief work, free of charge, and shall give it the utmost assistance in obtaining fuel and all other material required.

(9) All goods of the I. F. T. U. shall remain entirely and without question its own property.

(10) The I. F. T. U. shall act in all respects in conformity with the Commission and other interested Governmental bodies. In order to maintain relations between the Central Office of the I. F. T. U. at Petrograd and the Commission the latter shall appoint a delegate in the central office.

(11) The present agreement shall become operative after it has been signed by the Executive of the Commission and confirmed by the Executive of the I. F. T. U. at Amsterdam.

(12) The present agreement has been drawn up in duplicate, one copy being deposited with the Commission and the other copy with the official representative in Petrograd.

For the International Federation of Trade Unions,

EDO FIMMEN

P. GRASSMANN.

For the Famine Relief Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,

S. BRATMAN BRODONSKI

V. KOPP

I. JONNOV.

Berlin, October 18, 1921.

**VOLUME FIVE
SOVIET RUSSIA**

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Mongolia and Soviet Russia

(A delegation from the People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia arrived at Moscow on October 22, 1921, for the purpose of concluding a friendly agreement with Soviet Russia. The Delegation consisted of the following: Minister of Finance and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, Danzan; War Minister and Commander in Chief of the People's Revolutionary Army of Mongolia, Sukhe-Bator; Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia, Tseren- and by Boris Filipovich Getz, on behalf of Soviet Russia:) Dandin.

On November 5 the following agreement between the Governments of Mongolia and Soviet Russia was signed by the members of the Delegation in behalf of Mongolia and by the head of the Far Eastern Section of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, Sergey Ivanovich Dukhovskiy, and by Boris Filippovich Getz on behalf of Soviet Russia:)

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC AND THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF MONGOLIA

In view of the fact that all the previous agreements and treaties concluded between the former Tsarist Government of Russia and the former government of autonomous Mongolia, which was forced to sign such treaties by the cunning and predatory Tsarist policy, have become null and void owing to the new state of affairs in both countries, the present People's Government of Mongolia on the one hand and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic on the other hand, moved by a sincere desire to bring about free and friendly relations and collaboration between the two neighboring peoples, have decided to enter into negotiations with this end in view, for which purpose they have appointed the following representatives: For the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic: Sergey Ivanovich Dukhovskiy and Boris Filipovich Getz; for the People's Government of Mongolia: Danzan, Sukhe-Bator, Tseren-Darzhi, and Erdevan-Shirindin-Dandin, who, after having exchanged their credentials, which were found to be drawn up in the proper form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic recognizes as the only legal government of Mongolia the People's Government of Mongolia.

Article 2.

The People's Government of Mongolia recognizes as the only legal government of Russia the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Article 3.

Both contracting parties mutually agree:

1. Not to permit in their territory the creation or sojourn of governments, organizations, groups or individuals, who aim to wage war against the other party or to depose its government and the governments of states allied with it; also, not to allow on its territory any mobilization or voluntary recruiting among its own citizens or citizens of foreign countries, for armies hostile to the other party.

2. To prevent, by taking all necessary measures, the importation into their territory, or the territory of allied governments, or the transport through them, of arms belonging to or destined for any organizations making war directly or indirectly upon one of the parties, and which may be used in such warfare.

Article 4.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic shall send its fully authorized representative to the capital of Mongolia and its consuls to the cities of Kobdo, Uliassutay and Altan-Bulak, and others, in accordance with an agreement with the People's Government of Mongolia.

Article 5.

The People's Government of Mongolia shall send its fully authorized representative to the capital of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and also its consuls to

the frontier territories of Russia, in accordance with an agreement with the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Article 6.

The Government frontier line between Russia and Mongolia shall be established by a special commission, created by virtue of a special agreement between the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the People's Government of Mongolia, which will be concluded as soon as possible.

Article 7.

Citizens of each one of the Parties, having their sojourn on the territory of the other Party, enjoy the same rights and perform the same duties as citizens of the most favored nations.

Article 8.

The judicial power of each of the contracting parties in civil as well as in criminal matters shall apply to citizens of either contracting party dwelling in the territory of the other party, but both parties, being guided by the high principles of civilization and humanity, repudiate the use by their judicial commissions or commissions of inquiry of any such measures of punishment or of inquisition as might cause physical pain or humiliate the moral feelings.

Both parties agree that in case one of the contracting parties should grant to parties of some third country special privileges in the matter of criminal jurisdiction, court procedure, or execution of sentences, these privileges shall automatically be extended also to apply to the citizens of the other contracting party.

Article 9.

Citizens of both contracting parties, when importing or exporting goods beyond the boundaries of the other country, destined for trade, shall pay the duties established by the laws of the country in question, which duties shall not exceed those paid by citizens of the most favored nation for export and import of the same goods.

Article 10.

The Russian Soviet Government, wishing to assist the wise measures of the People's Government of Mongolia in the matter of organizing postal and telegraphic exchanges, independent of the predatory interference of world imperialism, which are indispensable for the cultural development of the laboring masses of Mongolia, turns over without compensation, as full property of the Mongolian people, all the buildings of telegraphic offices with their telegraphic equipment which have belonged to the Russian Republic and are located within the boundaries of Mongolia.

Article 11.

Taking into consideration the importance of settling the questions of postal and telegraphic communications between Russia and Mongolia, as well as the transfer of telegraphic correspondence through Mongolia, in order to strengthen the mutual cultural and economic relations between the peoples of both countries, the two parties agree that a special agreement on this subject shall be concluded in the shortest possible time.

Article 12.

The People's Government of Mongolia declares that Russian citizens possessing land or buildings in Mongolia

shall enjoy the same rights of ownership, lease, transfer of deeds for building purposes, and to apply to them the same methods of collecting taxes, lease payments, and other payments, and in the same amount, as are established and applied, or which may be established and applied, in regard to citizens of the most favored nation.

Article 13.

This present agreement, drawn up in two copies, in the Russian and Mongolian languages, shall be in force from the moment of signature.

Drawn up in Moscow on the fifth day of November, of the one thousand nine hundred and twenty-first year of the European chronology, and on the sixth day of the tenth Moon, of the eleventh year of the Mongolian chronology.

(Signed)

DUKHOVSKY
GETZ

DANZAN
SUKHE-BATOR

SHIRINDIN-DANDIN
TSEREN DARZHI

FOREIGN VESSELS IN RUSSIAN PORTS

(Regulations issued by the Council of People's Commissars for the registration of crews of foreign vessels arriving at or departing from the ports of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, published in "Izvestia", November 4, 1921.)

(A) **THE IDENTIFICATION OF CREWS ON THE ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF VESSELS.** On arrival, the captain of the vessel must hand to the local officer of the Maritime Control (representatives of the special department of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission) the ship's roll and register, together with two copies of a list of all persons arriving with the vessel. The personal certificate issued by the authorities of the country of departure must be presented for each and every individual mentioned in the register. The ship's roll, register, and certificates are endorsed on arrival by the officer of the Maritime Control, and after verification are returned to the captain. The aforementioned two copies of the register of persons on board the vessels are retained by the officer of the Maritime Control.

Note 1.—In cases where, for reasons of urgent necessity, any member of the crew has been replaced, the captain must, on presentation of the ship's roll and register, in collaboration with the local authorities, draw up a report declaring the reasons necessitating replacement, and enclosing the certificates of both men, the former member of the crew and the one replacing him.

Note 2.—Where persons have been discovered on board without sufficient reason and authority, a special report must be drawn up, and such persons are not permitted to go ashore during the whole period of the ship's stay in port. A copy of the report is transmitted to the nearest authoritative agent of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

(B) On the departure of the vessel, the captain must hand to the officers of the Maritime Control the ship's roll and the endorsed register of arrival, on which he must make a special note of all changes effected in the ship's crew during the stay in port. After verification, the ship's roll, the register, and personal certificates of the crew are endorsed by the officer of the Maritime Control. Without these endorsements the ship is forbidden to put to sea.

Note.—Persons engaged for service at ports of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic must be provided with the necessary documents before leaving the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(C) **LANDING, RESIDENCE IN THE TERRITORY OF THE TOWN, AND RETURN ON BOARD SHIP.** Permission to land in the territory of the port town is provided by the endorsement of the personal certificate by the Maritime Control on arrival [cf. (A)]. This same document, with its endorsement, constitutes a permit to reside outside the ship in the territory of the port town, but after the expiration of twenty-four hours' residence, registration in the usual

manner becomes obligatory. During the period of residence in the territory of the port town, foreign seamen are subject to all the laws and regulations of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. In particular, failure to fulfil the regulation concerning registration is liable to the usual penalty.

Note.—The endorsement of the Maritime Control is valid for the period of the ship's stay in port.

(C2) The conveyance of articles for personal use by members of the ship's crew into the port town and back again is governed by special regulations to be issued by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, in agreement with the People's Commissariat for Food, within two weeks of the publication of the present regulation.

(D) **THE ARREST AND DETENTION OF MEMBERS OF A SHIP'S CREW WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE PORT TOWN.** In the case of arrest or detention of a member of a ship's crew, the responsible administrative or judicial authority must inform within twenty-four hours from the moment of detention the nearest authoritative agent of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the fact, for the purpose of receiving instructions as to further procedure.

Note.—In no case may an arrest be effected on board a vessel.

(E) **FAILURE TO RETURN TO A VESSEL AND DESERTION.** (a) The Maritime Control, in conjunction with the captain of the vessel or his representative, will draw up a list of the members of the crew who have failed to return to the ship on its departure. In the course of the three days following the departure of a vessel, the local special department of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission shall register these members of the crew, take them into custody, and enter into arrangements with the proper authorities of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs for their return by the first available vessel, with the consent of the latter's captain. An account of the expense incurred by the detention of the absentees, and of their deportation, shall be transmitted to the appropriate department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, to be claimed from the responsible foreign government. On departure, captains of vessels whose governments have no representative in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic may deposit a sum of money with the appropriate department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in proportion to the number of absentees, to be employed as a security against the above mentioned expenses, in which case the absentees, on discovery, shall be sent back in accordance with the captain's directions.

(b) In the event of the non-appearance of the persons mentioned in the list of absentees within three days after the departure of the vessel, the Maritime Control shall institute a search. All persons or institutions cognizant of the whereabouts of the absentees are under obligation to file this information with the Maritime Control, without awaiting the latter's inquiry. Persons appearing, or discovered, after the lapse of three days, shall be handed over to the Maritime Control, who, after due examination of the circumstances, shall deport them in accordance with Paragraph E (a) of the present regulation, or detain them in its own custody.

V. ULIANOV (Lenin),
President of the Council of People's Commissars
N. GORBUNOV, Administrator
L. FOTIEVA, Secretary.

Moscow, Kremlin, October 8, 1921.

ENTRY OF FOREIGNERS INTO RUSSIA

In place of all regulations and decrees affecting the entry of foreigners into the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic previously published, the Council of People's Commissars decrees:

1. Entry into the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic may only take place by special permission of the plenipotentiary representatives of Russia abroad, in the form of a visa stamped on the passport.

Note—If there is no photograph on the passport submitted, one must be attached to the visa.

2. Persons desiring to receive permission to enter Russia make a declaration to this effect to the plenipotentiary representatives of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, attaching thereto their personal documents, with copies, and application forms as prescribed by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

3. Paragraph 1 applies equally to persons who have arrived in the territory of any other soviet republic and are desirous of entering the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

4. Persons who have entered the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic from abroad, or from the territory of any other soviet republic, by whatsoever means, without the permission indicated in Paragraph 1, will be committed by the authorities establishing their identity for trial by a popular court in the presence of six popular assessors, or by revolutionary tribunal as by law provided, and are liable to imprisonment, by decision of the latter, according to the provisions of the decree of March 21, 1921, concerning imprisonment and the conditional liberation of convicted persons.

5. The plenipotentiary representatives of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic abroad will take steps to make widely known, in the country to which they are accredited, the present regulations.

Chairman of the Council of People's
Commissars,
(Signed) V. ULIANOV (Lenin)
Administrator of Affairs of State,
N. GORBUNOV
Secretary,
L. FOTIEVA

Date.—Kremlin, Moscow, October 20, 1921.
Published.—*Izvestia*, October 28, 1921.

TREATY WITH AUSTRIA

(Press dispatches announce the signing of a political and economic treaty between Austria and Russia. The following account of the nature and significance of this document is by the Vienna correspondent of the London Daily Herald:)

A political and commercial treaty has just been concluded between the Austrian Republic on the one hand, and the Russian and the Ukrainian Soviet Republics on the other hand.

In its general context the joint agreement is similar to the Russo-German pact, and, undoubtedly, it is more far-reaching than the London-Moscow agreement.

Except for the Riga Treaty, which came into being under pressure of the Polish war, this is the first occasion upon which a foreign Power has granted formal political recognition to the Ukrainian Soviet Government.

As an immediate consequence of the new Treaty, various pseudo-representatives of the Ukraine, having so-called "legations" in Vienna, will pass into oblivion; while the Russian Embassy, withheld from its rightful occupants since Tsardom's eclipse, will doubtless be placed at the disposition of Moscow's accredited emissary.

Infinitely more important are the Treaty's economic fruits. I have good reason for believing that many Austrian industrialists who had been reluctant to enter the Russo-Ukrainian trading field prior to the completion of this agreement will now take advantage of their opportunities.

This applies especially to Austrian exports of electrical and agricultural machinery and of locomotives. Traders are already making proposals and planning to go to Russia to secure contracts.

Similarly, certain Austrian importers, seeking concessions for manganese ores, tobacco, flax and hemp will now do business with the Moscow and Kharkov Governments.

In the consummated treaty (of which I have received a

first copy) the following paragraphs are particularly significant:

Both the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics' emissaries in Austria are recognized as the sole representatives of their States in Austria.

Leaders of both Embassies are to enjoy all the privileges accruing to chiefs of acknowledged foreign missions. Such representatives shall exercise Consular functions.

Each representative is entitled to the unhampered use of radio stations and of the public postal services, as well as of couriers for open or cipher communication with his own Government and its emissaries in other lands.

The contracting Governments agree to hasten the resumption of postal, telegraphic and wireless communication between their countries.

Austrian representatives in Russia and the Ukraine shall serve as custodians of the economic interests of the Austrian Republic.

Russian and Ukrainian trade delegations in Austria are recognized as State trading centres and as legal deputations of their Governments.

Property of Russian and Ukrainian Missions in Austria shall receive the fullest protection provided by international law.

Validity of this Austro-Russian and Austro-Ukrainian Treaty dates from the moment of ratification by the contracting Governments. This will be announced in due form in diplomatic Notes.

The treaty may be abrogated upon six months' notice by any of the three contracting parties.

The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia

The full official text of the Soviet labor laws is given in this booklet of 80 pages. The right to work, protection of workers, labor distribution, compulsory labor, working hours, etc., are among the subjects treated in this code. There is a supplement on "Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia" by S. Kaplun, of the Commissariat of Labor. Sent postpaid for 25c per copy.

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110 West 40th St.,

New York, N. Y.

Peasant and Working Women in Soviet Russia

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

(Continued from last issue)

THE very thought of having women active in military affairs appears repugnant to bourgeois society. This society fears that it might tend to disrupt family ties and thereby undermine the functions of private ownership and class-rule.

Although during the imperialist war women were engaged in various kinds of war work throughout Europe, especially in England, this was not so much an actual government function as more or less a mere patriotic propaganda gesture.

The attitude towards the women who are called upon to render aid in the protection of the Workers' Republic in Soviet Russia is quite different. The Workers' Republic regards the function of women in the army for the self-defence of the country as just as essential as their sharing equally the burden of the chief economic problems. Therefore woman's work in military affairs is called for not only by temporary military expedients, as in an imperialist war, but for the safeguarding of vital interests. In the struggle during the transition period in Russia, in the interest of the New Proletarian State, it is the duty of every citizen not only to work, but also to perform military duties. The ability of each citizen is carefully considered in order to utilize it in the most essential manner. Women, because of the necessity of production, are not eliminated. The more extensive the support of the wide masses becomes, the more successfully does the Red Army of workers and peasants protect the country. The women particularly should be as much concerned in the victory of the Red Army at the front, as they are in the successful maintenance of the freedom granted them by the Soviet Government. The November Revolution, by abolishing inequality, proclaimed the women as equal citizens, according them all the rights of such. The contention of bourgeois society that women must be entirely dependent upon men has rapidly lost ground. Calling women to arms dispelled the last prejudices fostered by the bourgeoisie, reducing them to mere reminiscences of the past.

In 1917, when the first barricades for the class war were being erected, the women's part in the revolution became quite conspicuous. At the formation of the Red Guard, nurses' units were organized by women also. Voluntary groups to aid the brave fighter for the cause were instigated by the women.

However, the participation of women in war work has not been carried on according to a special plan. Only in 1918, when the Red Guard was transformed into the Great Red Army, when the Workers' Republic called upon men and women equally to support the front, was a definite plan for the utilization of women's services outlined.

At the very beginning, units of Communist Women were organized for the purpose of agitation and political work in the Army. A number of these political workers perished with their male comrades in the defence of the Proletarian Republic.

Communist women were also to be found as members of the military revolutionary councils. In the political branches of the Army a great organizing ability of the women has been discovered, as shown by the brilliant talented organizer Comrade Varsenica Kasparova.

Up to the present the number of women who have been actually performing military duties is not very great. But the militia system tends to bring about a fundamental change in the matter of extending the universal military training to the women. It will cause the women's military forces to become well organized. With the development of the new military machinery all the young women of the ages of 16 to 18 are obliged to drill equally with young men. Those under military age attend special courses for physical training and preliminary military drill. Universal Military Training has existed since June, 1920. Since then, in Moscow alone, over 1,000 women have had regular military training, while about 5,000 more are drilling at present.

Furthermore, the women have shown themselves very efficient in the medical units of the Red Army. Their heroism and self-sacrifice have been proved by their noble deeds. In 1919, special courses for Red Nurses were formed, and over 6,000 obtained nurses' certificates.

The following table shows the number of working and peasant women who completed these courses:

Year	No. of Red Nurses throughout Russia		No. of attendants In Moscow	
		In Moscow		In Moscow
1919	1,264	280	1,005	440
1920	2,442	...	1,193	447
	<hr/> 3,706	<hr/> 280	<hr/> 2,198	<hr/> 887

The working and peasant women have been the life of this work. They served as an inspiration to the soldiers, whom they regarded as comrades, not merely as our "poor soldier boys" as they were considered by the bourgeois lady-nurses. This comradely attitude plays a great part in the present struggle of Soviet Russia.

In the summer of 1921 the first graduation from the military courses for women in Petrograd took place. Besides the military training, special courses for women's field telephone and telegraph service have been founded. The last graduation

in Samara and Simbirsk in 1920 supplied active workers for the Southern and South Western fronts.

The military training conducted all over the country is for the purpose of creating strong reserve forces to guard the country against enemies.

So far the women have responded splendidly to every call issued by the Red Front during the past three years. The industrial centres have been especially responsive, having sent many women to the front. The proletarian women, owing to their class-consciousness, feel the strong ties between themselves, as free citizens of the Republic, and the success of the Red Army on the battlefield. While on the firing line women have faced danger fearlessly during the defensive war, and have shown unusual heroism and bravery, which has been noted by Chief Army Headquarters.

According to the statement issued by the latter, about 1854 women in the Red Army have been killed or wounded. A number of them have been taken prisoners of war, while a great many, such as physicians, nurses, members of machine gun corps, have been decorated with the Order of the Red Flag.

Women and Public Dining Rooms

In the organization and supervision of public dining rooms, women have done enormous work. Particular attention has been paid by them to the children's dining rooms. The women delegates do actual duty in these places, as for instance, in Kiev and in the Province of Moscow. Through the energy and the initiative of the women delegates, dining rooms have been opened at many factories and shops.

In the principal cities of Russia, practically all the population is being fed at the Public Dining Rooms. Thus the idea of relieving the women of their daily drudgeries is becoming more and more nearly realized. While no bourgeois government ever took steps towards freeing women from the humdrum of their daily existence, the Workers' Republic in three and one half years of revolution has already accomplished a good deal toward this end.

Child Welfare and the New Education

One of the problems nearest to the heart of the working women is that of child welfare and the new methods of education, which accounts for their active interest in this work. Special training courses for women attendants, instructors, and organizers of nurseries exist not only in the principal cities, but in many small towns of Russia. To all these schools the working women delegates are being sent. The working women delegates are sent to nurseries, kindergartens, children's homes, etc., to help organize and improve these institutions. Under the guidance of the communist women, a new atmosphere of child education on communist lines is created. The old forms of benevolent institutions for the "poor orphans",

such as existed under the bourgeois rule, have been entirely abolished. It is true that the lack of clothing, regular food supply, books, stationery, etc., serves as a great obstacle in transforming these institutions into model establishments. Nevertheless the communist women, thanks to their energy, have succeeded in awakening the interest of the working women in the children's homes and nurseries; through the efforts and invaluable energy of communist women, such as comrades Nikolayeva, Lilina, Elisarova, Dashen, and many others, this great but difficult work is developing rapidly.

Comrade Krupskaya (Ulianova-Lenin) and Menshinsky, are the initiators of the system of uniform labor schools.

Protection of Motherhood

The Women's Department keeps also in close contact with the Department of Child and Motherhood Welfare. The function of this committee is to enforce all the decrees pertaining to the welfare of motherhood which have been passed in the Soviet Republic. Owing to various circumstances, especially to the hard economic conditions brought about by the war, these laws have not been enforced as widely as necessary. These committees, under the supervision of the Women's Department, carry on a propaganda to protect mothers. Thus the working women themselves, becoming acquainted with the principal laws of safety in working conditions for pregnant and nursing mothers, assist in putting these laws into effect. Although since the revolution the principle of equal pay for equal work has been instituted, in reality the wages of most of the women are far lower than those of the men. As woman's skill in labor is not so highly developed as man's, women are therefore generally put into a lower wage category. Apparently little has been done to improve most unhealthy surroundings, which react harmfully upon the physical condition of the women. The Mothers' Welfare Committee must be on guard against all these evils. The committee enlists the cooperation of the working women in its task putting into effect decrees pertaining to the safety of labor for women. Guided by the committee the working women are on the lookout for pregnant working women; they improve sanitary conditions by installing wash stands, help organize public dining rooms in the workshops, etc.

In Ukraine, the women, under the guidance of Comrade Moirova, are doing splendid work along these lines. They organize in all enterprises little units for the protection of motherhood. There the working women are to be found at the head of many institutions: nurseries, kindergartens, children's homes, homes for mothers, etc. . .

The introduction of nurseries, so far, extends chiefly to the working women in the towns; it has rarely penetrated into the villages. The latter have but a few summer nurseries, which are especially needed during the season of field work.

Nevertheless, this problem will be solved successfully upon the material improvement of the general conditions in the country.

Abolition of Illiteracy

The working women have aided greatly in the campaign against illiteracy, having been called upon by the Women's Department of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party to help in this work. At present in a good many provinces women delegates are engaged in inspecting, organizing, and instructing in the schools. A good number of them are studying the principles of education.

The educational problem was very broadly discussed at all the women's conferences during the past few years. To solve the problem more successfully, the proletarian women on their own account have taken census of the illiterate female population, as the women of Yekaterinburg have done.

Women in the Law Courts

Women are also to be found in the courts of Russia in the capacity of jurors or judges. This has been especially popular among the oriental women of Russia. They have been living in domestic slavery for centuries, and are still oppressed by the heavy religious yoke. Now having been proclaimed free citizens by the laws of Soviet Russia they are entering upon a new life. They have begun to take an active part in the social life, having chosen the law courts as the first support for their freedom. The women of Bashkiria and Turkestan are already performing judiciary functions.

Working Women in the Schools

The Women's Department, in their search for the most essential utilization of women's working power, selects a number of women who are detailed to different schools.

The special attention of the working women is called to the courses of study on the "Protection of Childhood and Motherhood". The head of the National Department for the Protection of Childhood and Motherhood, Comrade Lebedeva, has organized these courses very ably and has succeeded in raising the general standard of this work, as well as of the training for Red Nurses and attendants.

The working women are also directed by the Women's Department to different Party Schools in which they form 10 per cent of the total attendance. In 1920, through the Women's Department, 3484 working and peasant women have been sent to party schools in 10 provinces.

At the Sverdlov University—the chief party school—a special section for the study of political work among women has been established.

Literary Propaganda among the Women

Besides these schools, meetings and other methods of oral propaganda, the Women's Department also

conducts an extensive literary propaganda. Seventy-four weekly papers issue a special page each week devoted to the woman question.

Besides this, the Central Women's Department issues a weekly bulletin in which it proposes the program for work, and delegates, instructions, theses for propaganda and various information dealing with the working women's movement. The Central Women's Department publishes also a monthly, "Communist Women" with a circulation of 30,000 copies.

The special literary Committee of the Central Women's Department supervises the issue of special literature, such as pamphlets, leaflets, etc., on questions dealing with the working women's movement. For the past half year over 400,000 copies of pamphlets dealing with problems concerning party work among the women have been issued by the Women's Department. The report of the First International Communist Women's Conference has also made its appearance recently.

Women and the Problems of Production

At the present time, when the Workers' Republic is faced with the problem of constructing a new economic system of production along communist lines, there arises the necessity of having women share the responsibility for this work.

The new form of the organization of labor is based on:

- 1) A precise registration and efficient distribution of all the labor forces of the Republic—women included.
- 2) Collective instead of individual housekeeping.
- 3) Reconstruction of the social standard of life on a new communist basis, so as to enable the women to contribute the whole amount of their labor to the production of common goods.

The appeal to both sexes for equal participation in the productive activity of the Labor State greatly alters the mutual relations of men and women. The dependence of woman upon her master and bread-giver, her husband, is rapidly vanishing. At present, the mighty Workers' Republic of Soviet Russia is the only bread-giver equally to men and women. "Those who work shall eat". The successful development of the new Commonwealth based on communism helps the women to gain more and more of a foothold in all phases of work. Since masses of men have been called to arms, women have entered all branches of state and industrial work. According to the information issued by the National Council of Trade Unions, women form a majority in many industries.

WOMEN IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Unions	Membership	Percentage of Women
Food Workers.....	230,000	...
Public feeding workers.....	100,000	74.5
White goods workers.....	140,000	74.2
Tobacco workers	30,000	73.5

Artists	250,000	71.4
Hospital and dispensary workers	300,000	62.6
Textile workers	335,000	58.8
Domestic workers .....	.....	53.2
Government employees	800,000	40.0
Glass and porcelain workers..	35,000	39.8
Printers	60,000	39.2
Art workers	80,000	37.3
Stationery workers	22,000	37.1
Chemical workers	130,000	31.0
Agricultural workers	200,000	25.0
Workers on communal farms	178,000	24.8
Metal workers	500,000	24.7
Transport workers	100,000	23.3
Leather workers	150,000	21.6
Miners	275,000	18.0
Woodworkers	100,000	14.9
Water transport workers.....	200,000	14.5
Railroad workers	1,000,000	14.2

There are but few industries in which women are not represented. But, although the women are predominant in many industries, their representation in factory administration committees is still very limited. So for example: in the executive administrative bodies of the textile industry in 38 provinces there are about ten women members out of a total of 194, with the exception of Kostroma, where women are in the majority on the board of management of the Unions.

Results

Without the vast mass of proletarian women on the labor front no effective success can be achieved. Nor is the full emancipation of ten million workers easily attained unless it is on a communist basis. It is not actually possible to form the machinery of the new Commonwealth without the help of women.

The Great Change

The great change brought about by the October Revolution has shown the workers the true light. The strain which they are bearing in this period of civil war has strengthened the will of the workers of both sexes. They now follow the great slogan of Karl Marx: "The workers shall gain their freedom by their own efforts". The working women in the cities, as soon as they became conscious of their rights, readily linked up their

chances for the future with those of Communism. But the awakening of the peasant women is coming much more slowly. Therefore it is the duty of the Party to find a way to arouse the class consciousness of the peasant women.

A great event is also taking place in Soviet Russia: the awakening of the Moslem women. In all the Eastern Republics of Soviet Russia, populated by Musulmen, the Women's Department is conducting very vital work. A great effort is made to rally these women to the banners of the Soviet Republics and Communism. Large conferences of working women have been held all over Eastern Russia; preparations for the First All-Russian Congress are in progress. A conference of Eastern women communists has recently taken place in Moscow. Communist women of Bashkiria, Kirgisia, Tataria, etc., dressed in their national costumes, but their faces covered by the veil prescribed by the Moslem religion, came to Moscow to their convention.

The Women's Department has also begun to work amongst the intellectual working women, such as teachers, writers, medical and telephone workers.

The enormously difficult work done by the Women's Department may be reviewed with joy and gratitude. Through the efforts of this Department the women have been drawn to all kinds of constructive social and state work and have become fully conscious of their citizen rights. We find the working or peasant woman engaged at various responsible tasks. She is at the head of a department, she acts as a commissar, she organizes public dining rooms, or directs the social care of children. She is represented in all phases of activity for the welfare of the State. She forms a part of the machinery of the new Commonwealth. Her interest in the work is greatly inspired by her duties as an equal citizen with man. The class-consciousness of the women has grown immensely in these three years of social revolution. Women's power of organization has expanded immensely, assuming a real mass character. It has become self-evident that without the cooperation of the proletarian women in the Workers' Republic, the solution of its many problems is impossible.

How the Soviet Government Works

1. THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(The following is the first of a series of articles on the institutions of the Soviet Government which we are reprinting from "Russian Information and Review", published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London.)

IN spite of the publication, over three years ago, of the Soviet constitution, the nature of the organs through which the Government functions, and the methods of its work still remain an impenetrable mystery to the vast majority of even its friends in western Europe and America. It is unnecessary to discuss here the reasons for this; it is sufficient to state, with no fear of contradiction, that very little is known of the supreme organs of authority in Russia except that they

issue decrees. The following sketches of the principal State organs are intended as an introduction to a wider and more detailed study of their work.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets was created as early as June, 1917, when the Soviets had not yet assumed State authority. From a central unified executive organization, elected by the General Congress of Soviets from all over Russia, it naturally became the central and, between congresses, the supreme legislative

body when the great change in the position of the Soviets took place in November, 1917.

The A. R. C. E. C., according to the constitution of July, 1918, which was based on the practice of twelve months, consisted of 200 members elected by the All-Russian Congress. This number was increased at the eighth congress in December, 1920, to 300 members. At first the builders of the Soviet constitution conceived of an A. R. C. E. C. as a legislative body in more or less permanent session, working, consequently, in much the same way as western Parliaments, although its functions were much wider. Further experience, however, showed that the demands of the working masses for constant control over and contact with their representatives, the ever-present danger that those representatives would lose the vital acquaintance with local conditions which is essential for a revolutionary government, and the extreme shortage of practised experienced administrative workers in the districts, all combined to make it impossible for the A. R. C. E. C. to remain constantly in session at Moscow. Since the beginning of 1920, therefore, the A. R. C. E. C. meets regularly once every two months for approximately a week. At these sessions it considers all decrees affecting political or economic life, or introducing radical changes into the existing State institutions. The regular reports of the People's Commissariats, or ministries, are considered at these sessions. The reports of the presidium, or standing committee, relative to the execution of the decisions of the last session during the intervening two months, and of various sub-committees appointed to work out specific questions, are also submitted and discussed.

In practice the net result has been that only those members of the A. R. C. E. C. remain in Moscow who are (1) engaged on work in one of the People's Commissariats or State inter-departmental commissions; or (2) detailed for specific work by the A. R. C. E. C. either as members of the presidium or as representatives of the A. R. C. E. C. on various public bodies. The majority of the members, however, are engaged between the sessions on important work in their own provinces, members of executive committees, chiefs of departments, and so on.

Detailed statistics are available to illustrate the work of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee between January 1 and May 1 of the current year. At the three sessions 700 questions of a current nature were discussed, 132 being brought forward by private members, seventy-five by the People's Commissariat for Transport, sixty-nine by the Supreme Appeal Tribunal, and so on. The nature of the questions discussed is as follows: 353 administrative (involving questions of provincial boundaries and control of the activity of the People's Commissariats and local executive committees) and 205 judicial (questions of amnesty, appeal, etc.)

During these four months thirty-five commissions were instituted. Of these, five were in con-

nection with draft projects for creating autonomous republics, five for reviewing the work of various institutions, four on questions of general administrative organization and questions of local government, four on judicial questions, and the remainder on economic questions and questions of the internal administration of the A. R. C. E. C. itself.

Characteristic of the work of the A. R. C. E. C. is its "waiting room" in which any worker or peasant can see members of the highest legislative authority in the country without any annoying formalities and through him approach the presidium of the A. R. C. E. C. This institution, in fact, realizes in real life the long-dreamt-of ideal of the most advanced democrats, namely, the right of private individuals to initiate public legislation — which has never before been attained so effectively. During these four months, 1667 such cases were registered, and 389 of them were raised by peasants.

To complete the picture of this unprecedented legislative body, which is at the same time a *working* institution, both as a unit and in the person of each of its members, it is necessary to quote from the standing orders of the A. R. C. E. C., published in December, 1919, the provisions relative to the members. No member may be arrested without the consent of the presidium or the chairman of the A. R. C. E. C.; traveling expenses of the members are allowed by the presidium when they are traveling on public work; they may take part in a consultative capacity in the proceedings of all local Soviets and executive committees; they have the right, on production of their mandate, of admission to all Soviet institutions and departments to obtain information on any point they require. On the other hand, no member of the A. R. C. E. C. may refuse to execute any task assigned to him by the presidium; every member must be actively engaged in Soviet work, either in a central or in a local organ of the Government; members of the A. R. C. E. C. who have failed to attend three successive sessions without adequate reasons forfeit their seats and are replaced by reserve members, or "candidates", elected at the same time as the A. R. C. E. C. at the All-Russian Congress; all members receive salary at fixed rates from the A. R. C. E. C., and receipt of additional salary or income from any source is forbidden.

Summarizing the foregoing, it is clear that the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is specifically the organ which co-ordinates the activities of the local Soviet authorities and of the central Soviet organs; legislating, administering, and exercising judicial functions at one and the same time. Its businesslike sessions and its quick and sensitive ear to the requirements of the masses make it a peculiarly successful example of the spirit of the Soviet Government.

The Recognition of the Debts

A Diplomatic Correspondence

I.

(Translation of a Note of the British Government, of November 2, handed by J. D. Gregory to the Russian Representative in London, Krassin, by order of Marquis Curzon of Kedleston.)

I acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of October 28, accompanied by a copy of the communication of Mr. Chicherin, on the matter of Russia's foreign debts. Mr. Chicherin, referring to the decisions passed by the Brussels Conference, declares that the suggestion to acknowledge "the old debts on certain conditions" at present corresponds with the intentions of the Soviet Government. It is further declared in the note that the Soviet Government is ready to recognize its obligations toward other governments and their citizens, arising on the basis of the national loans raised by the Tsar's Government before 1914, but solely under the condition that the great powers will conclude a final peace with the Soviet Government and recognize the Government of the Soviet Republic. For this purpose, it is declared in the note, it is necessary to summon an international conference.

His Majesty's Government recognizes that in making this declaration the Soviet Government has taken the only correct path to reach the goal which, by its declaration, it is striving for, namely: the economic cooperation with other countries. But in this declaration there are passages whose precise sense is not clear to His Majesty's Government, and before defining its attitude to this declaration as a whole, after consultation with the other governments with which it is associated by their mutual participation in the International Famine Relief Commission, His Majesty's Government would like to receive further explanations with regard to certain passages. You point out that the recognition of what the Brussels Conference defined as the "existing debts and other obligations arising on the basis of established claims" is in accordance with the present intentions of the Soviet Government. But, on the other hand, your concrete proposal limits itself to the recognition of a single specific category of debts or obligations. His Majesty's Government would like to know whether it is in accordance with the desire of the Soviet Government at the present moment to recognize also other types of obligations, such, for example, as the loans to the Tsarist Government after 1914, the municipal and railway loans, and the claims of foreign owners of property situated in Russia, confiscated or destroyed by the Soviet Government. His Majesty's Government requests the Soviet Government to define clearly its attitude toward all claims of this kind.

In Mr. Chicherin's note there are also other declarations requiring comment, such, for example, as the passage in which His Majesty's Government is accused of intending to support hostile intervention against the Soviet Government, as well as the passage in which it is asserted that the obligation to pay the loans loses force in the course of time. But His Majesty's Government considers it not desirable at the present time to raise further questions, aside from those raised above.

II.

(Translation of a Radio-telegram, of November 12, of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, addressed to the Russian Representative in London, Krassin.)

I beg you to assure the British Minister for Foreign Affairs of the pleasure with which the Soviet Government received the British answering note on the subject of the foreign loans. We note with satisfaction that the British Government, in asking explanation on various points connected with this general question, has thus actually opened up the way for a mutual solution of the problem with which we are faced in our common desire for collaboration in the economic field. We share the opinion of the British Government that certain phases of this problem

are as yet quite obscure and will require explanation from both parties. We consider it evident that in view of their intricacies and complexities these questions cannot be successfully solved by an exchange of radio-telegrams and that formal negotiations would be the only means of illuminating the obscure points contained in them. Being convinced that an international conference is the only means for attaining satisfactory results in this matter, we propose that all disputed question of the kind mentioned in the British answering note should be obligatorily submitted for the consideration of this conference, the more since we shall not have at our disposal actual figures concerning certain categories of claims mentioned in the above note, until the claims themselves are submitted to us by the other parties in the proper form. We consider the question of Russia's indebtedness to be only a specific phase of the general problem of the rehabilitation of Russia, and of the still more important problem of the economic rehabilitation of the whole world. We therefore propose that each partial question touching the Russian loans should be investigated in connection with the problem as a whole, with which the whole world is faced and which requires a general consideration at the conference proposed by the Russian Government. We must specifically point out that a successful solution of these extremely complicated questions is absolutely impossible without mutual trust and good will, which may best of all be called forth in the course of a common labor at the conference, on questions having a vital significance for the interested parties. But the first condition for such mutual trust must be the cessation of the systematic exclusion of Russia from international conferences on questions touching her interests, as well as the cessation of all attempts to force upon Russia decisions taken without her participation. Only when the Russian Republic shall be convinced that her interests are not being made use of as an object of trading between other powers, only then will the atmosphere of confidence be produced without which a successful solution of the question of her indebtedness and her economic rehabilitation will forever remain doubtful. But it is necessary at present to mention that the question raised by the British Government as to a declaration alleged to have been contained in our note, to the effect that the force of obligations of indebtedness decreases in the course of a certain time, is the outcome merely of an error in telegraphic transmission. In our note to you we pointed out that not a single people is obliged to pay for the chains which it has borne in the course of previous centuries; in other words, a people that has freed itself from despotism is not obliged to pay the debts of the previous despotic government which made use of these loans against its own people. But we have always maintained that we shall carry out with the utmost scrupulousness all the money obligations of our own government. In view of this standpoint taken by us toward the Tsarist debts, we believe that in declaring our readiness to recognize the loans of the period before the war we are making an extremely important concession, and the actual aim of this concession is to smooth the way for a full agreement, for economic collaboration in common tasks, in the field of production and exchange.

CHICHERIN,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

CORRECTION

An error appears in the translation of the Note of the Soviet Government of October 28, 1921, published in the December number of SOVIET RUSSIA, page 260. The translation which we published contained the following phrase: "No people is obliged to pay those debts which are as chains riveted on it through long centuries." Correctly translated from the official Russian text, this phrase should read: "No people is obliged to pay the price of the chains which have been imposed upon it during centuries."

RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIAN RED CROSS

The recognition of the Soviet Russian Red Cross as a member of the International Red Cross is announced in the following letter from the Chairman of the International Committee at Geneva to the Central Committee of the National Red Cross organizations:

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS COMMITTEE
Inter Arma Caritas

Geneva, October 15, 1921.

To the Chairman and Members of the Central Committee of the Red Cross.

Gentlemen:

The 10th International Conference of the Red Cross, in its plenary session of April 4, 1921, at Geneva, recognized that the International Committee had taken proper action with regard to the Soviet Red Cross, and advised it to continue the negotiations with the Soviet Government in order to obtain for the delegates of the International Committee and of the Red Cross Societies which should request it, authorization to enter Russia to bring relief to the population.

Pursuant to this suggestion, the International Committee informed the Soviet Russian Red Cross by wireless of July 6 that, on inspection of the report of its delegate Dr. W. Wehrlin, who had returned from Russia, the committee was ready to recognize and maintain official relations with it, if normal intercourse were established between the two organizations, and particularly if the Committee's delegate were allowed to go to Moscow to there represent the International Committee in the offices of the Soviet Red Cross and Government, as the delegates of the Russian Red Cross at Berne represented it in the offices of the International Committee.

An affirmative and satisfactory answer having reached us under date of August 6, and our delegate having been able to return to Moscow, we have the honor to make known to you that we can now officially recognize the Red Cross of Moscow as the National Red Cross Society in Russia, i. e., in the part of the Russian Empire which constitutes the territory of the "Soviet Russian Federative Socialist Republic".

This Society, in fact, satisfies the essential requirements which have to be met by every National Red Cross Society.

The Swiss Department of State has certified to us that present day Russia was always considered as one of the signatory states of the Geneva Convention.

The Red Cross has been recognized by the Soviet Government as a National Society and as an auxiliary to the official health Service (ordinances of the Soviet Government dated August 7, 1918 and July 8, 1920, which we copy below); and the official representative of the Red Cross in Russia, Dr. Bagotzky, at Berne, has, by letter of August 28 and September 7, 1920, formally stated to us that no other national Red Cross Society will be recognized in the territory of the Soviet Republic.

It has at its head a Central Committee, the membership of which we give below. It admits to the organization all its nationals without distinction of sex, faith or political opinion, and includes in its sphere of action the whole territory of the Soviet Republic. The by-laws show that the other requirements are likewise satisfied.

By thus recognizing the Russian Red Cross of the Soviet Republic, the International Committee does not intend to renounce the de facto relations which it has with the former Russian Red Cross organization, in view of the humanitarian activity which it has demonstrated and is still carrying on outside of the territory of the Soviet Republic on behalf of the Russian refugees in foreign countries.

The Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross at Moscow is at present made up of the following members: Dr. Zenobius Soloviev, Chairman; Dr. Alexander Goloubkov, Vice-Chairman; Eugene Korovin, Secretary; Dr.

Michael Baranov, Maxim Litvinov, Alexander Dogadov, Michael Urivayev. Its address is: Leontievsky 11, Moscow. Please accept, gentlemen, the assurance of our very high regard.

For the International Red Cross Committee,
GUSTAVE ADOR,
Chairman.
PAUL DES GOUTTES,
General Secretary.

The Representative of the Soviet Russian Red Cross in America is Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, Room 1102, 110 West 40th Street, New York City.

THE RUSSIAN REPRESENTATIVE IN GERMANY

On November 15, Krestinsky, the Representative of Soviet Russia, was received by Dr. Wirth and handed his credentials to be forwarded to President Ebert. During the reception the following were present: Brodovsky, secretary of the Russian Embassy; Stomonjakov, the commercial representative; German Secretary of State, Haniel; of the Foreign Office, Baron Maltzahn, director of the Eastern Department and Hauschild, Director of the Russian Section.

Krestinsky made the following address:

"Sir, in handing over my credentials to be placed in the hands of the President, I greet in your person the Government of the German Republic.

"For the rebirth of Russia, which has been destroyed by the imperialist and civil wars, as well as by the intervention and blockade, the resumption and extension in all directions of relations with Germany is a vital necessity. Also the economic situation of Germany since the war demands cooperation with Russia. These common interests found their first legal expression in the treaty of May 6, 1921.* In the name of the Soviet Government I express the hope that relations between Germany and Russia will not remain limited to the bounds of the Treaty of May 6, and that there will be a still closer cooperation between Germany and Russia, which is necessary for the interests of both peoples."

Dr. Wirth replied:

"Sir, I thank you for the words of greeting which you have addressed to me, and which have given expression to the necessity of making the relations between Russia and Germany still more intimate. At the same time I must express my satisfaction that the Soviet Russian Government desires to maintain good relations with Germany. I declare for my part that I consider it my chief task to achieve a strengthening of the relations of both peoples on the basis of cooperation. The wish which you express I shall communicate to the president of the state."

After this reception Krestinsky was received by President Ebert. *Novy Mir*, Berlin.

*Full text in SOVIET RUSSIA, July, 1921.

Commerce and Industry

(The following data on various enterprises undertaken by Russians at home and abroad show how shortsighted is the policy of those governments that will make no Trade Agreements with Russia.)

SEPTEMBER IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

Incomplete returns show the following figures of imports and exports at various Russian ports and frontier stations during September:

Petrograd.—Imports: 69,830 tons, mainly steel rails, fuel, and seed corn. This figure is exclusive of 3,000 tons of foodstuffs for famine relief, of which over 2,000 tons was consigned to the American Relief Administration. Exports: 11,650 tons, mainly flax, hemp, and timber.

Yamburg (Esthonian frontier—goods via Reval).—Imports: 41,350 tons, mainly seed and foodstuffs. Exports: 110 tons of flax and hemp.

Sebez (Latvian frontier—goods via Riga).—Imports: 17,800 tons, apart from 4,880 tons of foodstuffs consigned to the American Relief Administration.

Byeloostrov (Finnish frontier).—Imports: 1,900 tons, mainly paper.

Archangel.—Imports: 4,150 tons, mainly salt fish. Exports: 5,800 tons of planks, tar, and seal skins.

Black Sea Ports.—Novorossisk, 1,700 tons of agricultural implements; Odessa, 17,350 tons of coal and coke; Nikolaiev, 4,300 tons of coal; Mariupol, 3,300 tons of coal.

The imports mentioned above amount to over 160,000 tons, which should be compared with the total imports for January, 12,000 tons; and for July, 91,000 tons.

PURCHASES IN ENGLAND

The following figures supplied by the Russian Trade Delegation, London, show the actual purchases made in the United Kingdom by the All-Russian Co-operative Society, Ltd., for shipment to Russia on behalf of the Russian Government. These are the purchases made during this year, and do not include purchases amounting to £2,000,000 made before the end of 1920.

Purchases made in Great Britain by Arcos during 1921:

	£
January, 1921	56,844
February	212,271
March	126,995
April	627,885
May	354,361
June	844,522
July	440,997
August	303,404
September	1,096,928
Total January-September, 1921	£4,064,207

These figures relate to definite purchases made, and are not comparable month by month with the English Board of Trade figures for exports, for the obvious reason that some time elapses between the purchase and the actual despatch of goods to Russia. The following table shows the actual despatch of goods to Russia during the first nine months of the present year: the figures for the earlier months, of course, include shipments of goods actually purchased in 1920.

Shipped from Great Britain to Russia during 1921:

	Various £	Coal £	Total £
January	269,290		269,290
February	342,843		342,843
March	375,087	7,919	383,006
April	235,629		235,629
May	571,184		571,184
June	372,895		372,895
July	415,364	57,751	473,115
August	498,447	116,675	615,122
September ...	362,419	110,289	472,708
Total	3,443,158	292,634	3,735,792

In order to show the various industries which have benefited from these purchases for Russia, an analysis is given below of the total purchases from the beginning of operations in the autumn of 1920 up to September 30, 1921.

Chief items purchased by Arcos for Russia:

	£
Cloth	2,173,458
Readymade clothing	254,650
Jute sacks	70,483
Agricultural machinery, implements, and ironmongery	436,350
Textile machinery	118,496
Machine belts	100,816
Machine parts	6,248
Steel ropes	89,396
Binder twine	94,622
Medical and scientific instruments...	16,926
Seed	374,746
Foodstuffs	2,018,299
Drugs and chemicals	279,560
Boots	14,013
Fishing nets	11,160

All of the above figures relate to purchases actually made in the United Kingdom.

Apart from these purchases made in the United Kingdom, the All-Russian Co-operative Society in London has made purchases abroad, mainly in America and Germany, amounting to £2,300,000 for the period up to September 30, 1921. This includes £328,000 for coal purchased in America during the early part of this year; £290,000 for agricultural machines from America; and about £274,000 for chemicals, mainly from Switzerland and Germany.

PURCHASES FOR FAMINE RELIEF

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade had made the following purchases of food stuffs abroad for famine relief, up to October 1:

Article	Place of Purchase	Quantity Purchased (Tons)
Flour	London	56,917
Flour	Lithuania	450
Wheat	London	371,255
Rye	London	10,870
Haricots	London	18,771
Peas	London	2,405
Peas	Finland	300
Peas	Lithuania	660
Rice	London	6,550
Herrings	London	24,933
Meat	London	900
Meat	France	1,333
Salt Pork	London	2,260
Hams	London	170
Suet	London	1,417
Suet	Finland	32
Suet	Lithuania	83
Dripping	London	833
Dripping	Riga	1,267
Chocolate	London	83
Cocoa	London	747
Dried Vegetables	Finland	62
Dried Vegetables	France	373
Sugar	London	2,687
Soap	London	883

The Commissariat for Foreign Trade also bought a large amount of goods in England, Germany, and Sweden, which they intend to barter for food in the unaffected provinces. The Commissariat has also purchased large quantities of seed for the famine area.

SALE OF RUSSIAN PRODUCE IN ENGLAND

Since the beginning of this year, produce from Soviet Russia has begun to arrive regularly in Great Britain, where it has been sold for the Russian Government by the All-Russian Co-operative Society, Ltd. Before the signing of the trade agreement the business done was infinitesimal, but

since May there has been a steadily increasing volume of imports from Russia, and in the last three months substantial sale have been effected. The following figures published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London, show the total sales month by month, up to November 18, the latest date for which statistics are available:

Sales of Russian production in Great Britain by Arcos, 1921:

	£
January	260
February	17,225
March	550
April	7,431
May	36,283
June	52,304
July	53,321
August	52,588
September	119,798
October	424,134
November 1-18	372,131
Total	£1,136,025

The most important item has been timber, large quantities of which are coming through from Archangel and Petrograd. The following are the main items sold during the period January 1 to November 18, 1921:

Analysis of sales of Russian produce, 1921:

	£
Bristles	4,187
Caviare	1,845
Copper	26,300
Flax, hemp, and tow	202,035
Furs	11,268
Hides, goats, camel, and horse hair	1,994
Lycopodium	3,615
Manganese	8,550
Oil	121,756
Pitch	24,600
Potash	5,916
Sunflower seed oilcake	8,120
Timber	683,860
Tobacco	16,486
Tar	14,414

The total value of the Russian produce sold in Great Britain during this year is, of course, much smaller than the total value of Russian purchases in Great Britain, but the monthly figures show that the margin between purchases and sales is becoming narrower; for the month of October the sales actually exceeded the purchases. Elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA full details of Russia's purchases up to September 30 are given during October the new purchases amounted to £282,498; and the actual shipments to Russia during that month (including, of course, goods bought earlier) amounted to £797,450.

The following are the main items in the purchases made in England during October:

	£
Foodstuffs	181,123
Coal and coke	59,008
Chemicals	10,119
Clothing and boots	9,612
Soap	8,406
Textile machinery	5,397
Hardware	4,286

The following comparison may be made between Russian purchases and sales in Great Britain during the period January 1 to October 31, 1921:

Total purchases	£4,346,705
Total sales	£763,894

Goods to the value of £2,000,000 bought by Russia in Great Britain at the end of 1920 are not included in the above; part of these goods was actually shipped only in 1921, so that the goods actually shipped from January 1 to October 31 amount to £4,533,242. When the final November figures are available, it will be apparent that, although Russian exports to Great Britain have taken longer to develop, yet they are steadily rising to the level of the Russian imports. In pre-war years, of course, Russia's exports of grain formed a high proportion of the total. At present, and for next year at least, no export of grain will be possible, but given good weather conditions and a fair harvest next year, it might become possible to resume grain exports in 1923. A great deal depends, however, on the adequate supply of agricultural machinery and implements, of locomotives, etc., and in the interval Russia's total imports must exceed her exports. The figures given above, however, show that considerable progress has been made in the export of produce other than grain; and the general revival of production which is now taking place in Russia will result in the steady growth of these exports.

EXPORTS FROM NORTHERN TIMBER TRUST

Syeverolyes—the State Trust for the exploitation of the northern forest areas—had completed its organization in the Archangel and Murman areas by the end of October. All saw mills have been taken over, also fifty-seven steam vessels for river and White Sea transport. Up to October 16, fourteen vessels, laden with 11,811 standards of timber, had been despatched to England; one vessel, with 661 standards, had been sent to Norway; and one vessel, with 536 standards, to Holland. In the second half of October nine ships were being loaded with 8,540 standards for England and two further with 1,300 standards for Norway, and a further six vessels with a loading capacity of 6,750 standards were expected.

The Syeverolyes will therefore have been able to despatch to foreign markets, before the close of the navigation period, nearly 30,000 standards, the value of which is about 500,000 pounds sterling.

The stock of logs at the saw mills at the end of October was as follows:

	Logs	For Sawing	Others
Archangel	810,642	645,142	165,500
Onega	287,695	167,400	120,295
Mezen	169,000	109,000	60,000
	<u>1,267,337</u>	<u>921,542</u>	<u>345,795</u>

Intensive work is being carried on, the mills at Archangel working one and a half shifts, at Onega two shifts, and at Mezen three shifts per day.

THE LEATHER INDUSTRY

In the first half of 1921 the tanneries of the R. S. F. S. R. dressed a total of 3,451,000 hides—1,686,000 large and 1,765,000 small. This is twenty-eight per cent more than was produced in the first half of 1920, and twenty-two per cent more than in the second half of 1920.

The average monthly dressing of skins was as follows:

	Large	Small	Total
First half, 1920....	166,000	284,000	450,000
Second half, 1920..	171,000	299,000	470,000
First half, 1921....	281,000	294,000	575,000

The following table shows the production in relation to the program:

	Large hides	Small hides	Total
January—June, 1921.			
Program	1,679	2,500	4,099
Actually tanned	1,686	1,765	3,451
Percentage of program	107	70	88

The production of footwear for the first half of this year was 3,677,000 pairs, as compared with 3,337,000 pairs for the same period of 1920. During the first seven months of this year (up to July 31) 57,542 saddles and 53,270 sets of harnesses were produced—114 per cent and forty-nine per cent of the program respectively.

The number of leather industry enterprises and the number of workers engaged in them for the months of June and July were as follows:

Tanneries	1,136	36,243
Boot factories	450	43,331
Harness works	89	8,584
Total	<u>1,675</u>	<u>88,208</u>

The new economic policy and the system of collective payment are showing some remarkable results in increased output. The following figures are available for the Skorohod boot factory and leather works in Petrograd. During October the output was 667,480 pairs of boots and shoes, as compared with 48,000 pairs in August and 10,000

pairs in May. This tremendous increase in productivity was achieved in spite of the reduction of the staff by 333 workers. Similarly, the tannery prepared 5,058 large and 12,653 small skins, as compared with 3,628 large and 10,548 small in September. The number of employees in the boot factory is now 1,883, and in the tannery 303.

REPAIR OF THE RIVER FLEET

The program of repairs of the river fleet for the 1921 season was completed by September 1. According to the program 2,650 steam vessels were to be repaired by that date; but the work was carried on with such enthusiasm that the number of steamers actually repaired by that date was 3,172. This represents 120 per cent of the program. By September 1 5,935 other vessels had also been repaired—149 in excess of the program.

BAKU OIL OUTPUT

Statistics to the end of October show that the output of the Baku oilfields, which had remained almost stationary from July to September, rose rapidly with the introduction of collective payment in October. The monthly output was as follows:

	Tons
Average, January to June, 1921.....	220,000
July	196,000
August	196,000
September	195,000
October	210,000

TRADE WITH FRANCE

In view of the development of trade between Soviet Russia and England, Italy, Greece, and other countries, the representatives of French firms have started negotiations with the Ukrainian Trade Delegation in Constantinople, in order to find a market in Black Sea ports for French products.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH BELGIUM

The Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs has announced that Belgium intends to resume negotiations with Soviet Russia for the conclusion of a Trade Agreement.

WORKERS' RELIEF

The steamer "Frida Horn" left Stettin on November 20 for Petrograd with over 600 tons of food, tools and clothes which had been collected by the Workers' Relief Committee in Berlin. In connection with the departure of the steamer a demonstration of the workers of Stettin took place in the free port of Stettin.—*Rosta Wien.*

RECENT IMPORTS

Considerable shipments arrived in Soviet Russia via Esthonia during the last week in November, comprising 29 carloads rye, 49 carloads wheat, 40 carloads paper, 7 carloads sugar, 4 carloads steam boilers, 3 carloads condensed milk, 4 carloads beans, 3 carloads saws, 1 carload soap, 1 carload motor pumps and miscellaneous goods.

—*Rosta.*

Children's Relief

(The American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children has supplied us with the following statement of their aims and work:)

Long before Russia made her appeal to the world to send food to relieve her famine stricken districts, a committee of American men and women organized a drive for relief for Russian children. This committee went quietly about its work, making several shipments of milk during the spring, and was one of the first to respond to the call for famine relief from Maxim Gorky. Immediately after the call was sounded several hundred cases of milk were forwarded by this committee.

The American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children did its work chiefly through the American liberals. It abstained from touching the labor movement for the reason that it felt that other forces could make the appeal to the workers more effectively. The Committee appealed directly to the liberal men and women of New York, and met with a hearty response. Up to date approximately \$10,000 worth of dry and condensed milk have been shipped direct to the Commissariat of Health at Moscow through the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Society and the Russian Red Cross. The Russian Red Cross is, at present, the medium through which shipments are regularly made.

The work of this group is now being extended to other cities, where local drives are being organized in behalf of the children. Committees have been started in Philadelphia, Pa., and Greenwich, Conn., and similar organizations are being established in other cities.

On the various committees now serving are: Dr. Phyllis Ackerman, John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Dr. Henry Neumann, B. C. Vladeck, Helen Hartley Jenkins, Crystal Eastman, Clare Sheridan, Walter Lippmann, Martha Davis, Ruth Pickering, Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, Dr. John Ochsol, Mrs. Stewart Chase, Mrs. D. H. Dubrowsky, Anna Walling, Mrs. Newell Dwight Hillis, Mrs. J. E. Quan, Mrs. Prince Hopkins, Miss Ely, Mrs. C. D. Lanier, and James Quan.

Checks may be sent to the American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children, Room 506, 110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

Books Reviewed

N. LENIN: *The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax*; N. BUKHARIN: *The New Economic Policy of Soviet Russia*; S. J. RUTGERS: *The Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution*. In one volume. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1921. Cloth, 127 pp.

The three articles published together in this volume are not on entirely related subjects, but each is sufficiently interesting in itself to make the enterprise of getting them out in book form distinctly worth while. It is unfortunate, however, that Lenin's famous article on the Agricultural Tax (dated April 21, 1921) should appear here in the same incomplete form in which SOVIET RUSSIA reprinted it, in July, from *The Russian Press Review*. Later, in *The Communist International*, Nos. 16-17, a much fuller version appeared, which we have not since reprinted in SOVIET RUSSIA, for the reason that there have been too many other matters of importance to place before our readers. But we recommend to the publishers of this book that they get the full text of the Lenin article for their second edition.

The remaining articles in the book are by men who are not strangers in America. Bukharin and Rutgers were members of the Socialist Publication Society in New York, in the organization of which Trotsky also participated, which brought out a quarterly magazine called *The Class Struggle* for several years, beginning when the United States entered the European War, in 1917, and ending with the transfer of the periodical to the ownership of the Communist Labor Party of America in 1919. It is amusing to recall that Trotsky, now Commissar of War, but then not yet completely divorced from his pacifist leanings, was for a weekly publication of the paper, and for calling it "Against the War". Even before Trotsky's departure from America, in March, 1917, Bukharin returned to Russia, while Rutgers remained for a time, finally reaching Russia in 1918. Those who recall *The New International*, a paper run by Rutgers and Fraina in 1917, will be particularly interested to be reminded of an article by Lenin that appeared in its columns long before the November Revolution, in which Lenin states with the utmost definiteness the same position taken by him four years later, in the article of April 21, included in the volume here being reviewed:

"Historic conditions have made the Russians, perhaps, for a short period, the leaders of the revolutionary world proletariat, but Socialism cannot now prevail in Russia. We can expect only an agrarian revolution, which will help to create more favorable conditions for further development of the proletarian forces and may result in measures for the control of production and distribution.

"The main result of the present Revolution will have to be the creation of more favorable conditions for further revolutionary development and to influence the more highly-developed European countries into action." (*The New International*, July 23, 1917.)

Those who now complain that the Russian Revolution is going back on its principles should remember that even Lenin did not believe in 1917 that a complete Social Revolution would grow out of the Russian action of that year. Louis C. Fraina, one of the editors of *The Class Struggle* in 1917, quoting the above words of Lenin in the latter periodical (they originally appeared in a letter to Swiss comrades, written after his departure for Russia), says:

"In his course of action, Lenin seems to be what one might call a revolutionary opportunist. He is not blind to the impracticability of establishing Socialism, but he wishes to use the present situation for revolutionary international action." (*The Class Struggle*, Vol. I. No. 2, p. 140.)

But let us return to Bukharin and Rutgers. The former's contribution, a lecture delivered July 8, 1921, to the Third International Delegates at Moscow, also takes up the new economic policy of Russia, and draws a thorough picture of affairs in Russia at the time, closing with the following brilliant contrast:

"Paul Levi and all the opportunists of the world say: 'You see, the Bolsheviks are making concessions to the peasants and we make concessions to the masses.' But this analogy is not correct. We make concessions to secure the equilibrium of the Soviet system, Levi makes concessions to maintain the capitalist equilibrium, and he does not seem to notice this little difference. We might as well say that there is an army in France and there is an army here, a police system there and an Extraordinary Commission here. The essential point is—what are the class functions of these institutions, and which class do they serve? Whoever makes abstraction of the class lives in the skies, not on earth. And I think it would be better if our enemies remain in the skies and we remain on solid earth."

The gem of the collection is the essay of Rutgers, "The Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution". Rutgers begins with an analysis of the role of the intellectual in bourgeois life. He shows that in capitalist society, the middle-class intellectuals are permitted by the bourgeoisie to attain a certain relative independence in matters material and mental, a degree that is determined by the value the bourgeoisie sets on their services. Yet the middle-class intellectual leads, within this "independence", a life of deadly dullness, which makes him precisely the most active propagandist of Imperialism, by driving him out into whatever adventurous phases the system may still have. *The New Republic*, it will be remembered, attributed America's entrance into the war to the intellectuals, and Rutgers says: "The more desperate the reality of bourgeois life, the more passionate and utterly reckless the ardor with which the more energetic among them embrace this new ideal. Pioneers of science, engineers, ministers of religion, soldiers, politicians, and journalists, leaving their study, sally forth to the conquest of the world, penetrating into the farthest recesses of Asia and Africa. And the home-stayers have a new task in keeping down by fraud and by force the tumultuous masses, the 'enemies of culture'."

Coming to the subject of the attitude of the intellectual classes in Russia toward the Revolution—and here he bases his remarks both on *a priori* grounds and on his own travels in Russia, as an inspector of Public Works—Rutgers expresses the view that the intellectuals will not in most cases be sympathetic toward the Revolution, or permit themselves to be employed in its service, and takes issue with Karl Radek for having stated that the intellectuals in Western Europe would show more eagerness to help the Revolution than they have in Russia. Throughout his discussion of the Russian intellectual, on whom he counts but little, Rutgers seems to be moved chiefly by the consideration expressed by him in the magnificent dilemma: "It is the same as with the productivity of industrial labor, which declines when food is insufficient, while an increase in the food-production is possible only when the productivity of industrial labor increases. Similarly, control of the intellectuals by the workers is necessary in the very first place; but for this a degree of culture is required, the monopoly of which is provisionally held by the intellectuals." Rutgers admits that some elements coming from the middle class will be of assistance to the workers in their struggle: "Single individuals of the bourgeois intellectual middle-class join the workers' class; it is plain they do so, and logical that they should since they are members of a middle-class,"—but he does not believe that they are in many cases devoted and permanent adherents. He finds, for instance, that one of the great difficulties of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was "the fraternal co-operation between Social-patriots and Communists in a conquest of power at which no blood was shed; high sounding declarations of engineers and intellectuals, who put themselves at the service of the Soviet administration in order to co-operate in the reconstruction. Result: extensive corruption from the outset. an organization of industry in which the workers have nothing to say, systematic treason, . . . and, in the end.

surrender and the toleration of a bestial white terror." (Pages 81, 82, 92.)

Rutgers does not hope for much from bureaucrats and intellectuals anywhere, certainly not in the great Russian centres, not even from the new bureaucratic elements rising from the proletariat (p. 92), but is enthusiastic in describing the new educational system, which is to teach the workers what they need to know in order to work and govern, instead of making them mere automatons and good-for-nothing office-holders. He finds that the best chances for the development of a new spirit among government employees are in the provinces. "From my inspecting tours in the provinces I always returned in a hopeful mood. In the smaller units better work was done; there was more organization there, more enthusiasm, more sense of the new, than among the generality of the officials in the great bureaux of Moscow." (Page 91.)

CMEHA BEX. The Change of Landmarks. Katerinska ul. c. 40, Prague II.

CMEHA BEX. The Change of Landmarks. A Weekly Journal, 12 Rue Lagrange, Paris.

Since the November Revolution in Russia nearly two million Russian refugees have been living in Europe. Before the revolution these people were divided into a number of political factions bitterly opposed to each other, but here, in exile, they were united by one feeling—a fierce hatred of the present rulers of Russia. For four years attempt followed attempt "to free Russia from the usurpers". Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel—Germany, England, France, Greece, Japan—all failed to restore power to those who once held it. At present the prospects of a rapid downfall of the Soviet Government are more remote than ever—a fact which most of the exiles fully realize, although they have not taken the trouble to understand the reasons for this fact. Some, however, have been carefully considering the whole position, and the result of their thinking has been the publication of a volume of political essays and of a weekly journal, both bearing the same significant name—*Smienna Viekh*—"The Change of Landmarks".

"Our old landmarks must be changed. They led us to disaster. Let us admit our errors and make peace with those whom we have fought as enemies, but who have proved by their victories that they and not we represent the true will of our people." . . .

Such is the appeal addressed by this group of Russian émigrés to their fellow-exiles. Will it be heeded? The outcry raised against it in the émigré Press would seem to suggest that no widespread conversion to the new policy can be looked for in the immediate future. But the message is found to have far-reaching results. These are assured both by the composition of the new groups and the remorseless logic of actual events.

Who are these new defenders of the Russian revolution? Wavering Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, or Internationalists? No, they come from an entirely different camp. They are moderate liberals of the Cadet and even Octobrist pattern, and include a former minister in the Kolchak Government (Professor Kluishnikov), as well as several intellectuals—professors, writers, lawyers—who played an active and prominent part in the series of campaigns against the Soviet Government.

This political past makes it all the more interesting to study the reasons which have brought these former enemies of the November Revolution and of all for which it stood not only to bow before the inevitable and accept their own defeat, but also to renounce their old political views and believe in the new Russia of today.

They begin by analyzing the causes of the defeat of the anti-Soviet forces. On this point there is complete unanimity amongst the various members of the group. They all agree that it is a mistake to regard the November Revolution as the work of a small clique of political adventurers. On the contrary, it sprang from the very depths of the national consciousness, and in it the demands

and interests of the masses found their only possible form of realization. The masses, states Professor Kluishnikov, rose not only against the propertied and ruling classes, in whom they could not fail to see their enemies, but also against their supposed friends—the intelligentsia—who helped to bring about the revolution, but while acting in the name of the people were really in mortal fear of the people. The Russian masses refused to acknowledge this spiritual tutelage, this division into aristocracy and plebs. They wanted to act themselves according to their inner lights, their own sense of right and justice, and they rejected, firmly and repeatedly, the attempted mentorship of their cultured well-wishers. Both in the sphere of material interest and in the sphere of intellectual and political leadership the overwhelming mass of the Russian people declared for complete "autonomy" from their former masters and tutors. And hence their stubborn and successful defence of the independence they have won against all attacks.

Still, there remains the question: does the group of émigrés feel that the revolution has justified itself in the light of its own achievements? And further; what particular achievements are these representatives of liberal thought willing to embrace and support?

To take the most burning question of Russian economics, do they endorse the Communist system? No, with perfect frankness they all maintain that under present conditions Communism is an improbability. It is true, some of them are prepared to admit that in throwing out the idea of Communism the Russian revolution has been fulfilling its historic mission. "The idea of Socialism and Communism is the 'inquiry' addressed by the Russian revolution to history. Its experiment of a Communist International by means of a proletarian State is its challenge to time" (Professor Ustrialov). But at the same time he remarks, "Revolution only throws out a 'programme' into the future; it is never able to carry it out in the present." For the present, therefore, a return to the capitalist or semi-capitalist conditions in Russia seems to these writers both unavoidable and desirable, and the so-called "new economic policy" of the Soviet Government naturally meets with their unreserved approval.

One might suspect here that this supposed failure of Communism is probably the actual reason of "the change of landmarks," the change of front. Curiously enough, it is not the failures, but the successes of the revolution that our authors proclaim as deserving recognition and wholehearted support. It is one of the most significant characteristics of this movement that the principal achievements on which it lays stress are not any of the avowed objects accomplished by the revolution, but rather its by-products and accessories, produced by the peculiar conditions under which it has been developing. These achievements are: the unification of Russia under a single authority, the creation of a powerful army, and the establishment of a strong, firm, and resolute Government. A few quotations will show how strong is this nationalist and patriotic motive in the new faith of these converts to Soviet Russia.

"History has compelled the Russian 'Communist' Republic, in spite of its official dogma, to take upon itself the national task of gathering together the scattered parts of Russia, and at the same time of restoring and augmenting the strength of her international position. . . . The other positive result of the work of the Soviet Government must be recognized in the fact that (again, it would seem, against its own theories) this Government has been compelled to create a strong and disciplined army — which is the first condition of existence for every State." . . . (S. Chakhotin).

To this A. Bobrshchev-Pushkin adds:

"For the defenders of the Russian State, for patriots, the main question is: What has the Soviet Government been for Russia—a cement, joining her broken parts, filling her cracks; or a corroding acid? In spite of all the curses of the émigré press, the answer becomes ever more evident: No, not an acid, but a cement; not a centrifugal, anarchic force, but a

centripetal, a State force. And if this is so, much can be endured, much can be forgiven, and much can be borne with patience in the hope of a brighter future. The important fact is that this future is in strong and firm hands, and not in the weak hands of those who proved themselves unworthy of power yet clung to it without any right, since to have the right to power one must be strong."

Another point characteristic of the position of this group is the belief that the present is the last revolution in Russia and that, therefore, it has ushered in an era of evolution which, for the first time in the history of Russia, will make possible a full-blooded and powerful Russian liberalism as well as a progressive and stable Russian conservatism.

But though these features of Soviet Russia may have provided the principal stimulus in reconciling these patriotic intellectuals with the revolution, it would be wrong to suggest that they remain blind to other successes it has achieved, or that they welcome it only in so far as it is bringing back the old conditions. The general attitude of this group is put very succinctly in a leading article in its journal, a quotation from which may fittingly conclude the present review:

"To see in a revolution only horrors and mistakes would be tantamount to failing to see a revolution at all. The ruin it works is the path to a new creative achievement. And it cannot be doubted that every genuine revolution reveals itself infinitely more in creation than in destruction. In this, however, lies the tragedy of transitional periods; their negative sides strike the eyes with a much greater force than their positive sides. How can one prove to those who are prejudiced that to-day there is taking place the most stupendous and enlightening change in the mind of the entire Russian nation, that illiteracy is being rapidly suppressed, that a new semi-intelligentsia and intelligentsia are rising from the midst of the working classes, that there is growing a new national sentiment, that a new conception of government is gradually evolving, that art is finding its way into new popular spheres, that science and technical progress are tackling and solving new tasks and problems, that imperceptibly the problem of nationalities is being removed from actual life, that new prospects are being opened up for the establishment of a first international peace? We did not see this before, seized as we were with the passions of the fight and absolutely confident of the truth and justness of our very moderate demands. We see and feel it with all our hearts to-day, at the moment when we have renounced the futile and harmful struggle and have realized the vastness of all the possibilities which are opening up before Russia."

Such statements are a welcome sign that Russian émigrés are beginning to face the facts of the situation. We cannot, however, conceal from ourselves the danger that individuals who have taken part in the struggle against the November Revolution of 1917, and who have only revised their attitude after the Soviet revolution has maintained itself for four years against all attacks, may not wholly understand the nature of the change that has taken place, and may find themselves at a later stage once more in conflict with the aspirations of the Russian masses.

И. И. РЯБОВ: Произведение бумаги из льняной кострики.
I. I. Ryabov, Mechanical Engineer: Production of Paper from Flax-Refuse, Moscow, 1921.

Along with the systematic campaign of political misrepresentation, Russia's industrial and scientific activities have been equally vilified and as cruelly attacked. The American scientific and technical press has joined with the newspapers and has misrepresented Russian scientific progress. In spite of the many interesting scientific publications that have recently come out of Russia, no attempt is made to acquaint the United States with the work of Russia's engineers and scientists. The editors of these journals prefer to write editorials on the "scientific vacuum" in Russia and cling to the lie that Russian scientists are forced to do street-sweeping, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding.

This pamphlet on the "Production of Paper from Flax-Refuse" deals with the conservation of Russia's forests and the utilizing of flax-refuse as a substantial raw material substitute for paper manufacture. The contents—about 3,500 words—are a preliminary report of some large-scale experimental work on the successful production of paper from flax-and hemp-refuse. The problem of conservation of natural resources is now occupying the attention of her technicians. Russia's forests are the richest in the world and wood is the chief raw material of modern paper manufacturers. Yet the far-sighted engineer, Ryabov, speaks at this time of the conservation of her forests. He demonstrates that good quality paper can be produced from flax-refuse. He points out that from certain flax-raising districts about 225,000 tons of this flax-refuse are thrown away without recovery, and that half that quantity, according to his experimental results, represents commercial paper.

In this brief report, we find interesting facts about various raw materials that have been used in the past for paper manufacture. The author shows that Russia's illiteracy is indicated by the comparatively small annual per capita paper consumption, which in 1906 was about 5.3 pounds, while in England it was 60.8. A feature of the pamphlet is that it was printed on the paper obtained from the experiment described and the reviewer may say that the paper is excellent.

J. R. M.

An American Report on the Russian Famine

Findings of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief

Five Americans made a journey of 4,863 miles through Russia to study the causes and extent of the famine. Their report, printed in a pamphlet of 48 pages by the Nation Press, contains a scientific analysis of Russian agricultural and economic conditions; the effects of war, blockade and drought; the attitude of the peasants; the new policy of the Soviet Government. An indispensable first hand document. Price 15 cents, postpaid.

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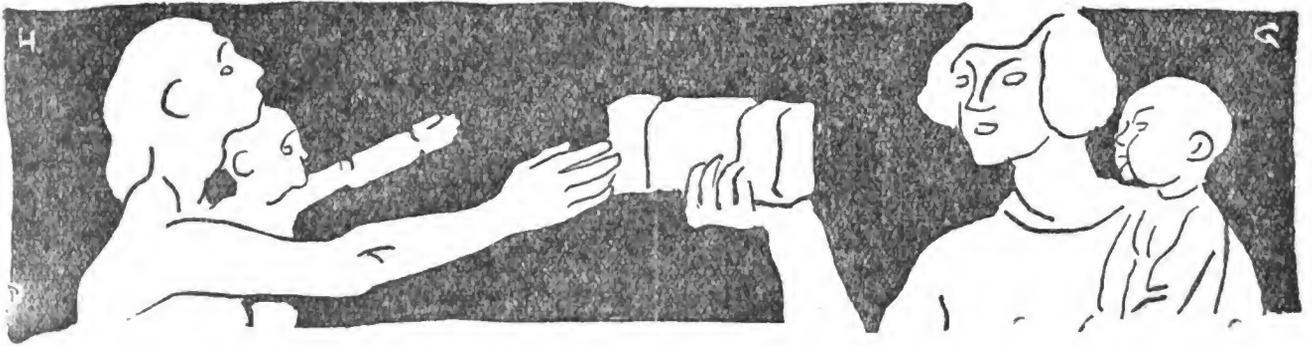
Vol. VI, No. 2



Famine's Family Life: a Poster by Kizil Zdanovich, which won a 500,000 ruble prize at a Tiflis Exposition.

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What Can We Do for Russia?

By FRIDTJOF NANSEN

(“Extract from Provisional Record, League of Nations, International Labor Conference, Third Session, Geneva,” No. 17, November 12, 1921.)

In introducing Dr. Nansen, the Chairman (LORD BURNHAM, President of the Conference), said: Ladies and Gentlemen, nowhere in Europe, and, I think I may say, nowhere in the world, is it necessary to say much in introducing Dr. Nansen to any audience. His reputation is world-wide for great achievements and for humane sympathy. This evening he speaks as High Commissioner of the Geneva Conference on the Russian Famine, on which Conference he tells me thirty of the countries of the world are represented. He is leaving for Russia on Monday morning, and he will naturally make his own statement as to the ways and means whereby it may be possible for the nations to do something, at all events, to alleviate the sore suffering of the Russian people.

I do not mean to anticipate either his description—which would be beyond my power—or his suggestions, which he had much better explain for himself. I only wish, therefore, to assure him that at this informal meeting of International Labor, he is assured of a warm welcome, and that, although we may not all be able to endorse, in every particular, the recommendations that he may make, we are all in accord with him in our desire to do what we can to mitigate what is known to be one of the most awful catastrophes which has ever befallen a great country.

I therefore now have the honor of asking Dr. Nansen to address you.

DR. NANSEN: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I need hardly assure you what an honor and how great a privilege I consider it to be allowed to address you on this occasion, to address the Third Meeting of the Labor Conference of the League of Nations. I need not, I trust, say many words in order to express to you, and to your President, my gratitude for this privilege. It gives me an opportunity, and an opportunity for which I could hardly have hoped, of carrying out, in one essential part, the mandate which was laid upon my shoulders by the Conference on the Russian Famine in Geneva, by which I was appointed High Commissioner. The mandate I received from

that Conference was to organize the relief for Russia as far as means were available, but it was not only to organize; it was also to appeal to the public opinion of the whole world to cooperate in the work which the Conference had met to undertake. My mandate was to appeal to the generosity, to the statesmanship and as I think, to the interests of the Governments, and to the charity of the people.

The essentials of the problem which I wish to lay before you for your consideration are more than simple. By now, they are more or less known to every one throughout the world. I need say no more than a word in explanation of the situation as I presented it to the Assembly of the League of Nations and as I think it still substantially remains. As I see it, and I have tried to reduce it to its plainest and most essential terms, the situation is this. In Russia there are twenty million men women and children threatened with death by starvation, and not many hundred miles from the region where these people are starving there is abundance of food which could be used to feed them. It remains for us only to find the means to move this food—that is all that is necessary to be done. When we look at the map of Russia as it is at this moment, as regards the distribution of the famine, we find that it is the Valley of the Volga which is especially smitten by the drought and famine. It stretches from Kazan southwards towards the Caspian Sea and towards the Black Sea—not quite so far. There we have the famine district, where live between twenty and thirty million people. It was the richest district of Russia and the best granary of Europe. Here the people are absolutely without food, or almost entirely. When we move westwards in Russia towards Moscow, for instance, there begin to be slightly better conditions, and when we pass Moscow westwards, for instance, as on the journey to Riga, we find conditions fairly normal. In the Western part of Russia the harvest has brought a great surplus this year, which is available for Eastern Russia if only we could get hold of it.

The Causes of the Famine

What are the causes of this famine? It has been said that the cause is solely the Bolshevik regime. That seems a very simple answer, but is it true? If it was true, you would naturally expect the famine to be distributed over the whole of Russia; especially you would not expect to find it in the richest granary regions of that Empire. But, as I have just told you, the fact is that the famine is found in the richest parts, in the most fertile parts of Russia, while in the Western part, which was never very rich, so far as food production goes, there is a great surplus. That is sufficient to show that the cause given is not correct. The chief cause of the famine is simply that there has been a terrible drought this year in that region where the famine now exists. This drought occurs sometimes in Russia—this is not the first time. We had a famine, though on a very small scale, some ten years ago—in 1911. We had a very great and very serious famine, of about the same magnitude as the present one, thirty years ago, in 1891, under the Tsarist regime, when many people died.

So it is not quite a new experience in Russia. But besides the drought we have also to consider that the country has been exposed to the consequences of seven years of war. A great many of those years were given over to civil war, which is worse for a country than war against another country. In addition to that, the country has had the blockade, which prevented at least agricultural machinery from going into it.

In this way, the area of cultivation in Russia has been reduced from year to year.

In addition to that, they have also had the Soviet regime, which has not been favorable to the development of agriculture up till now. The Soviet principle used to be that of requisitioning from the peasant all the surplus he had and only paying him in paper, which could not buy anything for him. It could not buy agricultural machinery, because it did not exist, and it could not buy clothing. Consequently the peasant said, "I will not cultivate more than is necessary for myself and my family; otherwise it will be taken away from me." In this way also the resistance of the country was reduced. But the Soviet Government discovered the bad results of their principle, and therefore gave up the system of requisitioning, and they have now introduced a system of taxing the peasant in kind, and he is allowed to keep his surplus and to sell it as he thinks fit. This has greatly improved the agricultural position in Russia, but unfortunately too late.

The country itself does not aim at coping with the effect of the drought. It is therefore rapidly sinking and approaching complete ruin. This ruin will be still worse next year because of the reduction of area sown and the disappearance of cattle. I need not explain to this Assembly what it means when the live stock of a country has to be reconstructed.

All this will happen if no help is forthcoming from outside. There is in Russia at this moment another evolution going in a more hopeful direction. The Government is more and more adopting a new policy of reconstruction, having abandoned in practice the Communist principle. They are now going back to private property. Trade has been given free play. For instance in the streets of Moscow this year everything available is being sold and purchased by the people. Peasant ownership of land is now an established and recognized principle. The payment of wages is no more made in the form of rations, but is made in money. The Government is trying to stabilize the money system, which is badly ruined. As an example I might tell you that ten thousand rubles at the present moment is hardly worth a Swiss franc, or an English shilling. They are trying now to establish banks, which of course, is not very communistic, and private enterprise is much encouraged in various ways; at least it is considered as very desirable.

Don't Discuss—Do Something

These two evolutions are fighting each other. Western Europe, for which a healthy Russia is an absolute necessity, will have to help the evolution towards a sounder economic life and towards sounder conditions on the whole against the other terrible evolution towards misery. But time is precious. Every month lost in discussion makes that fight more terrible. The means needed for the economic reconstruction of Russia will next year be three or four times greater than the means needed now before the spring and before the spring sowing, and in the meantime millions of people will have died.

Without losing time in discussing the political problems of Russia, Western Europe must take every opportunity of securing possibilities of contributing to the economic reconstruction of Russia. Six weeks ago I pointed out to the Assembly of the League of Nations that I had been to Russia, that I had seen the authorities of the Soviet Government, that I had made with them an agreement with which I was satisfied and with which everyone who has seriously examined it was satisfied and was sure that relief given for the famine areas would actually reach the starving people. We were satisfied that the Soviet authorities would, to the best of our belief, do everything in their power to assist and to promote whatever work of relief might be begun, but that the element of time was a vital factor; unless the help that was required could be brought to Russia before the end of November it would come too late, and that the failure to bring such help would mean, in every human probability, the death of many millions of people.

To meet the situation, I asked the Governments for help. I asked for credit to be given by the Members of the League for altogether £5,000,000. To me that is not a great price for so great a

number of human lives, especially considering that it would be divided between the Governments of the world; but I could not get what I asked for, and I shall have to tell you now what I believe to be the consequences of my failure. It is now November. What has happened on the Volga? Was I right or was I wrong? Have starving millions died or are they threatened with probable death? The answer, I am afraid, is that they are dying. They are dying in hundreds every day, and soon they will be dying in thousands every day. They will die of cold and hunger, the most terrible of all deaths.

So Long As Mr. Gregory Keeps Out of Russia

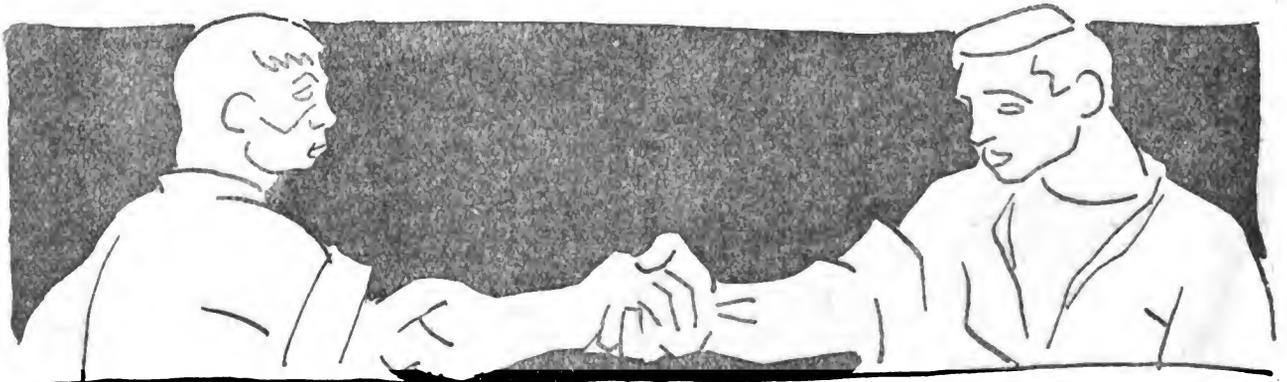
But I am glad to tell the Conference that I believe the situation, appalling as it is, is not so bad as I predicted it would be, for more has been done to bring relief than I had thought possible unless the Governments gave the sum for which I asked. The voluntary agencies have accomplished a work far greater than I thought they could accomplish. In particular, I should like to pay a tribute to the magnificent work accomplished by the American Relief Association under the leadership of Mr. Hoover. Some day the world will know perhaps the sum total of the great work which Mr. Hoover on behalf of the charitable agencies of his great and generous country has been able to accomplish. (*Applause.*) In all that he has done in past years he has attempted nothing so tremendous and has accomplished nothing so remarkable and so worthy of praise and admiration as the work on which he is now engaged. He has undertaken to feed one million children. The speed with which he has organized his machinery and administration, the amazing rapidity with which he has brought supplies to places where they were needed, leads one to hope that the work which he will accomplish will surpass even the magnificent promise he has made.

I must add, in justice, that the efforts which have been made by the Soviet Government have surpassed anything that I supposed to be within their power. I have repeated so often on the platform of the Assembly of the League that I am

inspired by no motive of politics, that I think I need make no apology in this House for giving credit where credit is due. Every agent of every organization—and there are many organizations now working in Russia—is agreed that the energy, resource and determination of the Government authorities in Russia in combating the famine, in organizing charitable relief, and in devising every measure to alleviate distress, have surpassed their hopes and expectations.

Relief Organizations Working in Russia

The work for which I myself am responsible has not stood still. It is not necessary for me to give again a catalogue of all the generous contributions which have been made or of all the works of relief which have been, and are being, organized under my authority. The magnificent gift made to me by His Holiness the Pope is well known. Everybody knows of the efforts of the Save the Children Fund, which has promised to support 250,000 children. Everyone has heard of the action of the Swedish Government and the Swedish Red Cross, who a week ago despatched their first expedition with a consignment of supplies sufficient to keep alive 8,000 persons for two months. They are to follow it up with a second expedition in a week or two from now. The Society of Friends, who have worked in Russia for three years and who hope from November 15th to maintain 45,000 men and women, have undertaken to increase the number to 125,000 people. The Russian Famine Relief Fund in Great Britain has collected money and is raising great sums at this moment. The socialistic Parties of Italy have collected 2½ million lire for despatch of food supplies to the Volga, and the Italian Government have promised to supply the necessary ships for the transport. The International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam have given me permission to administer two million marks' worth of medical stores for the fighting of epidemic diseases, and they have great funds available which they are to use for supporting childrens' homes. One great British newspaper has raised a fund which, in a few weeks, has reached no less a total than £14,000.



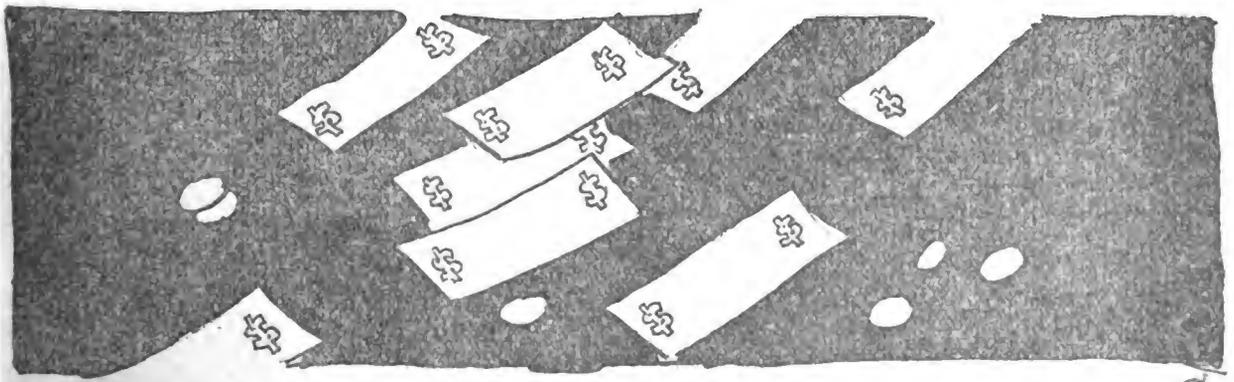
Help the Russian workers by giving them food and clothing.

The International Cooperative Alliance has just written to me to tell me, that they have ordered to be collected large sums which will be available for Russia and Georgia, and some of the Governments have acted—though not as I should like them to act, but still they have acted—and given good help. The British Government has given war stocks to the value of a quarter of a million sterling and the dispatch of those war stocks is to begin in a few days to the areas where they are needed. The French Government have voted five million francs, the Norwegian Government have already given something like one and half million kroner in gifts and in credits to the famine. The Swiss Government have voted 100,000 francs as a first contribution to the work of sanitary defense against disease, and the Epidemic Commission of the League of Nations, whose collaboration was promised by the Resolution of the Assembly, has begun contact with the Health Authorities of the Russian Government, and I hope they will agree to dispatch a Representative to help me in my Moscow Office. They are using such resources as they have at their disposal for ending the terrible epidemic of diseases which threaten Europe. This is substantial; it is great work, and, let me say in passing, it is work which still, if only in its beginning, has already proved the principle of many of the assertions I made at the Assembly.

Though Starving, They Must Plow

My agents in the famine area support every word that I then said as to the appalling gravity of the situation. The unanimous reports are that the agreement I made is one which works and one which gives every reasonable guarantee that could be asked for, and with similar unanimity, every agent of every organization, whether private or governmental, reports that the Soviet authorities have shown every disposition to render to the work of relief every conceivable sort of assistance and cooperation. No request they make, calculated to promote the rapidity of the relief work, is refused by the authorities, either in Moscow or in the areas where they work. But this work, great though it is, and successful though it may

be, within its limits, is not enough. It must be increased, and increased as much as possible, if the great tragedy which I predicted is not to come to pass. For anyone fighting the famine is not faced with one problem alone, but with two. He is faced with the problem of famine this winter also. It is not enough to keep the people alive through the months that must pass before they reap any crop. It is also necessary to ensure that there shall be another crop for them to reap! It is necessary to ensure that while they are suffering from lack of bread they should also sow their fields, because if they do not sow, neither will they reap, and the famine which is on them this year will be as nothing as compared with the famine which will smite them in the year to come. To make men sow their fields, while their wives and children starve around them, is almost a miracle, yet it is a miracle which the Russian people have, in the months just passed, accomplished. While they have grain for a few weeks only, they plough their fields and sow them. I am assured by every competent witness, Russian, English, and American, that they have sown more than they sowed last year. They have sown half their autumn sowing in normal years before the war, and they did not sow more, because they had no more grain to sow. It was a great achievement, due to the indomitable will of the Russian peasants, and to the lead, it must be frankly admitted, of their government authorities. But the autumn sowing is one thing and the spring sowing is quite another. In the autumn, the animals were still alive to do the ploughing, but by the spring, the animals will be dead, and the peasants know it. They have no food to give them, and no hope of keeping them alive. Knowing it, they have ploughed already, before the winter has begun, part of the area which they want to sow when the fields are open once again. But they have only worked a small part, and if they are to sow an area large enough to prevent a recurrence of famine next year, yet more terrible than that from which they are now suffering, something must be done to organize their spring work. I may point out that the production of Russia, according to in-



These counterfeits are not intended to deceive you. They are meant to suggest that you should send a donation in money, to help the starving, to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York.

formation I have received, consists of one-third, due to autumn sowing, and two-thirds due to spring sowing. You will understand that if no spring sowing can be carried out, the situation will be appalling. For a spring sowing, two things are needed, grain for seed, and means by which the fields can be made ready to receive it. Grain can be had for money, and money must be found. But how can fields be ploughed, if all the animals are dead? They are dying, and I think it is hardly too much to say that the greater part of them are already dead.

Send Farm Machinery to Russia

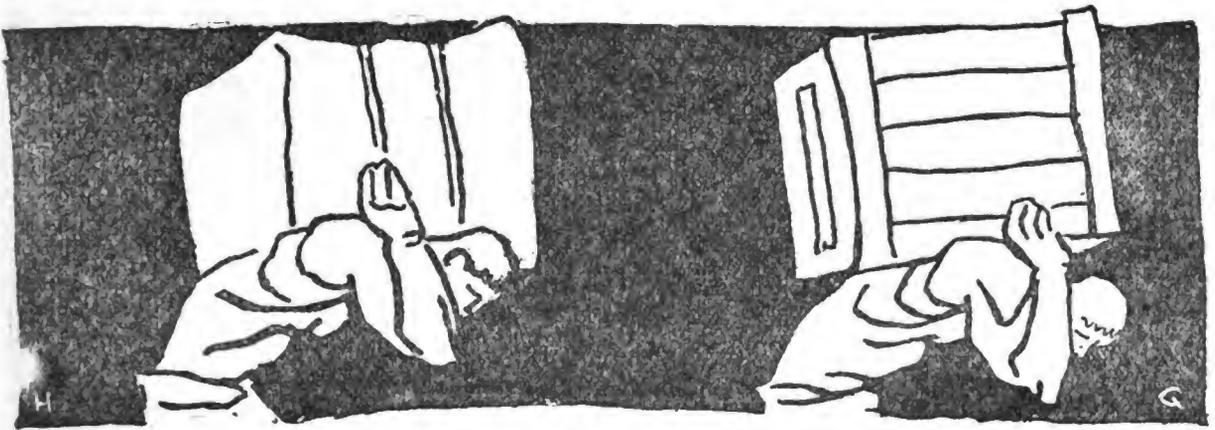
I have a plan which I believe would work, which, if it succeeded, might not only save the present situation, but which might do much to rebuild the economic prosperity of Russia and to increase the output of the greatest of the potential granaries of the world. It is a simple plan, but a bold and costly one. It is this: To organize, during the next few months, the dispatch to the famine areas, on a great scale, of tractor ploughs, and to send with the tractor ploughs, experts who could teach the Russian population how to use them. The difficulties of such an undertaking will spring to the mind of every member of this Conference. But I believe they could be overcome, or they might be. Of mechanics without employment, there is no lack in Russia. If we had the tractors, we could send the mechanics to drive them to the districts where they were needed. Petrol is also available. There are great quantities available at present at Novorossisk. With a small number of foreign experts to instruct the mechanics and to supervise their work, I believe a great part of the famine area could be ploughed. But how could the tractors be obtained? Besides tractors, all kinds of other agricultural machinery is also most desirable. Even spades, ploughs, sowing-machines, etc. I venture to submit, paradoxical though it may seem, to those in this hall who represent the industrial leaders of the world, that the sending of these tractors might be an exceedingly wise and perhaps an exceedingly remunerative commercial undertaking. For these tractors could be sold or hired to the Peasant Cooperative Societies of the areas which use them. The cost of their purchase or hire and transport could be paid for from the crops which these Societies will reap in the next few years. The Cooperative Societies, if they accepted such a proposition, which I have no doubt they would, would have the support of the Soviet Authorities. It would open a market and it would mean a stride in the art of agriculture, as practiced in Russia, the magnitude and importance of which this Conference can estimate far better than I can—far better than any other Body in the world. I submit that it might be a sound investment, but if the Industrial Companies who make tractors and agricultural machinery and tools in the various countries of Europe find that the risk is too great for them to take, I urge

that their Governments should support them by guaranteeing the credits which they will have to give.

I know that some of the Governments, and some of the most powerful Governments, have statutory powers from their Parliaments which would enable them to carry through such a plan, and I believe it is a plan which, in the long run, would profit everyone. It would help to relieve the terrible crisis of unemployment in the countries where unemployment is the first problem of the day, by the only rational method, which is, by ensuing production for the urgent needs of other and still more unfortunate people who need the goods which will be produced. I do not say that this plan will work. I say I believe it will, and I am leaving this sitting for Moscow on the day after tomorrow to find out whether, so far as Russia is concerned, it could be brought about. When I have satisfied myself, there, I will come back to Europe to renew the appeal which I have made to the Governments and to the people which they represent, to grant the money which alone can avert the catastrophe which threatens Russia.

All Men Must Aid

I must not detain this conference much longer. In conclusion, perhaps I may say that I am aware that the economic reconstruction of Russia is a great problem, which can only be solved by the building up of the normal interchange of trade and commerce, and that that will be a long, a slow and a painful process. But it is a process of incalculable importance to the whole of Europe. I venture to say that the economic interests of every country forbid the States to allow this catastrophe to come about. It is chiefly the economic aspect of the Russian problem that I have dealt with here, as I thought that might be of special interest to this Conference. But there is, of course, the other and far more important side of the problem, the purely humanitarian one. Millions of human beings like ourselves are suffering and dying from hunger and cold, the most terrible death. Is it possible for us not to help all that we are able to? When we know that for every pound sterling, every twenty francs we spend without need, we could save a child's life, is it possible for us to do nothing? Every voluntary organization, every peoples' party, every work of charity, and every individual man and woman must be appealed to to contribute something, however small. Whatever is given now will help some miserable man or woman or child to be dragged through the interminable days and nights of the terrible winter months that lie before them. But even if this work were increased, even if it succeeded beyond anything which we could reasonably hope for, it would not suffice. This is a task which cannot be accomplished by relief from charitable sources alone. It is too great. The Governments must come in, and I am sure they will come in the end.



Donations of clothing are always welcome at the Warehouse of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 429 East 8th St., New York.

What is the situation? Is there any lack of food in the world?

No! there is abundance of food at this moment.

Food Everywhere, Except in Russia

In Eastern Russia, as I have told you, millions of people are starving at this moment and suffering incredible misery. Some hundred miles from there, in a State bordering on Russia, there is a great surplus of food, enough to keep these millions alive. I may tell you that in Rumania alone there are, according to the latest statistics, cereals ready for export filling something like 140,000 wagons. That means 1,400,000 tons of wheat, rye, barley, and oats in Rumania alone, to feed the starving people. And across the ocean, in America, there is such an abundance of food that the farmer has not yet been able to dispose of his crops from last year. In Argentine there is such an abundance of maize, or has been, at least, that they burn it as fuel in their locomotive engines. In the United States their wheat is rotting in the storehouses because they cannot sell it; and in Canada the production of wheat ready for export at this moment is something like 5,000,000 tons—about three times what we need to save the situation in Russia and to feed those starving people.

Meanwhile, the ships and trains needed to bring the food to those who are dying for lack of it lie idle in the ports and stand idle on the sidings! Only money, and a negligible sum of money from the point of view of State finance, is required to enable the food to be brought to those who need it.

A Curious World to Live in

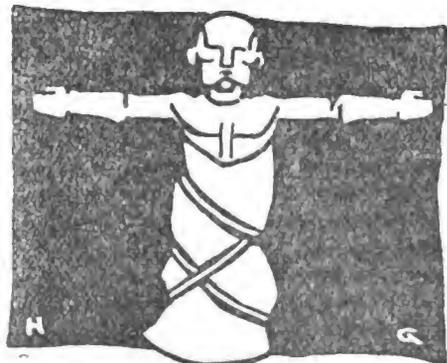
Is not the world absurd? Fancy somebody sitting on another planet and looking down on this planet of ours and seeing what is going on, seeing the people starving along the Volga Valley, seeing them in hundreds and thousands trying to find their way along the frozen roads of Russia to find food, and dying along the road, badly clothed, and some of them barefooted, and seeing in the other part of the world near by that there is so much

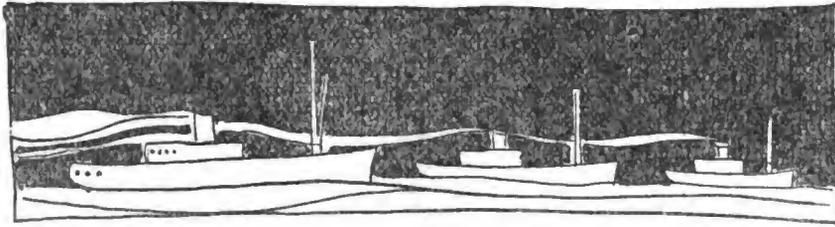
food that they do not know what to do with it! What would such a man think of us on this Earth? Would he think that the earth is, after all, as somebody said, the lunatic asylum of the universe, or would he think it was hell?

Was a man ever faced by a task more urgent, more terrible than mine? I ask for the help of every member of this great Conference. I ask every man and woman—I care not whether they represent Governments or employers or workers—to free their mind of every political consideration; I ask them in the name of human charity to think of the women and children on the frozen Volga! I ask them, when they go from here to their homes, to appeal to their trade unions, to appeal to their Cooperative Societies, to appeal to their Parliaments, to appeal to the great masses of their people, to take a part in the work of helping Russia.

It is a work that must be done. It is more; it is a work that can be done if you only want to do it. The peoples of the world are learning hard things; they are learning through the League of Nations to curb the dogs of war; they are learning through your great liberal organization to cooperate in fighting social injustice and wrongs.

Let them now show that they can act together, before it is too late, to prevent the most terrible of the tragedies that have followed in the train of war. (*Loud applause.*)





The American Relief Administration

By A. EIDUK

(This article, from "Izvestya" of November 30, is by the Russian Representative on the Staff of the A. R. A. in Russia. We print it because the last paragraph, which has been distorted abroad to indicate Russian interference with the A. R. A., is in reality an explanation of the A. R. A. work to the Russian people.)

Already for three months the American Relief Administration (A. R. A.) has been working in our country and yet its political function and practical significance are not yet understood in all quarters. This is particularly true of the provinces, in other words, particularly those places in which all the activity of the A. R. A. should be especially directed and developed. Indefinite understandings of this work have too frequently and too seriously injured the cause, and it is for this reason that I am going into print with a few explanations as to the facts in the case. At the present time we may state, with the figures at our disposal, that the A. R. A. fully justifies our expectations—but we should not cherish any exaggerated hopes in this direction. We must reckon with the facts and not forget that the A. R. A. is not a final solution of the question of the feeding of children in the famine districts, it is only, so to speak, a method of approach to such a solution, a provisional and furthermore a rather hastily constructed makeshift. It is from this standpoint that we must set out in judging its work, and we shall then see that as an organ of famine assistance the A. R. A. is unquestionably justifying our Riga agreement. Proceeding from the general and irrefutable proposition that we must utilize resolutely every possibility of supplementing our provision resources by an influx from abroad, we must consider the A. R. A. as the greatest possibility of this nature.

Let us consider the facts. All the aid from abroad (a mere drop in the bucket!) has given us from the beginning of the famine campaign until November 13 a number of shipments aggregating 1,129 carloads (1,024,902 poods and 2 lbs.), of which the A. R. A. contributed 902 carloads (829,286 poods and 5 lbs.), and we must remember that after November 13 the work of this organization continued expanding with increasing speed. In addition, we must also observe that by virtue of supplementary agreements this development is not only proceeding intensively but also extensively. The figures cited refer, as we have indicated, only to provision shipments, and at present we

are already receiving assistance from the A. R. A. in a number of other fields. Thus we are now receiving from this organization 320,500 pairs of shoes and 540,400 pairs of stockings for children and 33,775 garments of various kinds. This is only a beginning of the new field of work of the A. R. A. and we have every reason to await a continuance of this work. Our mutual relations with the A. R. A. are also expanding because of our poverty in medicaments. The famine is a source of all sorts of epidemics and infections of various kinds. Mortality and disease among children in the cropless districts are actually frightful. For example: in the district of Kazan (Tatar Republic) the mortality amounts to 44.4 per cent of the number of children who fall sick, and not less than 20 per cent of the entire child population fall sick. And until such time as we have in the provinces a sufficient quantity of the most necessary medicinal supplies, we shall be hopelessly inefficient in the struggle with this high death rate. The A. R. A. has already placed at our disposal as many as thirty carloads of medicaments. In the opinion of competent comrades of the Commissariat of Health, this already amounts to a very essential assistance.

In October the A. R. A. had 1481 food stations in actual operation, which served 216,081 children. In November there is a striking change. The A. R. A. in that month was already guaranteeing the feeding of 965,000 children. I repeat, this is not a solution of the situation, since we have more than 6 million starving children. But in any case it amounts to a real assistance. Often we have occasion to hear statements made that the Americans are giving the children only a "supplementary" ration. This is true from a purely formal standpoint and not true in reality. As a matter of fact, this "supplementary" ration, as to its caloric value, constitutes only one-third of the normal feeding required by children, but what is there to be done after the publication of the figures of the People's Commissariat of Health! This "supplementary" ration often is the only "basic ration" the children get. Why waste words

on this subject when, for example, my representative discovers in the Marxstadt morgue (in the German Commune on the Volga) eleven corpses of children who died of hunger in a single night, and by their side lay the nurses of the children's hospital, who had also died of hunger! In the Tatar Republic there are 990,276 children absolutely unsupplied with food. In the Province of Samara there are more than a million children who have no "supplementary" ration to receive from anyone (supplementary to their own ration). I am giving figures from two reports only, but the remaining figures would be just as deplorable. To be over particular about the "caloric value" of the American assistance, in the presence of these figures, seems somewhat unnecessary.

The extension of the activity of the A. R. A. has recently had a pronounced effect even on the adult population, since as many as 30,000 hospital patients are being provided rations by the A. R. A., not to mention the medical assistance furnished.

We should not pass over in silence the new operations of the A. R. A., to which we have consented in our endeavors to find ways and means of supplementing our food resources from the outside—I speak now of the opening of American depots for food packages. It is premature as yet to speak of the further course of these operations, but there are indications that they will justify all the hopes that the famine has forced us to place in them.

Hopeful Attitude Toward A. R. A.

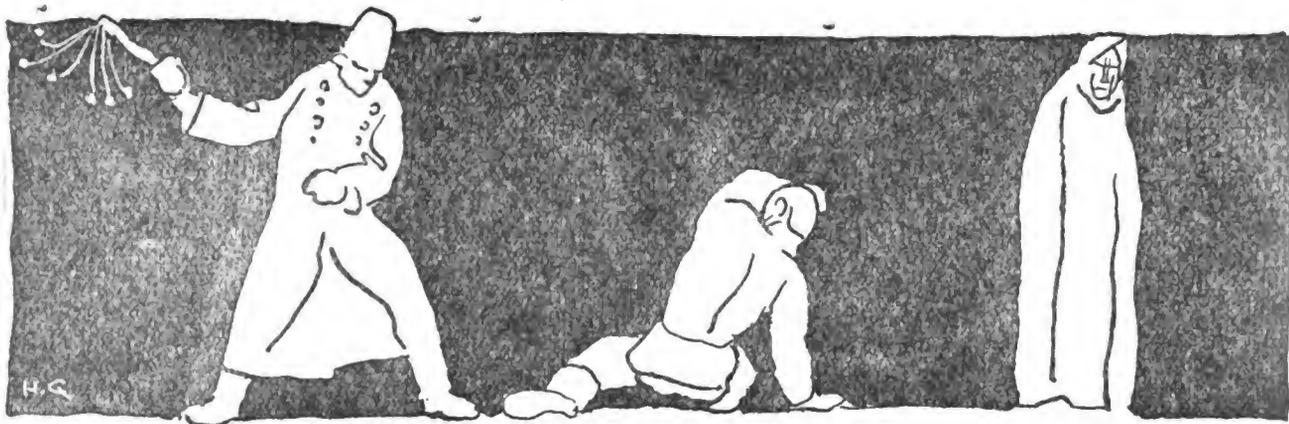
The above is merely a hasty review of the facts justifying our optimistic standpoint toward the work of the A. R. A. The provisions are here; they have delivered the goods. The A. R. A., as we see, is useful to us, and consequently is necessary for us, and to everything that is really useful, experience has taught us to devote the utmost attention, for it is often but a single step from the "useful" to the "necessary".

But do we really everywhere give to the work of the A. R. A. the amount of attention that would be commensurate with its results? With regard to the central regions the answer would no doubt be in the affirmative, but as for the provinces, to judge from the reports of my representatives, the answer would be different. In the latter places many have not yet succeeded, through "lack of time", to make clear to themselves what the A. R. A. is, and in a number of cases (this is an actual fact) have not even heard of it. I am not speaking now of the dark peasant masses of our scattered pathless villages. In the Volga district, for example, the peasants have only heard of Ara as of "some foreigners going around with goods on the Volga". This is, unfortunately, to be understood, but it is amazing to observe that even some of the workers "in the famine" have heard very little more of the A. R. A. Through neglect of their obligations they have come to neglect paying sufficient attention to the activity of the A. R. A.

Owing to this condition, many of the comrades have as yet by no means "found their bearings", and accordingly have not been able to adapt themselves to the tempo of the A. R. A. work. They must overcome their red tape, their paper attitude toward business, their eternal committees, their endless sessions. Here in the famine regions, of course more than in any other place, the old Latin proverb should be repeated: "He who gives quick aid gives double aid". As a result of this inertia of our apparatus in connection with the A. R. A., which is based on many causes, we in some instances go to lengths that are completely absurd. The A. R. A. food is at hand, and all around people are dying of starvation, because we "do not manage" to deliver it in time and to the proper place. Now there are no workers, now there are no quarters, now no "plan of supply" has been drawn up, elsewhere "lists of children" are not prepared. Always something is "not" at hand at the moment when the most important element—the food—is available. This is ridiculous and in the future must not be tolerated. The A. R. A. is a purely business organization and we must respond to it with the same energetic efficiency. In the presence of a conflagration one does not quarrel as to the causes of the blaze, but puts it out. In these days of constantly growing wretchedness one thing is important: the A. R. A. is bringing us, as I have indicated above, real aid, and therefore it is our duty to respond to its real cooperation, and not only in thoughtful and dreamy poses.

At the present moment the Russian Section of the A. R. A. has succeeded in organizing for the service of the provinces the necessary body of sufficiently energetic and experienced collaborators. Thanks to their businesslike aggressiveness, the work of the A. R. A. suddenly made a great forward stride. A sufficient evidence of this is the opening of great numbers of new food stations that have been reported in the last few days. But even now, at the end of November, we must observe with regret that the November plan has by no means as yet been carried out, in other words, the food that has been delivered to the provinces has not yet reached the empty stomachs of the population. And even the extremely energetic staff of workers in the Russian Section, it seems, will remain powerless if it is not supported by all the energies of the local workers.

It is of course an unnatural situation that the A. R. A. should be obliged to expend its resources and its strength in feeding children at Moscow and Petrograd at a time when the actually starving people—in some cases the actually dying in the Volga region—so badly need these things. This unnatural condition offends the eyes of many comrades who are not initiated in the "secrets" of the A. R. A., but it would be senseless to permit the American foodstuffs to go to waste because we "do not manage" to get them eaten along the Volga.



The Ethical Revolution

By PIERRE PASCAL

(Concluded from last issue)

Woman

EQUALITY between men would be a senseless deception if one entire half of mankind should be excluded. Is there anything more outrageous than the position of woman in capitalist society? The law subordinates them to their husbands in all the walks of life; bourgeois morality condemns them mercilessly in the same cases in which it exonerates the men; the law denies them civic rights and forbids them all political activity; custom banishes them from intellectual life. While there may be a few exceptions as to the last point, they are to be found only in a very limited circle of the money aristocracy or that of intellect. In the proletariat, including the petty bourgeoisie, there is to be added to all these injustices the burden of running a house, a crushing, stupefying, unproductive, daily repeating grind. This is the lot of woman in the countries that dare call themselves civilized. And such was also the lot at one time of the Russian woman, with a few shades of difference, expressing itself in numerous proverbs, of which the following is an example: "Neither is a hen a bird, nor a woman a human being."

Nekrassov, the poet of tortured, laboring Russia, ceaselessly laments the painful lot of the peasant woman, a dog's life, work that is far too hard, beatings, insults, constant humiliations. This monstrous injustice had to be eradicated by Communism; here there was a real work of liberation to be performed; the feeling of human dignity had to be awakened in woman. This task has not yet been completely solved. A newspaper recently condemned one of the surviving customs that still serve as interesting and painful reminders of the path that has been covered by the revolution: there are still Communists who adhere to the good old custom of beating their wives.

But today a wife is officially the equal of her

husband; the mere declaration is of immense value, for capitalism never made any such utterance.

Furthermore, the working woman, whose lower physical capacity is guarded by numerous laws, receives the same pay for the same work as does the working man. She votes, she may be elected to the factory councils, she has a voice at every congress, she is a member of trade unions, belongs to the Commissariat of Education and the other Commissariats, is chosen as a delegate. The free meals given to the workers in the municipal dining rooms relieve her of many household cares; the day nurseries, kindergartens and schools free her from the worst burdens of motherhood.

The working woman remains a woman and a mother, but she is now a full-fledged member of human society. She may become a Communist, attend conferences; she organizes recreation periods, learns to read and to write, teaches these accomplishments to others, and develops her faculties in all fields, simultaneously, equally, and with the same right as does her comrade, the man. This is no longer a dream, but a sure, though slow, process, the comparative speed of which must continue to astonish us, when we consider the obstacles that had to be surmounted. Much has already been done. In the several Workers' Congresses that have already been held at Moscow it is sufficient to look at the women delegates elected by the masses, to be able to say that woman now already possesses a soul, a collective soul, a soul that concerns itself with political and social problems, which introduces into public life the seriousness and skill she has shown as a good housewife. Lenin once said that the time would come when every woman cook will have to learn to participate in the administration of the State. He said that Communism was inconceivable without woman, without the working and peasant woman. Inspired by an exceptionally brilliant and self-sacrificing

woman like Kollontay and others in the dominating group of the Communist Party, who founded "Women's Sections" in all their committees, you will see working and peasant women assembled at the congresses, discussing the report of the Soviets, electing their delegates, who are to supervise the housing question, the common dining rooms, day nurseries, kindergartens, courses for illiterates, propagate among their fellow women the new idea of conscious cooperation in the social life. There is no province, no district, in which you will not find congresses of working and peasant women; the former guide the latter, open their eyes for them. Even the individual districts have their women's congresses. Even more progress than this has been made: in Moscow and particularly in Petrograd the most backward and conservative element has been approached—the housewife. Cut off from the rural economy, and strangers to the life of the proletariat, living in ignorance among the petty bourgeois, it is just these women who circulate those wild and foolish fairy tales by which the spiritless and helpless class, attempts to avenge its destruction, those fairy tales that the allied bourgeoisie a week later will print in its hireling press. And precisely these housewives are now called upon to send delegates—mostly "unknown birds"—to the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow. This fact is of immense importance when we recall that the "democratic" French Republic, fearing the influence of the clergy, has always refused to grant the right of suffrage to woman.

Bukharin correctly said on the subject of a General Congress of Women: "A new human has been born that could never under any circumstances have seen the light. It has not been sufficiently noticed that, owing to the activities of the Revolution in the Communist Party, courageous and capable fighters and creators, true heroes, are rising out of the mass of the people, active women, simple working women, simple peasant women, that were formerly considered mere beasts, now they are beginning to feel themselves humans, to participate in the social struggle, gradually to take part in the government of the State, to sit in the Soviets and the Executive Committees."

Woman has gained, owing to the Revolution, even in the formerly privileged classes. Freed from their husbands, no longer the spiritless and conscienceless playthings of love for their husbands, they have now really become a part of the social life. The female Soviet clerks have more easily, although sometimes against their will, taken this path of salvation than the working woman, who has been frequently stupefied by ignorance and indifference, and is unsophisticated in all political matters. These women now profit, without being conscious of the fact, from the acts of the Proletarian Revolution. A number of the female employees have already learned the value of devoting themselves to some fruitful task, and some of them have become valued collaborators in the great work of social creation.

Approaching the Abolition of Classes

The Proletarian regime, rational and progressive as it is, has an invigorating influence even on the classes hostile to it and is drawing them into the ever broadening circle of social harmony. This phenomenon, this consequence of the Proletarian dictatorship, which seems a paradox at first glance, repeats itself in all fields. And this is the reason why those elements that have stubbornly resisted participating in the social harmony, as well as the obstacles to proletarian equality still existing in the new society, seem now like anachronisms. The Communist idea has already sunk into all hearts.

From the purely theoretic standpoint it is true that classes have not yet been completely abolished. Lenin points out that the small landed peasants will for a long time continue existing side by side with the proletariat before classes pass away; furthermore, there still remain traces of the bourgeoisie and, unfortunately, of the bourgeois spirit. But it is a fact that while the last remaining members of the bourgeoisie may, if they so desire, constitute a world by themselves, they cannot fail to recognize the fact that it is they who are now shutting themselves off from the great highway, the road that leads to life and to civilization.

The fact is that the workers of all categories have now been united in a single great harmonious family, in which the senseless distinctions of a former day are rapidly disappearing. Physical and mental work are equally in demand, equally rewarded, protected and respected. There are no longer in this country any "disinherited of the earth", any pariah class.

The word *tovarishch* (Comrade) is the expression of this mighty fraternal movement, and it lacks the legal coldness, the individualistic egoism of the designation "citizen". This word indicates not only the members of one political party (it has lost this limitation), but now means every member of the immense family of the workers. It recalls the bygone gloomy times of suffering, of struggle, of common hopes, of prison, strikes, of solidarity of the disinherited. Today this word signifies a kindly mutual aid, the manly energy of the masters of the future. It is a rebuke, an encouragement, a reasoning force, a collective heart. Woe to them that deride this epithet!

Human Dignity

This equality, which is not only legal but also economic and therefore real, has developed altogether new feelings in Russia, feelings of great social value, particularly that of human dignity, which has a determining influence on every act that is undertaken.

What person that traveled in Russia before the revolution fails to recall how he swore at the countless gratuities that had to be paid on every manner of occasion? The tips, this humiliating custom, transforming every social function into a private service, and inseparable from capitalist society, were one of the sores of the Russian régime.

Today they have been completely done away with: all callings, including that of domestic servants, have their labor tariffs fixed by the Commissariat of Labor and their trade unions, thus affording no play for personal whim.

It will also be recalled how much begging there was in Russia. Today begging has become very unusual, for the distribution of labor and public maintenance are organized on a rational basis. If any cases of begging should arise, they must be ascribed to the endless war to which we have been condemned by our enemies, who are also the enemies of the whole human race, and which is using up our resources.

Prostitution and Bribery

Prostitution, this sore of capitalism, no longer disports itself in the streets, now that it is possible for women to earn their sustenance by honest work.

One interesting point is the fact that no law, no ordinance, was passed to abolish either the tips, or begging, or prostitution; the former have already disappeared, and the latter is gradually disappearing, together with the capitalistic causes that led to its existence, while the proletarians are simultaneously rising to higher levels of human dignity.

There was once a quarter in Moscow that was rarely shown to the stranger without a sense of shame: the place of assignation, the sad living testimony to the sum total of capitalistic depravity. On one side were the Morozov and Ryabushinsky mansions, palaces, gems of art and architecture, homes of distinction and delight, on the other side was the cloaca, the *Khitry Rynok*; neither could exist without the other. The *Khitry Rynok* was a square not far from the foundling asylum, wallowing in mud, surrounded by buildings exuding a vile alcoholic atmosphere, the gathering ground of vice and misery, where all the shipwrecked existences of bourgeois society were accustomed to strand. Here you could see the unfortunates whom society had first crushed and then spewed out: half-naked men and women in shameless embrace, depraved children, ragged creatures, de-classed persons, the diseased, the abandoned, mad gamblers, alcoholists that had drunk up the price of their last shirt, professional idlers, and chronic invalids dying slowly of hunger, as well as crooks, thieves, rowdies. This was the picturesque and symbolic focus of infection that threatened to invade all Moscow with its filth, its fleas, the stench of its alcohol, its degradation. A man who might drift into this place when despair had made him lose mastery of himself, was lost for life. It was not an ordinance, not a decree that destroyed the *Khitrovka*; it died of its own accord on the day when the Morozov and the Ryabushinsky mansions were nationalized. I passed by the other day; vegetables and old clothes were being sold on this public place. The dirty dens of the environs had long ago been disinfected by Semashko's dis-

infection units, and the unfortunates whose refuge they had been have now been admitted to the society of labor.

Another well-known sore on the Russian body politic was that of bribery. On this subject we could get much information from the honorable French industrial magnates, who once exploited Russia so magnificently. They never could say enough, in their virtuous indignation, concerning corruption in this country. But whenever a law was to be evaded that seemed to set a limit to their avarice and their wild egoism, by affording the workers an appearance of protection, how skillfully these fellows, Giraud, or Siou, or the rest, knew how to make use of the weapon of bribery! They were certain of impunity, and the evil was ineradicable, since it was as old as the first outrages of Ivan the Terrible. The whole administrative system was built up on this notion, as it were; from the police employee to the Grand Duke, all functionaries would practice bribery with a clear conscience and in absolute security. Only a miracle could eradicate this fundamental evil; therefore there still remain army contractors who work little games with speculators, physicians who sell their signatures, heads of public stores who squander the national property. But inexorable war has been declared on all these people; high penalties are fixed for all those agents of authority who are guilty of accepting bribes; their crime is considered to be the most grave, the most unpardonable of all, as it attacks the foundations of the nation. Corruptibility, once the rule, has now become an exceptional offense.

It is furthermore to be remembered that this crime is hardly ever committed by a proletarian, but almost always by a bourgeois, by former policemen, officers, financiers, or merchants, some of whom may even have placed themselves honestly at the disposal of the Soviet Government, but have not yet had time to dispose of the deep-seated vices of their class. If you look closely at such a commissar, or such a dishonest and arbitrary head of a department, you will usually find in him some favorite of the old régime, hardly ever a proletarian. Once these last bourgeois miasmas have been wiped out, corruption and bribery will also be ended.

The Intellectual Level of Society

We have above reviewed certain important elements of the ethical advance made owing to economic equality and its direct consequences. An immense revolution has been accomplished in this field also. Let us now draw a comparison in another field between the bourgeois West and the so-called barbarism of the Soviets. Let us now consider the intellectual and ethical level of society in general.

The immense task of the Commissariat for Education, which is founding thousands of schools of all kinds that have programs that really prepare the pupils for living a large life, is probably

sufficiently known. The same is also true of the mighty enterprise that aims to teach some 70,000,000 illiterates to read, to write, to reckon, and to think. Information has already circulated as to the unheard of credits that are granted for public education and as to the favorable, almost privileged, position of the teaching staff.

But all this is nothing; we must consider the actual daily life. I hope university men will pardon me, but it is true that the mind of a modern people is moulded more by the press, by social conditions, by the entertainments, with which the people fill their hours of leisure, than by the schools.

In the capitalist states, the proletariat of the city has barely enough time to read the fiction section, the police news and the social scandals of their *Petit Journal*, or *Matin*, and then to seek some consolation for their misery in the movies or in the saloon. The petty bourgeois, the public employees, the clerks, are subject to the same lot. Even if a peasant has learned to read, he probably forgets all about it, twenty years later, for lack of any practice.

What They Read in Russia

But it is impossible for anyone to fail to be impressed by the variety of the mental food that is daily offered to the public in Soviet Russia.

The crisis in the paper industry demands economy; the papers are limited to a single sheet; and yet, where could you find more material than in an issue of a *Pravda* or of *Izvestia*? Instead of sensational and hollow interviews, you will find a practical course in political economy; instead of murder and other crimes, you encounter the spectacle of the slow upbuilding of an unparalleled thing: the Proletarian State.

Instead of sweet meaningless fiction columns, you will have a speech by Lenin or Trotsky, a resolution passed by a congress, or the text of a diplomatic note; instead of the "social news" column, you will have reports on the mighty historical duel between imperialism and the proletariat; instead of business announcements, data on the productiveness of the Soviet industry; instead of an exposure of love letters, you will find announcements of trade union, artistic, or political meetings.

Radek, Bukharin, Lunacharsky, Semashko, Lomov, Zinoviev, Trotsky, sometimes even Lenin,—these are the journalists of the Soviet press. They present their expositions to the public view, and ask for cooperation and counsel in exchange. They thus awaken in the masses an interest in the collective life of the great Commune. And the press plays this part not only in the capitals; the 400 newspapers of the provincial cities, even those of the smallest places, maintain themselves with more or less success on the same intellectual level. The newspapers are read a great deal. They reach the village Soviets, the military front, the rear, they are posted on the walls in cities and villages, read to the illiterate, and discussed in the clubs and the educational classes of the grown-ups.

On us, who are accustomed to this place, the French newspapers even the socialist newspapers, produce an impression of death and decay; reading them drives us to despair. We are surprised that any people can put up with such wretched, empty, decaying food. These newspapers strike many as the finest illustration of the dissolution of a whole system of society.

Let us turn to the books: here also literature consists almost exclusively of doctrine and teaching. The revolutionary novel—chiefly biographical in its nature, illuminates the psychology of the factories and of the provinces. (Sivalchev, *The Yellow Devil*; Boris Ivanov, *Recollection of a Socialist Worker*). Proletarian poetry sings of the new soul of common labor (Kitilov and Alexandrovsky). There are original and scientific studies of national economy (Bukharin: *The Political Economy of the Rentier*, or the *Criticism of the Austrian Theory, The Economic Laws of the Period of Transition*; Lenin: *The State and Revolution*, etc.) Also, practical guides to the organization of industry, collections of decrees, notes on the decrees, popular pamphlets in all the fields of science, agriculture, medicine, strategy, politics, etc.; and, besides, new editions of classical authors: Marx, Tolstoy, Gogol, Pushkin, Gorky, Turgeniev, Glyukhevsky, as well as translations of the best foreign authors: Barbusse, Anatole France and others.

In Moscow the young chauffeurs read pamphlets while they are waiting for a fare. The newsdealers devour the papers and periodicals, and orderlies are reading Tolstoy. I saw workers that were carrying home under their arms the four fat volumes of Klyuchevsky that the People's Commissariat for Education had issued in a new edition for twelve rubles. Formerly "good society" swore by Kuprin, the pornographer, while the common people contented themselves with foolish picture books. All this demoralizing truck has disappeared from top to bottom. The true intellectual is benefited by the new regime as much as are the people.

All society has gained in ethical seriousness. I pass the theatre every day that was at one time a place for foolish farces; now that it has passed into the hands of the Soviet of the quarter, you will find played there: Chekhov, Ostrovsky, Gorky, or the *Barbiere di Siviglia*, *Otello*, *Tartuffe*, the *Imaginary Sick Man*. The auditorium is full of Soldiers and young people. The actors are good, their repertoire instructive.

Now as to the matter of meetings. Anything may serve as a reason for a meeting. They are an uninterrupted training for citizens, they illuminate the internal and external policy, the needs of the Republic, the great role of the proletariat, the responsibility of each individual in the common work.

Even the posters in the streets stimulate curiosity, intelligence, energy, and social consciousness. The poster, formerly a tool of avaricious competitors, has now become an efficient means for the education of the masses.

The New Communist Man

It is a great pleasure to watch how Communism remolds men that have been kept by capitalism as debased machines, subservient to its will.

When you look at life in this country, you think with sadness of the ethical and intellectual poverty of the bourgeois west. Which is barbarism and which is civilization? Can not everyone see on the one hand a process of dying and on the other a process of life? How is it possible that not all honest people have already ventured the leap out of the realm of death into the realm of life and renovation? Or is it that death holds them, as it holds their whole class and their order of society in its inexorable clutches?

Paul Louis in his straight-forward and terrifying analysis of the "Ethical Decline" in capitalist countries, the depravity of the ruling classes, whom the tremendous war profits have denuded of all shame and all restraint, "extravagance, contempt for the needs of others, unbridled selfishness, unlimited appetites, ignorance of the common weal, a mad lust for amusements of the coarsest and most vulgar type," and even worse still, the infection travels from one to the other, takes hold of all elements of society, from the "nouveau riches" to the masses, whom it infects in turn. All social classes are gradually involved by the double lust for profit and for low enjoyments. There is nothing more disheartening than this picture, which is confirmed not only by those who travel in capitalist countries, but even by statements reluctantly made by the great bourgeois press. One might almost believe that the capitalist world had come upon its second childhood: there are beauty contests; a movie actress is the object of the adoration of 600,000 Parisians and 200,000 Londoners; the barbarous fox-trot becomes the successor of the tango, when the latter appears too refined; the famous English physicist, Oliver Lodge, and the learned German metaphysician, Oswald Spengler, surrender themselves to the crudest mysticism, conjure up the dead and indulge in table-rapping; are not all these to be taken as signs of a general softening of the brain? Paul Louis compares these phenomena with the aftermath of other great crises, with Byzantium, with the Regency. After having passed through suffering and come close to death people want to have a good time.

All this is true, but why are there no signs of these things in Russia? After a war that was felt here worse than elsewhere, after all the shocks of the first liberating revolution, why has not the Russian people descended to the folly of license, to the intoxication of a refund life?

If the bourgeoisie had remained in power, these things would have happened here too; the economic crisis would not have prevented them. The proprietors of the amusement resorts in Petrograd and Moscow would have had a new lease of life, and the bourgeoisie, now made tsar indeed, would have exploited the working people more than others, and the latter would have paid the piper.

There would now be festivities in Moscow as we hear of them in Vienna; many thousands of children would be neglected, and would die of hunger and cold. We should be amusing ourselves as they are doing in Paris, without understanding the threatening significance of the "unemployment wave" which is ruining the country. A whole nation would have gone to the dogs.

Why is it that we behold the precise opposite: a seriousness of life, a good will, a voluntary discipline, a "wave of labor", a persistence in effort, which, in spite of all the inevitable fumbings, are nevertheless drawing the Republic out of the slough?

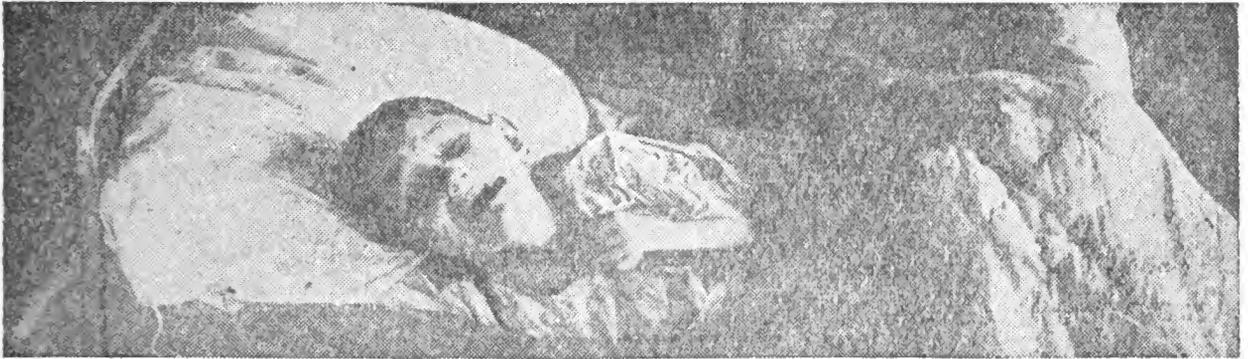
The contrast between Soviet Russia and the bourgeois world is a profound and instructive one. The vanguard of the Russian proletariat, by assuming power, took upon itself the tremendous task of attempting to bring about an equality of all, of enhancing the human dignity of each individual, of attaining a higher civilization, and that not because these things have any absolute value, but because they are the inevitable conditions for reaching an organic human society, whose members shall be conscious of their role and of their responsibility.

A Moral Transformation

Without shouting out its mission to all the world, Communism has assumed this herculean task: the transformation of the Russian man. Climate and the political system had made him passive, disinclined to individual initiative, capable of immense exertions, succeeded by periods of dreamy indolence; he was a lover of the infinite and the vague, an enemy of all calculation and precision, incapable of protracted application. Communism is about to change all this. It imbues manners and customs with a sense of the limitations of time, substitutes a methodical and regular activity for work with an indefinite goal, places a conscious responsibility on each member in the motions of the great whole. A precisely formulated program, plan and rule, have become the order of the day in all fields. The ideal is a true understanding by every participant in this plan, a clear recognition of his own part. This is the ideal striven for by the policy of the Communist Party and by the Soviet Government.

And this means that for the first time in this world we are face to face with a society that is worthy of its name, in which all elements enjoy the dignity due to their activities, and strive with all their might for the realization of a generally approved plan. This will make the apparatus of mechanical coordination and external compulsion, formerly the function of the State, appear superfluous. As Gorky says: "Out of this human, motley, spotted and indolent ant hill that is called Russia," Communism is slowly evolving an harmonious collectivity in which each man will feel a responsibility for what goes on about him and for his own acts.

The New Communist man no longer needs to be born, for he is now no longer the subject of a



By Saving these Children you Save the Achievements of the Revolution.

remote utopia. He lives, he seeks, he multiplies. Read the letter of a Communist soldier who speaks of the new Communists admitted to the party during the so-called *Party Week*: "You wouldn't recognize them again. They were once abject, morally gagged; today they are as reborn, they are living people who aim at acting as bearers of the transformation of their comrades. How can I repress my admiration in the face of such a rebirth of human beings? They are resurrected ones who will bring the light to thousands of workers."

The first manifestation of the new man was the "heroism of labor". The French bourgeois cannot understand what this is; neither can the French worker; he cannot suspect what it means to work during a Russian winter without a fire in the house, and with but 400 grams of black bread in your stomach. Having deteriorated for six years, the materials are unfit to be used, and having led an abnormal life for six years, the man is exhausted; aid may be expected from nowhere, and there are no palliatives as there are in the west. Therefore action is required at once in order to emerge from the fatal circle: no bread, no work; and as no work is done, there will be no bread. The new men, not only the Communists, but also the millions and millions that follow the Communists, have created a phenomenon unparalleled in history: "The heroism of labor". The Communist Saturdays are yet nothing; they are merely a principle, although tremendous prodigies have been performed by a few hundreds or thousands of men, armed no longer with the bayonet and sword, but with the shovel and the pickaxe, carrying out in one month, with ease and joy, the labor of several years. The miracles of the fairy tale have been brought into life: on May 1 the workers of Kostroma put up a People's House in twenty-four hours." This is already the voluntary, unpaid, joyous labor, the festival of future Communism.

But the real heroism is to be found in the factories, the workshops, in the industrial branches, the district trade unions, that have determined to keep on working, no matter what befall, until the circle of death has been broken through. Of course they could not decide this before they had become aware of their function and duty in the

Proletarian Revolution. The individual worker may grumble, the workshop or the factory may strike: it is not the heroism of an individual but of the whole Russian proletariat which has made this decision and is carrying it out. The recalcitrant merely express the animal resistance of the flesh to the heroism of the body. But such members are unusual; heroism is the rule, even among the individuals of the smaller communities. A territorial regiment in Tyumen resolved to work two hours overtime each day "until Communism is completely put through". The metal workers of Chelyabinsk, "in view of the difficult situation in the metal industry and the function played by this industry in the world war, in which each intensively utilized hour of labor will accelerate the hour of triumph of the proletariat over capitalism," renounced their legal vacation of two weeks each year. In the country, the peasants get together and till without compensation the fields of those called to military service. Trotsky has drawn the picture of one of those labor heroes who, in his words, are the mainstays of the socialist society. In order to overcome the obstacles, to become master of the difficulties, to reach the desired result, a high ethics, an inexorable will to mould life into better and higher forms than today, is required. All these properties were possessed by Vassilyev, mechanic and chauffeur. There are millions of these labor heroes, as one may see as the Russian Republic gradually surmounts the economic crisis that is devouring the whole world. And at one time the Russian lacked confidence in himself, lacked pertinacity. What sorcerer has brought about this miracle?

Perhaps we may discover the sorcerer in the resolution of the Congress of the Communist Party (April, 1920): "It is necessary to acquaint each worker with the role that his factory plays in the social economy. Each month the workers of each factory are to be summoned to a general conference, in order to hear the reports of the directors concerning the work done during the preceding month and the program planned for the next month." A trace of this sorcerer may also be found in the pamphlet of Shatanovsky, a railroad engineer. This book explains to the workers the

plan for the reorganization of the economic plan in general, and of transportation in particular, as well as the restoration of the railroads, tracks, etc. Order 1042 is reproduced, with a table of locomotives and the individual parts to be manufactured each month by each factory, each station-shop. This pamphlet was circulated in all districts by order of Leon Trotsky.*

The Murman railway line was once constructed on the bones of tens of thousands of Czech and Austrian prisoners, as well as on the bones of the Yellow men that had been mobilized by force. Today the great electrical power station of Shatur is being erected with ease, because not only the electricians but also the peat-diggers and the peasants of the surrounding districts are consciously helping the Russian proletariat, whose acting and thinking limbs they are.

Heroism of labor was created by the Revolution and the Soviet State; it is based on the conscious recognition by the workers that they belong to the great body politic. Therefore the heroism of labor in ruined and disorganized Russia is accomplishing wonders that would be impossible anywhere else, under capitalism.

George Sorel and Gorky compare Lenin with Peter the Great. This is wrong, it is an injustice to Lenin. Peter the Great was a monarch who wished to adapt Russia to the framework of European politics; he created an administrative force, an army, a navy, munitions factories, a capital and a capital police force, a court and a literature. Lenin, at the head of the Communist Party, of the proletariat, of the semi-proletariat, and of all affiliated elements of their classes, aims to adapt the working masses to a hitherto unknown level of organic and harmonious life. This is an incomparably greater and more magnificent task!

This program is so immense that it cannot be limited only to Russia but must embrace the whole world; it is such an immense thing that it is revolutionizing the human conscience. It is opening a new era, not only in the realm of social construction, but also in the matter of the rules of life. What we have been calling morality hitherto has been a repressive code, consisting of a few positive and many more negative imperatives. It answered an individual, purely egotistical feeling of scruple, timidity, and restraint. Communism has substituted for this the boldness of action performed in common with others, the firm determination to make a reality of the general ideal at any cost. This is the new rule, the new criterion of existence. This is the ethics of the new time, hitherto sought in general by the philosopher and now transformed into action by the Russian proletariat, freed from serfdom.

*An interesting poster expressing the spirit of Order 1042 was printed in SOVIET RUSSIA, Volume IV, No. 18. It included the following information: "On July 1, 1920, we had 9,600 healthy and 6,400 sick locomotives. On January 1, 1925, we shall have 3,200 sick and 12,800 healthy locomotives. Carry out faithfully the Repair Plans of Order No. 1042. Now for four and a half years of hard work!"

The New Provocation

By LEON TROTSKY

The Red Army—together with the whole country—has recently lived through several weeks of an acute political condition while the question was pending whether there should or should not be peace with Poland. Thanks to the extraordinary forbearance and peaceful persistence of Soviet diplomacy, an agreement was reached. The Polish Government undertook the obligation of expelling from Poland those White Guards who were openly organizing hostile bands on the territory of Poland, preparing for terroristic actions against Soviet Russia. No sooner was the agreement signed by both parties, than Poland threw upon our territory a number of new and considerable bands, organized with one common plan and under the guidance of the same Petlura bandit Tyutyunik, who was subject to expulsion from Poland. The unexampled provocative character of this new attack startled the whole army and made it ask: How much longer must our patience be tried?

Undoubtedly, from the point of view of the so-called international law of the bourgeois states, this latest White Guard provocation is a direct challenge to declare war. But as the Soviet Government does not want any war, it is not in a hurry to accept the challenge. It firmly hopes that the Polish people will stop these criminal adventures and call them to order.

However, every Red Soldier must have a clear idea of the present condition. Poland has not one, but two governments. One, the official and public government, appears in parliament, negotiates and signs agreements. The other, not public, depends upon a considerable part of the officers with the so-called chief of the state, Pilsudsky. Behind the secret government stand the extreme imperialists of France. At the very time when the official Polish Government, under the pressure not only of the laboring masses, but also of wide bourgeois circles as well, is compelled to maintain peace with Soviet Russia, the provocators of the Polish military headquarters try with all their might to call forth a war.

What lesson is in this for us? Under no condition shall we help in the work of the provocators, but on the contrary, we shall as heretofore display utter forbearance in the matter of maintaining peaceful relations. But at the same time we must well remember the dual will of the ruling class of Poland. We do not know whether the adherents of peace will carry the day in Poland this winter and in the coming spring, or whether it will be the criminal incendiaries. We must be ready for the worst.

The Red Army will crush the Petlura bands again thrown upon our territory by the Polish adventurers. The Red Army will redouble its work in getting ready for the battle. No matter what turn the events may take the Red Army will not be at a disadvantage.

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

WITH the exception of the maps on pages 64 and 65, and the front cover, the illustrations for this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA are taken from the Christmas Appeal for money and supplies to fight the famine, issued by the Friends of Soviet Russia. These designs are the work of Hugo Gellert. We knew of no more direct manner of impressing upon our readers the fact that this periodical is now devoted exclusively to the work of helping Russia in her present difficulty. The present issue of SOVIET RUSSIA is the first to appear since the paper became the Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

* * *

HEAVERY is the toll that Death is taking among the Russian population. And this is true of all classes of society. We would not belittle the plight of the Russian intellectual abroad who is unsympathetic to the Revolution, and therefore refuses to return to his home to work for the Government his people set up four years ago. But when we consider the great efforts being made by reactionary organizations (one of them even exerted great effort in erecting a name of the proportions of "The Society for the Regeneration of the Moral and Physical Forces of the Russian People") to look after the welfare of Russian refugees living in foreign countries, engaged in no activity of social importance for their native country aside from the attempt to overthrow its government—we are tempted to observe that the lot of the intellectual worker inside Russia at present is just as full of physical risk and suffering as that of the counter-revolutionary Russian intellectual living abroad. Perhaps it is due to the famine conditions that there have been so many deaths of celebrated Russians in recent months, not only of relatively unknown and publicly insignificant peasants. Deaths reported in December include Vladimir Korolenko, the author of *The History of My Contemporary* and numerous short stories of Ukrainian life; Nechayev, the celebrated geographer, whose textbooks are well known in Russian schools; and Dr. Farrar, an American social worker who succumbed to typhus after returning to Moscow from a journey to Samara to investigate the famine. On January 1, 1922, occurred the death, at Moscow, of Joseph Petrovich Goldenburg, a revolutionary leader of note, who had in recent years been Director of the Information Department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

MANY organizations in America which collect funds for the purchase of supplies for stricken populations in Europe and Asia issue, in addition to whatever other printed publicity they may employ, a magazine appearing at regular intervals with the object of keeping the needs of the community whose material interests they represent constantly before the eye of the contributing public. The American Red Cross, the Near East Relief, and the other organizations who make use of this method, have an even more extensive parallel in the associations that make use of periodical publications in their efforts to stimulate charitable donations for ministrations within the country itself, in accordance with the time-hackneyed maxim, "Charity begins at home". To many persons Russia has long seemed a home; many eyes are turned eastward in the hope of some day beholding in the flesh the achievements of the greatest social transformation in modern times. This is the home that SOVIET RUSSIA aims to describe, the home of the Soviets of Workers and Peasants, of universal brotherhood and equality. In order that the reader may be fully informed as to the nature of the Russian institutions that he is aiding when he sends his contributions in cash and clothing to the Friends of Soviet Russia, we shall print, as in the present issue, not only famine descriptions and famine appeals, but also descriptive articles on revolutionary conditions in Russia, such as were printed in the days before SOVIET RUSSIA became the official organ of a relief organization.

IN view of the great sum of money that has been appropriated by Congress for relief in Russia, some solicitude will naturally be felt and expressed for the proper use of these funds. For Americans are accustomed to seeing public moneys squandered in outrageously dishonest ways. Discussing the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia, the Russian Red Cross, the Medical Relief to Soviet Russia, and the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, a cabinet officer recently suggested, in a telegram not intended for publication, that "such portion of their funds or supplies as are transmitted to Russia are shipped to the Soviet officials for distribution by them." The insinuation that "such portion" is small cannot be taken as a ground of legal action, but the insinuation is none the less definitely made. To free Edgar Whitehead from Ellis Island required the giving of a bond of \$1000. Edgar Whitehead comes to the Friends of Soviet Russia with important instructions from the Famine Relief Conference recently held at Berlin. To get this necessary information, the United States Government requires the F. S. R. to tie up \$1000 that might otherwise go to Russia in the form of food. While the Department of Commerce expresses concern over the size of "such portion", the Department of Labor cuts the portion down a bit. And the Department of State, Passport Control Division, delayed delivery of a passport for the Treasurer of the F. S. R., thus making it impossible for him to attend the Berlin Conference in December.

The Commercial Agreement with Italy

(On December 26 a Preliminary Commercial Agreement was signed at Rome between Italy and Russia by Marchese Della Torretta, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, and Vorovsky, head of the Commercial Mission of the Russian Soviet Government in Italy. There was signed simultaneously a convention between Italy and Ukraine, for which purpose the Ukrainian Soviet Government had given Vorovsky full power. The signing of this Preliminary Commercial Agreement between Italy and Soviet Russia is the logical conclusion of a situation that had been too much delayed by the obstinate resistance of the Italian Government. The following is the full text of the treaty.)

PREAMBLE

AS it is in the interest of Russia and Italy immediately to resume peaceful commercial intercourse between the two countries, and as in the interval before the conclusion of a commercial convention and of a formal general treaty between the Governments of these countries, to regulate their economic and political relations in the future, it is necessary to establish a preliminary agreement between the Italian Government and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, to be indicated below as the Russian Soviet Government, the above named parties have, by mutual consent, concluded the following preliminary agreement, with the object of resuming traffic and commerce between them.

The present convention is conditioned upon the fulfillment of the following conditions:

a) That both of the two parties shall abstain from any act or attempt hostile to the other party and shall abstain from carrying on, outside of their own boundaries, any direct or indirect propaganda against the institutions of the Kingdom of Italy or of the Russian Soviet Government.

By the term "carrying on propaganda" we include assistance or encouragement given by either party to any propaganda whatsoever, conducted outside of its own boundaries;

b) That all Italians, including natives of the Redeemed Provinces, who are now in Russia, shall be immediately permitted to return to their home country, and that all Russian citizens residing in Italy, who may desire to return to Russia, shall likewise be given full liberty to do so.

The two parties obligate themselves immediately to give all necessary instructions to the agents or other persons subject to their authority in order that they may conform to the above stated conditions.

Article I.

The two parties agree not to impose or maintain any blockade against each other, and agree that on goods that may be regularly exported from or imported into their respective territories, to or from any other foreign country, they will remove all obstacles that have hitherto prevented resumption of trade between Italy and Russia; not to subject such commerce to any condition putting it at a disadvantage as compared with any other country, and not to hinder the banking, credit, and financial operations connected with such commerce, but to apply the legislation ordinarily operative in the respective countries. It is understood that this article does not deprive the parties of the privilege of regulating commerce in arms and munitions by general legal norms that may later be applied to all importations of arms and munitions from foreign countries, as well as to export of such.

No provision of this article shall be interpreted as derogatory to the general international conventions binding either party, and by which the commerce in any specific kind of goods is now regulated or may later be regulated.

Article II.

Italian and Russian ships and their commanders, crews, and cargoes, shall obtain in Russian and Italian ports precisely the same treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities, and protection in every respect, as are habitually granted by the practices established among commercial nations, to foreign merchant ships, to their commanders, crews, and cargoes, visiting their ports, including the facilities customarily granted with regard to coal, water, pilots, anchoring, docks, cranes, repairs, stores, and in

general all the services, facilities, and premises connected with maritime commerce. In addition, the Italian Government undertakes the obligation not to participate in or adhere to any measure restricting or preventing, or tending to restrict or prevent, Russian ships from exercising the rights of free navigation on the high seas, straits and canals, and which are enjoyed by ships of other nationalities.

This article shall not diminish the right of either party to take the measures, authorized by their laws, connected with the admission of foreigners to their own territory.

Article III.

Each party shall name such number of its citizens as shall be determined from case to case as reasonably necessary for the execution of the present agreement, with due regard to the conditions under which commerce in its territories is carried out; the other party shall permit such persons to enter into its territory and to sojourn and do business there. It shall furthermore remain within the discretion of each of the two contracting parties to limit the admission of the above-said persons or individuals to any specific region and to refuse such admission and sojourn in its territory to any person whom it may consider *non grata*.

The persons admitted in conformity with this article to the territories of each of the two parties shall, during the period in which they may remain for reasons of commerce, be exempt from all compulsory services of any kind, whether civil, naval, military or other, and all contributions, whether in money or in kind, imposed as an equivalent of personal service, and shall have the right to leave when they so desire.

They shall have the liberty to communicate freely by post and telegraph and to make use of telegraphic codes under the conditions and regulations fixed in the International Telegraphic Convention of Petersburg, of 1876 (as revised at Lisbon, 1908).

Each party obligates itself to keep accounts and to pay the difference owing to the other party for telegrams direct and in transit and for letters in transit, on the basis of the Regulations of the International Telegraphic Convention and of the Convention and Regulations of the Universal Postal Union. The resulting difference shall be paid in the currency of either country, to be decided by the receiving party.

Persons admitted to Russia under the terms of this agreement shall have the right to import freely goods (except goods, such as alcoholic beverages, whose importation and production are or may be prohibited in Russia), destined solely for their own domestic use or for consumption in quantities reasonably required for such use.

Article IV.

Each party may delegate one or more official agents, the number of whom shall be mutually agreed upon, who may reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other party; these agents shall personally enjoy all the rights and immunities mentioned in the preceding article, and also immunity from arrest and search, and immunity of office premises and dwellings, but it shall be understood that either party reserves for itself the right to refuse admission as an official agent to any person whom it considers *persona non grata*, and may request the other party to recall such persons whenever acts have been committed that are contrary to the present convention or to the customs of international law.

Such agents shall be accredited to the authorities of the country in which they reside, for the purpose of facilitating the execution of this agreement and protecting the interests of their nationals.

The official agents shall have the right to communicate freely with their own government and with the official representatives of their own government in other countries, by post, telegraph and wireless telegraph, in cipher, and to receive and forward consignments in sealed pouches, subject to a limitation of 8 kilograms per week, which shall be exempt from search.

The telegrams and wireless messages of these official agents shall enjoy all those rights of precedence over private dispatches that are generally granted to the dispatches of official representatives of foreign governments in Italy and Russia.

The official Russian agents in Italy shall enjoy the same privileges with regard to the execution of general and local taxation as are granted to the official representatives of foreign governments. The official Italian agents in Russia shall enjoy similar privileges, which shall in no case, however, be less than those granted to the official agents of any other country.

The official agents shall be empowered to vise the passports of persons who may request to be admitted into the territory of either of the two parties, in conformity with the preceding article.

Article V.

Each of the parties obligates itself in general to assure those persons admitted to its territory, in accordance with the two preceding articles, every protection and right, and the facilities that may be necessary to carry on business, but such persons shall always remain subject to the ordinary legislation operative in the respective countries.

Article VI.

The two contracting parties agree, from the moment of the conclusion of the present commercial agreement, to resume the exchange of private postal and telegraphic correspondence between the two countries, as well as the forwarding and acceptance of telegraphic messages and parcel post, in accordance with the norms and regulations in force up to 1914.

Article VII.

Passports, identification papers, powers of attorney, and other documents of like nature, issued or certified by competent authorities in either of the two countries and by their official agents, with the purpose of making possible the carrying on of commerce in accordance with this agreement, shall be considered in the other country as having been issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign government.

Article VIII.

The Italian Government declares that it will not take any step with the object of sequestering or taking possession of gold, funds, securities, or goods, that have not been identified as the property of the Italian Government, and which may be exported from Russia on payment or as guarantee of importation. Nor shall any step be taken against the movable or immovable property that may be acquired by the Russian Soviet Government in Italy.

The Italian Government renounces all special legislation, not applying to other countries, against the importation into Italy of precious metals from Russia in money (other than Italian or Allied), in bullion, or in finished articles, or against gold imported in order to be stored, analyzed, refined, melted down, and given in guarantee or similarly located in Italy.

Article IX.

The Russian Soviet Government obligates itself not to advance any claim to dispose in any manner of the assets or property of the former Imperial Government or of the Provisional Russian Government, that may still exist in Italy. The Italian Government correspondingly obligates itself with regard to the assets and the property in Russia of the Italian Government. This article does not preclude the inclusion in the general treaty, provided for in the

Preamble above, of provisions regarding the subject of this article.

The two parties agree to hold and not to transfer to any claimant, prior to the conclusion of the above indicated treaty, the assets and property above named, now under their control.

Article X.

By virtue of the declaration adjoined to the present convention, with regard to claims of either of the two contracting parties, and of its respective citizens, upon the other, for property or rights or for obligations assumed by the existing governments, or by other governments preceding them, in either country, and with regard to the compensation to private Italian or Russian persons who may have furnished goods or services respectively to Russia or to Italy, the following is agreed: Gold, funds, titles, goods, and in general property of all kinds, of the two countries, imported or acquired after this convention, shall not be subject in the two countries to sequestration or to judicial action limiting the disposition over them, by reason of obligations assumed or of responsibilities incurred by the existing governments or governments preceding them in either country, before the signature of the present convention.

Article XI.

Goods, products and manufactured articles of one country, imported into the other, in pursuance of this agreement, shall not there be subject to compulsory requisition on the part of the government or of any local authority.

Article XII.

It is agreed that all questions concerning rights or claims of the co-nationals of the other party, concerning patents, labels, copyright or other property of authors in the territory of the other party, shall be equitably adjusted in the treaty provided for in the Preamble.

Article XIII.

The present preliminary agreement shall enter into force immediately and the two parties shall at once take all necessary measures for its execution. Immediately after the signature of this agreement, the two parties shall begin a discussion of the commercial agreement, mentioned in the Preamble, which shall regulate the economic relations between the two countries until they may be superseded by a general treaty. The Commercial Agreement shall be signed within six months after the signature of the present Preliminary Convention.

In cases of infraction on the part of one of the two parties, at any time whatsoever, of one of the provisions of this agreement or of the conditions mentioned in the Preamble, the other party shall immediately be freed from its contractual obligations. But the agreement shall nevertheless stand that before taking any action contrary to the convention, the injured party shall allow the other party a reasonable time within which to furnish explanations or to remedy the error.

It is mutually agreed that in each of the cases provided in the preceding clauses the parties shall offer all necessary facilities to liquidate, in accordance with the principles of the agreement, the transactions already consummated, and the facilities for recall and departure from their territory of the nationals of the other party, and for the withdrawal of their movable property.

In case the present convention should expire without being superseded by a Commercial Agreement, a prolongation shall be provided for the liquidation of business transactions, not to exceed one year, in order to continue in force the immunities provided in Article III in favor of such persons as are indispensable to undertake such liquidation.

Drawn up at Rome, December 26, 1921.

(Signed) DELLA TORRETTA.
VOROVSKY.

The Treaty is accompanied by the following:

DECLARATION OF RECOGNITION OF CLAIMS

At the moment of signing this convention both parties

declare that all claims of the parties and of their own nationals against the other party concerning property or rights or obligations assumed by the existing government and the preceding governments of either party, shall be equitably adjusted in the general definitive treaty provided for in the Preamble.

However, without prejudicing the general provisions of the treaty provided for above, the Russian Soviet Government declares that it recognizes in principle its own responsibility for the payment or compensation to private persons who may have furnished goods or services to Russia that may still remain unpaid. The details for the execution

of this obligation shall be established by the Treaty provided for in the Preamble.

The Italian Government makes the same declaration for itself.

It is understood that the declarations above stated do not actually imply that the claims in question shall have priority in the above mentioned Treaty, as compared with claims of other types, which may be provided for by the above Treaty.

Rome, December 26, 1921.

(Signed) DELLA TORRETTA
VOROVSKY

How the Soviet Government Works

II.—THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

(The following is the second of a series of articles on the institutions of the Russian Soviet Government which we are reprinting from "Russian Information and Review", published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London. The first was on the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.)

THE Council of People's Commissars is that section of the apparatus of Government which concentrates in its hands from day to day all Government authority for purposes of current problems of administration. It is the Cabinet of the Soviet constitutional machine; and in its resemblance to the Cabinets of other political forms represents the nearest approach made by the Soviet constitution to the forms which have preceded it.

The supreme executive authority—and in Russia today it is very rare that the executive authority undertakes to legislate on important points without previously raising the matter in the supreme organ of all authority, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—cannot be bound in its inner working by formal regulations, rules of procedure, etc., which must inevitably be drawn up in the case of a body which unites the executive with other functions. A weekly or bi-weekly meeting of eighteen or nineteen heads of the principal administrative departments of State, who come together primarily not to legislate but to solve those of the problems which have arisen in the working of their departments which affect other sides of the national life—such meetings will be found at the head of the constitutional machinery of any modern community. If the Council of People's Commissars is in any way different from the Cabinets of western countries, it is perhaps in the actual make-up—the education and social outlook—of the men within it; possibly also in the existence of one or two departments of State which are not found in political structures based on a different social order.

In the case of the Soviet Cabinet, moreover, the restriction of its functions to the framework laid down by the Soviet constitution of July, 1918, "the general direction of the affairs of the Republic," is made more marked by a number of peculiar features.

Each individual People's Commissar is the head of a department, the care for which was entrusted

to him by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or the All-Russian Congress of Soviets; but he is responsible not only to these bodies, but also to a board, which exists in each People's Commissariat, and with which each People's Commissar must consult on all questions, with the exception of urgent cases. The board, moreover, without interfering with the execution of any decision of the People's Commissar concerned, has the right of bringing the question at issue before the whole of the Council of People's Commissars, at one of its regular sessions. It is very rare, in point of fact, that a session of the latter has taken place during the last few years without any members of the board (in which are included the assistant People's Commissars) being present.

The constitution of July, 1918, laid down that the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the right to annul or suspend any decision or order of the Council of People's Commissars. An amendment adopted by the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December, 1920, permits the presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to exercise this right also, both as regards individual Commissariats and with reference to decisions of the Council of People's Commissars as a whole.

These decisions have now for nearly four years been issued in one uniform way, over the signature of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, as representing the whole body, and of the Administrator of the Chancery and the Secretary to the Council of People's Commissars, as technical confirmation that the published decree corresponds exactly to the original adopted at the session of the Council. This practice has taken the place of the heterogeneous and unsystematic forms prevalent during the first months of the revolution, when sometimes several People's Commissars signed a decree and sometimes only one. Only decrees and national proclamations of exceptional importance—such as announcements of a national crisis—are now signed by more than

one People's Commissar; while a decision published over the signature of one People's Commissar alone, not the chairman, means that the announcement in question is of the nature of an administrative regulation, and not a decree affecting the mass of citizens.

All decrees of the Council, and all regulations issued by its members individually, are binding upon the central and local authorities whose work they affect. The transmission of these dispositions takes place in two ways; to the principal local authorities (Soviet executive committees in provinces, counties, and rural districts, and Soviets in towns and villages), where the matter involved is one of general importance, and involving the work of more than one department (for example, a decree instituting a three weeks' "fuel campaign", a decree instituting a ten per cent tax on all theatre, concert, etc., tickets in aid of the Famine Relief Fund, or a decree instituting a network of brigade political schools of instruction for the needs of the Red Territorial Army); and direct to the local departments themselves (health, education, labor, general administration, etc.) where the question is one of detailing or explaining the work of the People's Commissariat concerned to its corresponding department of the local authority (for example, where it is a question of organizing mutual aid committees in the villages and rural districts under the auspices of the county social welfare departments, or of registration of the stocks and inventories of Soviet estates by provincial land departments, or of explaining to the local economic councils the policy of the Soviet Government with regard to the leasing of factories).

Decrees by Individual Commissariats

Once transmitted, as has been pointed out, the decree or regulation is binding; but the amendments to the Constitution adopted in December, 1920, provide for the suspension by provincial executive committees of decisions of *individual* People's Commissariats, "in extraordinary circumstances, or when such disposition is in clear contravention of a decision of the Council of People's Commissars or the A. R. C. E. C.,* or in other cases by resolution of a provincial executive committee." In such cases, however, the latter must immediately inform the Presidium of the A. R. C. E. C., the Council of People's Commissars, and the People's Commissariat concerned; and it bears collective responsibility before the first-named body, which shall decide which party is at fault (if necessary, which party shall be impeached). That this amendment to the Constitution has not remained merely on paper has been shown by several striking cases, during the last twelve months, of impeachments before the Supreme Judicial Tribunal of local food departments, economic councils, departments of health, etc., for arbitrarily setting aside in one way or

another the decisions of the central authority from which they receive instructions.

On the whole, however, striking irregularities in the execution of the decisions of the central authorities have been, wild and vague assertions during the past four years notwithstanding, surprisingly few, wherever local conditions did not completely prevent the transmission of those decisions in a clear and lucid form, or were not in some other way so abnormal as to distract public attention from the particular question involved. While, judging by customary standards, this is a surprising feature to encounter in a revolutionary administration, on the other hand it is perhaps as characteristic of the new methods and work heralded by the rise of this revolutionary administration as any other side of its activity. In the words of a recent writer: "Any politically-educated citizen knows that every decree of the Council of People's Commissars, whether it deals with collective payment of the workers or with some reform in the army, is not merely the composition of some wise men in a Cabinet. Every decree is the outcome of a vast preliminary work at working-class meetings, in factory committees, in Soviets, trade unions, party organizations, peasant and Red Army assemblies, economic conferences, and so on. If anyone were to undertake the task of tracing the history of some important decree, he would receive convincing evidence of how its main points, first in the shape of vague expressions of desire, and then in more or less definite resolutions, took shape amongst the active rank and file of the class-conscious masses. And very soon, passing through the stages of party, trade union, and Soviet discussion, they reach the centre, where they receive their final form in the shape of a new law."

Quantity of Work Done

When we turn to the few but illuminating statistics we have at our disposal to illustrate the work of the Council of People's Commissars, it becomes difficult to decide at what to be more astonished—at the activity of the masses, to which reference has just been made, or to the immense capacity for toil of the men at the other end of the constitutional machine. During the six months between November 1, 1920, and May 1, 1921, 395 questions came up before the Council of People's Commissars, of which fifty-seven were brought forward by the Supreme Economic Council, forty-one by the Sub-Council (a special commission of the Council, set up during the last twelve months, for the purpose of dealing preliminarily with numbers of questions, principally of an economic character, thereby facilitating the work of the larger body), thirty-four by the People's Commissariat for Food, twenty-six by the Commissariat for Foreign Trade, twenty-five by the Commissariat for Land, twenty-three by the Commissariat for Agriculture, and so on. It is noteworthy that, in all, seventy per cent of the questions discussed were of an economic character. Similarly, out of the 1,178 questions that came up for discussion during the indicated

* All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

period in the Sub-Council, 385 dealt with finance, 153 with questions of Soviet organization, 180 with questions of industry, 105 with questions of labor; and so on, military, judicial, and even educational problems being overshadowed by economic problems. Thus, the Council of People's Commissars at work is a true reflector of the life and needs of the nation at the present moment of transition.

The thirty commissions of the Council which were organized during the first four months of 1921 fall into categories which point the same moral. Seven were on industrial questions, seven on questions of supply, four for working out points in connection with labor and compulsory labor service, two on financial questions, two on general questions (the drawing up of a draft sketch of the activity of the economic commissariats, and the

organization of a State Economic Planning Commission), and eight in connection with other questions. These commissions are thus in marked distinction from those set up under the auspices of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the functions of which, as indicated in an earlier article, are bound up first and foremost with questions of control, and then with questions of law.

The Council of People's Commissars, therefore, is the centre at which the nineteen People's Commissariats meet for harmonizing their activity, settling questions of an inter-departmental character, and working out legislation for submission to the chief legislative authorities in connection with those (principally economic) problems, the solution of which is vital to the existence of the Republic.

A Model Clothing Factory in Russia

THE model clothing factory of the Chief Clothing Supplies Department (formerly belonging to Alschwang) has for its task the study and introduction of standardized methods of production in the clothing industry. With this object in view, the technical research division of the factory is working on patterns, on models of clothing, and descriptions of the process of production, and preparing estimates on the required quantities of material, trimmings and other supplies. The results of this work are being sent out to all the clothing factories throughout the country. The technical research division is divided into seven specific sections: men's civilian clothing, women's outer garments, women's dresses, military uniforms, underwear division, and general technical division.

The factory employs the American system of division of labor.

Beginning with July 11, the factory introduced higher wages (200,000 rubles for a worker of the 1st section) and lowered the standard time required for the production of each article (thus, for example, the time required for the making of a man's suit has been decreased from 80 hours 8 minutes to 17 hours 45 minutes). Owing to the satisfactory results achieved in the application of these new schedules of payment and production, the factory has petitioned to be put in the category of collectively supplied establishments, which petition was granted on August 16. The results became apparent very soon, in the increased output and the improvement in discipline, as well as in the lowered cost of production, which we already reported in a recent issue of our paper. We are citing below, for purposes of comparison, the data for June, i. e., prior to the introduction of the new schedule of payments, on the one hand, and also for the months of August and September.

In the month of June there were 1096 workers employed at the factory; the total absences amounted to 33 per cent, truancy making up 10.7 per cent.

During the month of August there were only 692 workers employed at the factory, the absences fell to 14.6 per cent and truancy to 2.1 per cent.

In spite of a 37 per cent reduction of the staff, the total output of the factory during August amounted to 283 per cent of the output for June. While during one half of the month of June the total output in terms of suits amounted to 1,052.4 garments, during the latter part of August the output, in the same terms, amounted to 2,478.8 garments, and during the first half of September—to 3,481.2 garments. The productivity of labor increased 4.5 times, with the introduction of collective supplies. During June, each worker produced 0.94 garments, while with the introduction of the system of collective supplies the productivity rose to 4.3 garments per worker. The results are also clearly to be seen in the reduction in the cost of production. The cost of labor per hour, including the cost of products in kind furnished to the workers, amounted in August to 6,865 rubles, which means that the cost of production of each suit is 121,854 rubles, taking 17 hours 45 minutes as the standard time required for the production of one suit. Prior to the introduction of the collective supply system, according to the data for the first quarter of 1921, the cost of labor (both in money and in kind) amounted to 149,711 rubles per suit. Thus, notwithstanding the considerable increase in the actual remuneration of each worker, the cost per unit of production not only did not increase, but even decreased 23 per cent.

The total output of the factory for June was 1,052.4 suits; for July—2,478.8 suits (higher rates have been introduced); for the first half of August—1,705.8 suits; and for the second half of August (after the system of collective supplies was installed)—2,706.4.

On September 23 a special commission, formed pursuant to clause 4 of the instructions on the application of the decree on collective supplies,

and consisting of the representatives of the Chief Clothing Supply Department, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the Union of Clothing Workers, and the management of the factory, checked up the entries concerning the actual output of the factory from August 16 to September 16, as well as the time required for the making of each garment. The Commission found that the factory had produced during the period indicated above, in terms of men's suits, 5,960 garments, while the monthly task of the factory was 4,452 garments. Thus, the factory had produced 133.87 per cent of its program for that month.

During the second month following the introduction of the system of collective supplies, i. e., from September 16 to October 15, the factory was engaged in a great deal of organizing work, the division of work and the grouping of workers. For this reason, as well as for various other reasons (partial delay in the supply of material, the lack of firm prices for some articles, which were being manufactured for the first time, in connection with the division of the workers into groups, the lack of electric lamps, and a number of other causes) the factory produced during that month only 101 per cent of its program. However, at the same time, the management of the factory stated that the decrease in its output was due to a considerable extent to the great increase in the quality of the articles manufactured. The progress in this direction was so considerable that the management granted the workers a special premium for the quality of their work. Altogether the factory produced during the period from September 16 to October 15, in terms of men's suits, 4,499 garments (the schedule required 4,452 suits).

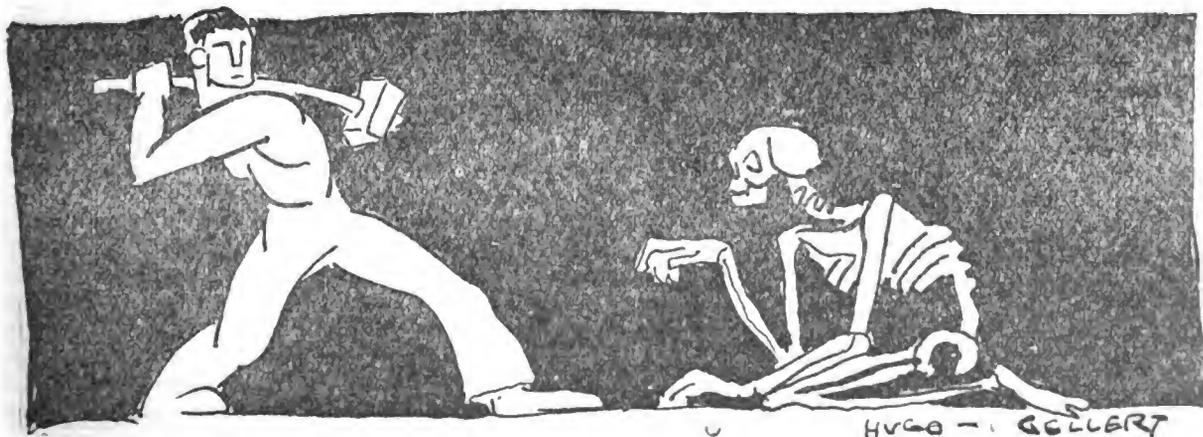
Towards the end of this second month of the factory's work under conditions of collective supply, the management of the factory in its report to the Standardization of Labor Division of the Moscow Province Trade Unions Council, expressed the assurance that in future, with the elimination

of the above mentioned handicaps, the productivity would again rise to the level attained during the first month. The two weeks which have passed since October 15 have fully justified the opinion of the management. The factory received a rush order for 2,500 army overcoats, 2,500 blouses and 2,500 pairs of trousers, within ten days. At a general meeting of the workers, called for this purpose, it was decided, in order to fill this order promptly, to lengthen the working day by two hours or the period indicated above. As a result, the order was completed on time, and the management points out that the workers took an enormous interest in the work while this order was being filled.

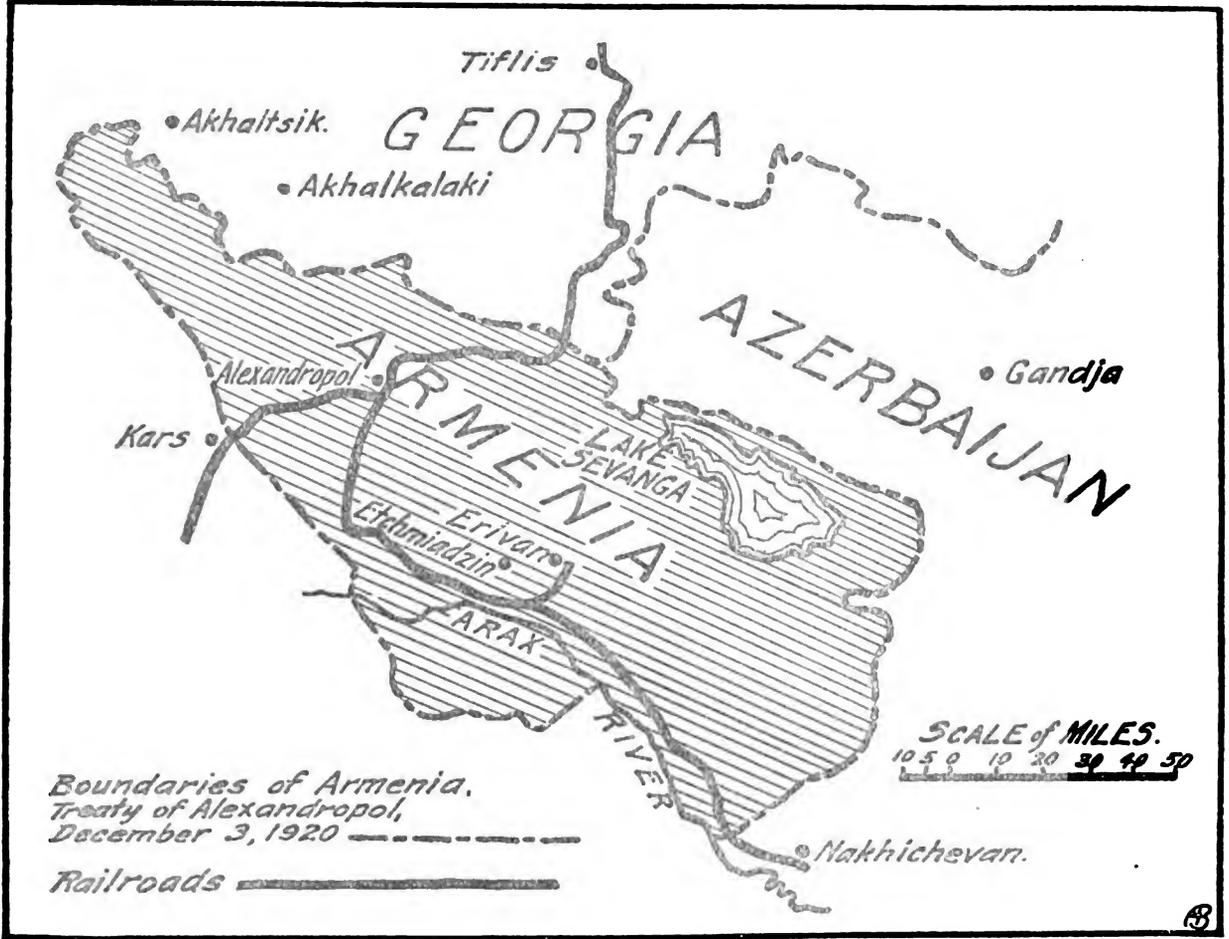
The output for the first half of the third month of work, under the collective supply system, forms, according to the calculations made by the management, 135 per cent of the program.

We cite below some data on the monthly wages (in money and in kind) paid out on the average to each worker, following the introduction of the system of collective supply, during August and September: in kind—60 lbs. of bread, 7 pounds of meat, 5 pounds of fish, 1 pound of butter, 2 pounds of vegetable oil, 50 pounds of vegetables, 1 pound of sugar, 2 pounds of salt, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of soap, 3 pounds of kerosene, 4 pounds of coffee, 250 cigarettes, 2 boxes of matches; altogether, according to the market rates, this amounts to 533,000 rubles. In addition to this, the average monthly wages of each worker include $\frac{1}{12}$ of a pair of shoes, $\frac{1}{12}$ of a pair of soles and vamps, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a suit, which altogether amounted to 117,000 rubles; the wages in money paid out monthly to each worker amounted to 150,000 rubles on the average. Thus, the total monthly earnings of each worker during August and September, in terms of money, amounted to 800,000 rubles. During the following month the average wages per worker rose to 900,000 rubles.

—*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, Nov. 5, 1921.



Clothed and fed, the Russian workers will deal terrific blows to Famine's chances of a reappearance.



Present Outlines of Armenian Territory

We are frequently asked as to the exact boundary-lines of the various Soviet Republics that have been established under the protection and often with the assistance of the Russian Soviet Government. From *The New Near East*, a magazine issued, like SOVIET RUSSIA, in the interests of a famine relief organization, we take the data on which the accompanying map is based, as well as the information printed below. Some of the names in the map were mentioned in Soviet Russia's Treaty with Turkey.

On April 23, 1920, the Republic of Armenia, consisting of some 19,000 square miles of territory, formerly part of the Russian Empire, was recognized by the United States as a de facto government. On April 26, at the San Remo conference, President Wilson was asked, and on May 21 he accepted, to delimit the boundaries of the Armenian Republic with Turkey.

At this period the Armenians were advancing claims to 109,000 square miles of Turkish and 26,491 square miles of Russian territory.

On August 10, 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres formally recognized the existence of the Armenian Republic, including the Turkish vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum and Trebizond, to a line to be fixed by President Wilson.

With this recognition of Armenia's claim, the Armenian Government undertook to occupy the territory thus formally ceded them, but the small Armenian army was overwhelmed by the Turkish Nationalists, Kars was captured on October 31, Alexandropol entered on November 7, and the Armenians forced to sue for peace on any terms.

Through the mediation of Russia, the Turkish advance was halted, and on December 3 the Treaty of Alexandropol was signed, by which a large part of the province of Kars was ceded to Turkey.

On December 2, however, a rising against the government of Armenia in Erivan and Karakliss led to the establishment of a Soviet form of government, but entirely under Armenian control. Sarkis Kassian was chosen president. Through the intervention of Russia, Azerbaijan ceded to Armenia the Karabakh highlands and the district of Zangazur, to compensate for the territory lost to the Turks.

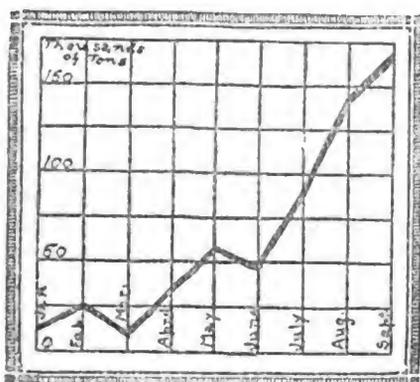
On February 18, 1921, a counter-revolution in Erivan failed and Alexander Maesnagian became president. On April 21 the Turkish army was compelled by Russia to evacuate Armenia, and peace became established for the first time since 1914.

Russia's Foreign Trade in 1921

(We are now in a position to give complete figures for Russia's foreign trade during the first three quarters of the year 1921. The volume of both imports and exports shows a continuous and rapid increase, dating from the conclusion of the trade agreements with Great Britain, Germany, and other countries.)

I.

IMPORTS in the first quarter of the year amounted to 49,368 tons; in the second quarter to 140,115 tons; and in the third quarter to 403,616 tons. It will be seen that the imports in the third quarter of the year were double the imports for the first six months. The steady increase in the volume of trade continued month by month in the third quarter. Thus, in July arrivals of goods amounted to 90,566 tons; in August to 143,466 tons; and in September to 168,566 tons. Below we give a chart of the monthly movement of Russia's imports during the nine months under consideration.



The following is a table analyzing the imports for the nine months, in the eleven categories of the official statistics, and for the purpose of comparison a similar analysis of imports for the first six months of the year.

Category	Imports from Jan. to June	Per-centage of total imports	Imports from Jan. to Sept.	Per-centage of total imports
	Tons		Tons	
Foodstuffs	70,335	37.2	205,561	34.7
Animal products ..	8,167	4.4	11,221	1.6
Timber and seed ..	11,691	6.2	12,625	2.1
Earthenware	106	0.1	259	0.2
Fuel, pitch, etc...	33,850	17.8	193,294	32.6
Chemicals	13,890	3.0	7,850	1.3
Metals, machinery, tools, etc.	41,266	21.8	128,076	21.6
Paper and paper goods	9,242	4.9	15,398	2.6
Rope, twine, etc...	4,725	2.5	7,166	1.0
Wearing apparel .	1,036	0.5	1,120	0.2
Miscellaneous	3,418	1.6	12,205	2.1
Total	197,726	100.0	594,775	100.0

Throughout the nine months the predominant categories of imports were foodstuffs, fuel, and metals, machinery, tools, etc., together accounting for 594,000 tons—eighty-nine per cent of the total. The following table shows (in tons) the monthly fluctuations in these three categories during the third quarter of the year:

	Foodstuffs	Fuel, etc.	Metals, machinery, etc.
July	32,708	33,619	34,373
August	25,341	83,333	33,428
September	77,176	43,336	19,010

The relative proportion of the various categories to each other and to the total of imports give some indication of what would be Russia's requirements from abroad in normal times. Rather, they reflect the economic vicissitudes and periodical crises through which Russia is passing either as a result of the revolution and the civil war, or of natural calamity. Thus, the large proportionate imports of coal were caused by the fuel crisis, which was foreseen in April and May of this year, and accounted for the sudden leap in coal imports from July onwards. Similarly, the imports of foodstuffs, which should have diminished considerably with the gathering of the harvest, maintained, and will even increase, their relative importance on account of the calamitous failure of the crops in a large area of the richest grain producing provinces of Russia. Thus, we find from the above table an increase of over 50,000 tons of foodstuffs in September, while fuel which had risen from 3,300 tons in June to 33,619 tons in July, and 83,333 tons in August, decreases to 43,335 tons in September.

The group metals, machinery, etc., shows a similar decline. This category, consisting largely of agricultural, industrial, and railway machinery, would, under normal conditions, form the largest staple item of Russia's imports, but we find it during the period under consideration progressively giving place to temporarily more urgent requirements. It is to be hoped that the normal relative importance of these goods will soon assert itself, but, until the next harvest, at least, imports of foodstuffs must still occupy a dominant place.

The category of foodstuffs is mainly composed of the following items:

	Tons		Tons
Rye	50,000	Rice	12,500
Flour	30,000	Sugar	3,500
Herrings	25,000	Pork and fats ..	6,000
Wheat	25,000	Tinned meat ..	2,200
Beans	19,000		

The category metals, machinery, etc., comprises mainly agricultural machinery and railway material. Agricultural machinery occupied the prime place in this group until June, after which its urgency being deferred until the spring of next year, transport material begins to replace it in importance. Below is a table (quantities in tons) showing the fluctuation in the imports of these two items together with their percentage relation to the whole group for the nine months.

	Total for group	Agricultural machinery	Transport material
January to June	41,597	19,811	6,220
July	19,015	5,535	10,134
August	33,428	1,771	29,397
September	34,373	5,724	28,554
Percentage of group total for period (Jan. to Sept.)	100	24.64	58.02

England, Germany, and America were the chief countries of supply of Russian imports. In the first half of the year Esthonia occupied the fourth place, but in the following three months Sweden replaces her. The following table gives the principal countries of origin, the amount imported from them, and the percentage of the total imports for the nine months:

	Tons	Percentage of imports
England	193,174	32.6
Germany	136,940	23.0
U. S. A.	115,413	19.5
Sweden	49,022	8.3
Esthonia	32,880	5.5
Latvia	7,768	1.3
Finland	4,666	0.8
Lithuania	1,092	0.2
Poland	390	0.1
Total	541,345	91.3

England occupies the chief place. Details of Russia's purchases in the United Kingdom have been given in previous numbers of SOVIET RUSSIA. From Germany was imported the bulk of the agricultural and industrial tools and machinery, and in the last quarter the bulk of the railway material. An increase in the imports from the U. S. A. latterly is accounted for by the goods imported on behalf of the famine sufferers. The border countries play an unimportant part in the supply of imports, but serve chiefly as countries of transit. In this connection the growth of the traffic through Petrograd port, obviating the necessity of transit through the border countries, is dealt with elsewhere in this issue.

II.

The export returns show far more modest figures; nevertheless, as will be seen from the table below, the rate of progress is as rapid as that of the imports. The rate of increase is maintained throughout the individual months of the last quarter — in July were exported 9,866 tons; in August 11,850 tons; and in September 27,933 tons. The exports still continue to fall far short of the imports, as the following table shows:

1921	Imports	Exports	Balance of imports over export
	Tons	Tons	Tons
First quarter..	49,368	7,787	41,581
Second quarter	140,115	35,594	104,521
Third quarter.	403,616	49,661	353,955
Total.....	593,099	93,042	500,057

It must not be forgotten, when considering the adverse balance of trade, that even after the conclusion of the trade agreement the legal position of goods and gold imported from Russia into England was still unsettled, and that until this was established after protracted law court proceedings, exports from Russia were necessarily on a restricted scale. On the whole, until the conclusions of the agreements with various countries the conditions for import were more favorable than the conditions of export. Another consideration to be borne in mind is that the above figures are weights and do not represent in any way the actual exchange value of the goods. When it is remembered, for instance, that a large bulk of the imports is machinery, and that furs figure largely in the exports, it will be seen that considerable reductions would have to be made in the proportions of the financial balance of trade to get a true picture of its extent. Unfortunately, adequate figures of values are not yet available.

On the whole, Russian exports are finding favorable markets abroad. The index figure for prices of Russian timber up to October 30 fluctuated between 200 and 300 (counting 1913 prices at 100). The index figure for the price of flax on the London market was 263 and for hemp 130. At the Leipzig Fair Russian furs were in considerable demand and were sold at favorable prices.

The chief markets for Russian exports were Latvia, 46.7 per cent, and England, 33.6 per cent. A great part of the exports to Latvia was, however, re-exported to other countries; unfortunately details are not available. To England were exported chiefly timber, leather, furs, bristle, horsehair, asbestos, and graphite; to Latvia timber and flax. The third place is taken by Turkey with six per cent, chiefly salt, and the fourth place by Germany, with 4.6 per cent, chiefly furs, flax, and asbestos.

“Industrial Immigration” to Soviet Russia

“THE economic front” is the watchword of Soviet Russia today. After four years of imperialist war and three years of revolution, fighting on all sides against internal and foreign enemies, the Russians are now turning against their final enemy—the industrial dislocation of the country. They have become so accustomed to military terms, that they speak of “attack”, “enemy”, “front”, etc., also in dealing with the industrial situation; and if they show as much determination, courage and sense of reality on the economic field as they have shown on the military, they will unquestionably conquer all existing difficulties.

To be sure, this struggle for economic reconstruction is more difficult than the military struggle. It requires more patience and perseverance, it is a much slower process. Kryzhanovsky says, in his introduction to the “Plan of Electrification of the R. S. F. S. R.” (Moscow 1920): “First of all, we must know and remember distinctly that to liquidate the inheritance of seven years of war and to rebuild the whole of our national economy on an entirely new foundation is not possible in a short time. It is necessary to reconcile ourselves from the start to the thought that the struggle on the economic front presents greater difficulty than the struggle on the military front, and that here too, we find ourselves greatly dependent on international relations.”

Russian Workers Decimated

Realizing this situation and the further fact that the army of skilled Russian workers has been very largely dissipated in the course of seven years of struggle, we can understand how difficult is the task before Soviet Russia today. Russia was always backward industrially, and the number of its industrial workmen was never large, as compared with highly developed industrial countries, like Germany, England, or the United States. Prior to the war the industrial workers did not exceed three millions, in a population of nearly one hundred and eighty millions. The most skilled and class-conscious element, employed in the large factories of Petrograd and Moscow, suffered most during this period. In the first years of imperialist war, the Tsarist government made no distinction in recruiting for the army and sent many skilled workmen to the front. In the revolutionary period it was again the skilled, most conscious workmen who took the leading part in the revolutionary struggle. It was Red Petrograd and Red Moscow that sent contingent after contingent to the front ranks of the Red Army. It is stated that out of a band of 2,000 Putilov workmen who went to the front only 17 remain alive. Similar instances can be cited about workmen of other large establishments. Those who remained alive are now spread all over Russia and Siberia, in many instances occupying responsible

positions in the Red Army, or in the administrative departments of the Soviet Government. In addition, a great number of city workmen have drifted to the country, where living conditions were easier, and where they have settled as small handicraftsmen. Thus the industries of Soviet Russia have lost their more able workmen, the skilled mechanics, the foremen, etc. Again the younger element, the apprentices, who under normal conditions would have developed into skilled mechanics and taken the place of the older men, also participated actively in the wars, and so lost every contact with industry.

This lack of skilled men is apparent everywhere. In the mines, in the industrial establishments of Russia, there is a wide gap between the management of the industries and the common laborers, who make up the working forces. The upper layer of this working force, usually made up of trained mechanics, electricians, toolmakers, expert miners, in fact experienced men of all trades, is practically absent.

Soviet Russia is doing what it can to fill this gap, to create a new contingent of intelligent skilled workmen. Many technical schools have been established everywhere for this purpose. Nearly every factory of any size, every industrial settlement, has a school of this type, frequently under the name of “Rabfak” (Workmen’s Faculty). At the Bazhenovo mines in the Urals, for example, there is a school where young men between 16 and 20 years old study engineering, mechanics, etc., for four hours each day; the other four hours they spend actually working in the shops, receiving a full day’s pay. There are night schools for adults and many new schools in the towns for higher technical education. In three or four years these schools will exert a powerful influence on Russian industrial life; at the moment, however, they cannot supply the demand. Soviet Russia, therefore, is inviting trained men from foreign lands to come and swell the ranks of her skilled workers.

A new department has been created for this purpose—a department of Industrial Immigration, under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The scope of the work of this department is outlined in the Decree of June 29, 1921, which says in part:

1) The Department of Industrial Immigration is organized as a part of the Central Production Division of the Supreme Council of National Economy. This Department will designate:

2) Which industrial enterprises, by reason of their equipment, or because of other particular conditions, are suitable for operation by foreign workers, and may be turned over to such workers organized into Artels, Cooperatives, etc., on the basis of lease in accordance with the Decree on Leases, or on any other basis that may be found suitable, such enterprises to enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, which will be determined in each case between the contracting parties, and to be under the supervision of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

In accordance with this decree the Supreme Council of National Economy has appointed a representative in the United States to supervise Industrial Immigration to Soviet Russia; the work to be done is outlined in a statement of the representative recently made public, which reads:

"Following the line of the new economic policy of the Soviet Government, the Supreme Council of National Economy is inviting organized groups of workers, agricultural and industrial cooperatives, partnerships, groups, etc., to come to Soviet Russia for the purpose of leasing or taking on concessions industrial establishments, factories, mills, agricultural colonies, etc., in accordance with recent decrees of the Soviet Government. The Supreme Council of National Economy also invites engineers, skilled mechanics, electricians, miners, builders, and trained men in all branches of industry, to come and take part in the building up of the economic life of Russia. For the development of Russian agriculture, it invites also farmers, especially organized agricultural colonies, to come and introduce modern methods of agricultural and machine farming in Soviet Russia.

"While technicians and skilled men are thus invited to Russia to undertake specific tasks, it must be understood that this does not imply at this time an opening of the Russian border to general immigration. On the contrary, the Russian border remains closed to general immigration until further notice, and only those who come under the head 'Industrial Immigration' will be admitted.

"The representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy in the United States will work in conjunction with the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia in the United States and Canada, Room 303, 110 West 40th Street, New York City, to whom inquiries and correspondence should be addressed."

Industrial Immigration thus coming to Soviet Russia, mainly in organized groups, will go to factories or other industrial establishments previously agreed upon, and farm workers or agricultural groups will receive land allotments for the establishment of agricultural committees. Workers who enter industries individually will be subject to the general conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia and will receive payment in money and kind, in accordance with the established standards, and will be compensated for whatever material resources, in the shape of tools, etc., they may bring with them. The immigrants will pay their own way to a Russian port and should bring enough food-stuffs, clothes, etc., to last them during the first period of their residence in Russia.

In the United States there are over 3,000,000 Russian-Americans. Probably ten per cent would return to Russia, and these emigrants could play an important part in the rebuilding of Russian industry. The skill which they acquired in America, their work discipline, and their knowledge of modern industrial methods would bring into Russian industrial life the very elements which Russia lacks at present. In addition these workers have accumulated savings. It is estimated therefore that each Russian American coming to Russia could pay his way to a Russian port and bring a certain fund into Russia in addition. We have in mind a sum of 300 dollars per person; perhaps now, after many months of unemployment, this situation has changed and the workers have consumed their savings. But with 300 dollars, each person could

expend 50 or 100 dollars for foodstuffs and clothing, an equal sum for transport and 100 dollars for tools. In the aggregate this would prove a very considerable fund.

The entire immigration plan will have to be carried out in a most careful manner. The location of the immigrants in Russia, their transportation, the transport of their baggage and belongings, the reception at port of arrival and at point of destination must be planfully arranged. Likewise, the information of immigrants — they must be told clearly of the existing Russian conditions, also the places they are assigned to. The work in the United States, organization of groups, selection of individual immigrants, is to be carried on through the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia of the United States and Canada, which is an organization of the workers themselves. Such selection of immigrants is necessary, at least for some time, so as to eliminate elements that may become a source of annoyance to the Soviet Government, such as counter-revolutionists, anarchists, idlers, etc. Also, for the first period, preference may be given to single men, and men possessing the necessary funds.

It should also be borne in mind, when speaking of applying American Industrial methods to Soviet Russia at the present moment, that a great deal of caution should be exercised in attempting such application. American methods of high speed and mass production are all right, provided the demand for the product is there, and the rest of the industrial machine is attuned to it. In Russia, however, the American technique will have to be carefully adjusted to the existing political and economic conditions, to the conditions of food supply, transport, exhaustion, after the seven years of war, and to the labor psychology. The Russian-American workers will certainly bring greater skill and better technique into production. Yet as Russians, knowing their country and its customs, they will adjust themselves to Russian life much more readily than foreign workers—Americans, English or others. To apply American technique as a whole will be an absurdity. It is necessary to apply these methods gradually and the best instrument for that are the Russian-American workers, who understand the country, and whom the present difficult conditions will not surprise. Besides, they return to their own country, whose language and customs they know and with whom they are in mental sympathy at the very outset. Thus the Russian workers will be able to raise production by their better skill.

At the same time, under the conditions of the New Order in Russia, these workers from America or from other foreign lands will escape the endless drudgery and suppression which are the characteristics of capitalistic production and which make life for workers in America so colorless and so oppressive. Together with the Russian workers they will join in the building of a Socialist Commonwealth, under the inspiration and guidance of a government of their own class.

National Office Notes

(All who are interested in the work of fighting the famine in Russia will want to know what is being done by the workers everywhere to lighten the burdens of the Russian people. The National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia will give you information in each issue of this paper on the progress of this work. The address of The National Office is 201 West 13th Street, New York, and perhaps you may want to send them some money. The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, February 15, will print a complete list of all contributions received at the National Office in January.)

The funds collected by the Friends of Soviet Russia steadily increase. \$340,000 is the total to date, while the amount of clothing that has been donated by the 140 branches all over the country during the past month is valued at more than \$250,000.

New York alone has gathered more than 4,000 bundles of clothing, conservatively estimated at \$40,000. Detroit has sent in 83 cases of clothing, shoes and other supplies. Wilmington has contributed 10 bales, Waterbury, 58 bales, East Rockford, Ill., 5 cases, Mansfield, O., 6 cases, Chicago, 22 cases and 24 bags of clothing. Numerous individual parcels, packages and bundles have arrived from every section of the United States.

San Francisco is conducting a great drive to enlist the labor unions. A large committee is at work and prospects are excellent. Los Angeles is looking far ahead. January 22, April 1, and May 1 are being dedicated to big affairs. Los Angeles recently sent off a number of cases of clothes, etc., direct to Soviet Russia. Phoenix, Arizona, is beginning to function as a branch full of life. The workers in that section of the country want to know the truth about Soviet Russia and are clamoring for speakers.

Activity in the Rocky Mountain Region is proceeding with full energy. The work of the F. S. R. organizer, Norman H. Tallentire, is producing big results. Rock Springs, Cheyenne, and Hanna, Wyoming, have been added to the list of branches out in the West. The general report from that district is that the people are hungry for information and news. The lack of speakers makes it impossible for the F. S. R. to cover the entire territory.

Cleveland is showing renewed vitality and is figuring among the top-notchers. Activities in Chicago do not diminish. Detroit and Chicago comrades seem to be an endless source of energy and invention. Probably the state of mind of the workers in that section of the country is the reason for the excellent results being attained there.

Edgar T. Whitehead, the well-known English journalist, who went to the Berlin International Conference of the Foreign Committee for Organizing Workers' Relief for the Starving in Soviet Russia, has been detained at Ellis Island. The government officials refuse to recognize his credential, which states explicitly that his mission in the United States is to organize relief for the starving Russians. Comrade Whitehead has just come from Sweden and Norway, where he did similar work. In view of the critical state of things in Soviet Russia at the present time, with millions facing death, the detention of Comrade Whitehead is an outrage against which protest should be raised in every part of the country where there are sympathizers with the starving workers and peasants. The F. S. R. is taking up the matter with the Federal authorities and it is hoped that Comrade Whitehead will be released on bail in a few days.*

According to the report of Comrade Whitehead, the situation in Soviet Russia is as serious as described. He states that, according to official figures, 50,000 people are dying daily, 1,000,000 have perished in 3 weeks. The famine is at its most acute stage and will remain so for the next two months. Help must be rushed within the next 6 or 8 weeks. As soon as spring arrives, and the grain begins to sprout, the danger will diminish.

*As we go to press, we learn that Comrade Whitehead was permitted to enter this country on January 21, for sixty days. The F. S. R. was compelled to furnish a \$1000 bond for him.

"We Russian children thank the American children for having sent us warm clothing. I got a warm dress for which I thank you." "We Russian children thank the American children for having made us a present of warm things. I have got warm woolen stockings and gloves and thank you heartily for them." This is the spirit of gratitude that is being felt by Russian children for the aid that is being given them.

Vitebsk Province has adopted the German Volga Commune for relief purposes. In November it sent 340 tons of grain, 100,000,000 rubles, and large quantities of other foodstuffs. Families are offering to take children from the famine areas and care for them till after the next harvest. Of the more than 200,000 in need of help in the Ufa Province, only 22,000 are being taken care of in 320 homes.

The Red Army has collected more than 500,000,000 rubles for relief. The Army has also organized homes for the care of children. The First Cavalry Army gave as its contribution the work of ploughing more than 27,000 acres of land and cultivating 150 kitchen gardens. They also established 150 forges; their transport section helped in carrying seed.

The larger part of the food supplies sent by the F. S. R. on the S. S. Margus has been sent to Kazan, to the authorized representative of the Russian Red Cross. This will assure the work of the Medical Feeding Units of the Russian Red Cross for the period of two months. A smaller quantity was left in Petrograd for the Units forming there and in Moscow.

Up to December 7, 49,750 tons had been received by Soviet Russia from foreign countries. Persia donated 833 tons of rice and grain, Bulgaria 500 tons, American workers 3,463 tons, Norway 2,133 tons, Turkey 5,333 tons.

There have been additions to the list of central labor bodies affiliated with the F. S. R., viz., Washington, D. C. Central Labor Union, Richmond Central Labor Union, and Mansfield, O. Labor Union. The number of affiliations continues to grow, new branches and large bodies joining up.

The United Mine Workers continue to send in assessments. From the Rocky Mountain region and the Central West, contributions are coming in daily.

"I want to draw your attention to one who is a helper in the Great Northern shops here and has a large family. He contributed \$5 and his two small boys who sell papers gave a dollar apiece. This is a good spirit and should be encouraged." No question it should, and we hope that all boys and girls will follow this beautiful example of devotion to the cause of Soviet Russia.

"Enclosed please find my check (\$100) for my hundred children during the month. The Friends of Soviet Russia about here are few indeed. Some persons are giving in order to 'save Russia and destroy Bolshevism'. Appeals of that sort are going out from New York City and Washington." Of which there is no doubt. But the workers of this country are saving the Russian people to save Soviet Russia.

The big items of the week are Toronto, Canada, \$5,000, Lithuanian Section of the F. S. R., \$2,700, Chicago, \$4,000, New York, \$1034, Cleveland \$885, Detroit \$800, San Francisco \$700, Philadelphia \$750, Pittsburg \$636, Milwaukee \$345, Schenectady \$350, Russian Dramatic Club, Boston \$300, Women's Educational League, West New York, N. J. \$300, Minneapolis \$357, Seattle, \$250, Portland, Ore. \$150, Russian Babies Relief, Bronx, N. Y. \$200, Rochester \$200, United Mine Workers of America, Rock Springs, \$217, Roxbury Lettish Club, Roxbury, Mass. \$250.

ALAPAYEV ASBESTOS MINES

On November 2, 1921, the Representatives of the Soviet Government—the Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, P. A. Bogdanov, and the Acting People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Litvinov,—on the one hand, and the representatives of the American Allied Drug and Chemical Company, on the other,—signed an agreement whereby a concession for the exploitation of the Alapayev asbestos mines was granted to the company for the period of twenty years. We already announced this concession (see *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, No. 246). In this connection we wish to cite some comparative data on the condition both of the entire asbestos district united under the management of the asbestos mills of the Ural region, and, particularly, the data concerning the equipment and technical appliances which in accordance with the grant are to be placed at the disposal of the American company.

According to the report of the board of directors of the asbestos region to the Chief Mining Division, the mining of asbestos did not begin in Russia until 1900, and prior to that the Russian industries were relying exclusively upon imported supplies. Thus, for instance, during the decade preceding 1900, Russia imported over 60,000 poods of asbestos, amounting to half a million rubles and 100,000 poods of asbestos products amounting to over a million rubles.

In 1898 a Ural mine operator by the name of Korevo opened the first asbestos mine in the Bazhanov district, 35 versts to the north of the station Bazhanovo, on the Omsk railroad. During the first decade of the 20th century a further exploration of the asbestos deposits was conducted very energetically in the same Bazhanovo district. The following mines have been put into operation successively: the Poklevsky mine, the Zhirard, Yan-Yaka, the Mukhanov and Okunev mines. After 1909 the mining of asbestos began in the Alapayev, Nevyansk and Ostankin districts. All of the above named districts were united toward the end of 1919, following Kolchak's defeat, into one Asbestos Mining Region.

The mining of asbestos ore in the Ural mountains is carried on in open ditches, chiefly by manual labor (without machinery). Only during the war when following the mobilization the scarcity of labor affected the mines of the Bazhanov district, the Zhirard mills began to introduce mechanical methods of mining asbestos, especially in the production of crude asbestos. Following the revolution and the subsequent nationalization of the mines, the main task of the Management of the Mining Region was the introduction of rational and mechanical methods in the production of asbestos in all phases of the work. According to the opinion of specialists, the asbestos mines are satisfactorily equipped. The oldest and most productive region of Bazhanov is best equipped, particularly the former Zhirard mills and the Poklev-

INFORMATION ON THE FAMINE

No one can be successful in his collections for Famine Relief unless he is in a position to tell his friends what the actual conditions in Russia are. The issues of *SOVIET RUSSIA* for the last half of 1921, constituting Volume V of the set, are full of excellent material describing causes, remedies, dangers of epidemic, and appeals from various sources. Volume V may be had from this office at the price of three dollars (excellently bound in cloth), including title page and index. Remittance in advance.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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

sky mills. The Alapayev district began to be exploited only recently and has been explored but very little. The comparative output of the districts, prior to the war, will be seen from the following figures: The Bazhanovo region during 1913 produced 1,085,000 poods of crude asbestos, the Novyansky district—60,000 poods, the Ostankinsky district — 20,000 poods, the Alapayevsky district — 8,000 poods. Thus, the Alapayev district yielded prior to the war only 5 per cent of the total output of our asbestos industry.

The "trenches" where the asbestos is mined are distributed as follows among the four districts: 22 in the Bazhanov district, 1 in the Alapayev, 3 in the Ostankin district, and 3 in the Nevyansk district, making a total of 29.

In the Bazhanov district there is a pasteboard factory (formerly owned by Goravsky) and a factory of asbestos products (articles). There are 7 power stations in the entire mining district, with a combined power equal to 2,070 horse power. Of these only one 220 horse-power station and one locomotive will be placed at the disposal of the American concessionnaires. They will also be given the use of three versts of railroad track out of the 30 versts of railroad now at the disposal of the Management of the Mining Region, for the purpose of transporting the waste material from the mines. Besides this, the American company will be given the following articles of technical equipment: 50 cars for the transportation of the mineral, 1 crane, 1 machine shop, 2 smithies, 1 carpenter's shop, 12 sets of millstones. All this comprises less than 10 per cent of the total technical equipment of the mining region.

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn, Nov. 18, 1921.

Soviet Russia

now appears

TWICE A MONTH

The next issue will be dated February 15th.

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Among the features of the next issue are:

1. *Storm Attack or Siege Tactics, a new speech* by N. LENIN.
2. *The Revolution abroad. Its Present Stage*, by LEON TROTSKY.
3. *The Finnish Aggression in Karelia. Official Notes and General View.*

Books Reviewed

Аркадий Аверченко: Дожина ножей в спину революции.
—Arkadyi Averchenko: *A Dozen Knives in the Back of the Revolution. A Book of Short Stories.* Paris, 1921.

This volume is from the pen of Arkadyi Averchenko, a White Guard writer whose malevolence has developed to such a point that it beclouds his intellect. It is interesting to note that an insane hatred, rising to the boiling-point, inspires all the most ingenious as well as the weakest passages in "A Dozen Knives in the Back of the Revolution". Of course, whenever the author deals in his stories with subjects of which he is ignorant, the result is inartistic. For example, the story depicting the home life of Lenin and Trotsky, it is full enough of malice, but not at all true to life, dear Citizen Averchenko. I assure you both Lenin and Trotsky have many defects, but to write of them cleverly one must know them. And you do not know them.

But the greater part of the book is devoted to subjects with which Arkadyi Averchenko is perfectly well acquainted, through which he has himself lived, and thought, and felt. With positively inflammatory talent he depicts the impressions and moods of the representatives of the old feudal and manufacturers' Russia, the Russia of those who are rich and sated and overfed. It is thus that the Revolution must appear in the minds of the once ruling classes. The fires of a burning hatred sometimes illuminate Averchenko's stories to the point of open conflagration. And this is very often the case. Particularly fine are such little things as "The Grass Trampled Under Boots", and other stories depicting the psychology of children who lived through and are still living through the Civil War.

But the author rises to real heights of pathos only when he writes of eating. How the bourgeoisie ate in old Russia, how they dined in Petrograd—no, not in Petrograd, but in St. Petersburg—for fourteen and a half, or for fifteen rubles, that is what the author can write about with excruciating pain; for this he knows, this he has lived through and felt through; here he makes no mistake. His knowledge of the facts and his truthfulness here are really very exceptional.

In the last story in the collection, "So Many Broken Bits", there is an interesting picture, playing in the Crimea, in Sebastopol, of the former senator, "once rich, and fat, and well connected", now in the artillery depot, "daily unloading and piling up shells", and the former director of a great metal works, "once considered the biggest on the Viborg side. Now he is a clerk in a commission store, who has recently even acquired a certain experience in the evaluation of second-hand ladies' cloaks and velvet Teddy bears for children, which are brought to the commission."

Both old fellows recall their former escapades in St. Petersburg, the streets, the theatres, the meals in the "Bear", in "Tsena", and in Mala Yaroslav Street, etc. And their reminiscences are frequently interrupted by such interjections as: "What did we do to them?" "Did we interfere with them?" "Who told them to but in here?" "Why have they treated Russia thus?"

Arkadyi Averchenko does not understand why. But the workers and peasants apparently understand without difficulty and without lengthy explanations.

Some of these stories should be reprinted, in my opinion. Talent must be encouraged.

N. LENIN.

MARGUERITE HARRISON: Marooned in Moscow, New York: Geo. Doran Co., 1921. Cloth, 322 pages.

Marooned in Moscow is a record of the experiences in Russia of Mrs. Marguerite Harrison, an American newspaperwoman who became interested in Russia while reporting in Germany after the German Revolution, and who tells us she made up her mind to go to Russia as a foreign

correspondent and study conditions for herself. Mrs. Harrison applied to L. C. Martens of the Soviet Bureau in New York for permission to enter Russia. She was flatly refused and hit upon the plan of crossing the No Man's Land between the Polish and Russian lines (Russia and Poland were then at war) and giving herself up to the first Red Army patrol that she met. With a little trickery this plan worked very well. Mrs. Harrison was not only very well treated by the Russians, but, as she was obliged to wait at the various stations on the way to Moscow for the necessary papers and conveyances, she had an admirable opportunity to observe the Red Army at work and at play. Her description of the intensive method by which illiterate Russian soldiers are taught to read in six months, their lessons being made as exciting to them as a game, is one of the most interesting paragraphs in the book.

Upon her arrival in Moscow, Mrs. Harrison informed the Foreign Office of her exploit, and after an interview with Chicherin, was allowed to remain as a foreign correspondent. Mrs. Harrison admits having committed many imprudences besides consorting openly with persons hostile to the Soviet Government and therefore, she herself was not very much surprised when she was arrested, on April 4, 1920. The Poles, supported by France, had started another offensive and the political situation had become very tense. Mrs. Harrison was released by the authorities after 48 hours, however, upon making certain promises. She says that she neither would nor could keep these promises and consequently was again arrested.

This time she was not released until July, 1921, when under the terms of the agreement made between the American Relief Administration and the Soviet Government, all American prisoners in Russia were set at liberty.

However, during the eight months of liberty which Mrs. Harrison enjoyed in Russia, she saw and heard much and has made a very good story of it. Even the account of her life in prison is thoroughly interesting. In a chapter entitled "The Gods and their Machine", Mrs. Harrison tells of public meetings which she visited, at one of which she heard Lenin speak. She testifies to the deep impression which Lenin makes by his simplicity and sincerity. She also heard Trotsky, and it seemed to her that in his erect bearing and flashing eyes, as they swept the audience, there was an element of racial pride, as if he were thinking, "I, the Jew, am the head of a great army." We cannot prove that Trotsky did not think of this when he was speaking. Certainly Mrs. Harrison presents no evidence either way. In her chapter, "Bureaus and Bureaucrats", Mrs. Harrison gives pen pictures of many of the most prominent Soviet officials, and in "A Modern Babel", she describes "cosmopolitan Moscow" with its many visitors from other lands, many of whom, like Jacques Sadoul, have cast in their lot with the Russians for good. Mrs. Harrison also accompanied the British Labor Delegation on their trip down the Volga, that trip on which Bertrand Russell began to fear a "Communist Imperialism" which would ultimately usurp British Imperialism.

Mrs. Harrison had an interview with Alexandra Kollontai, who told her that the Soviet Government was not inclined to treat the woman question as a separate problem, but that women are encouraged to go to political meetings and work on an equal footing with the men. Mrs. Harrison says, "This is quite true—there is no feminism in Russia, there are no laws, disadvantages or disabilities operating against women."

Mrs. Harrison does not like the Soviet Government, but she has kept her opinions so much in the background that her book will give offense to none. On only one occasion does she show any heat, and that is when she speaks of Karl Marx's picture, which she says appears all over to decorate meeting-halls. This picture irritated Mrs. Harrison very much. She finds too great discrepancy between the benevolent countenance and the philosophy of brute force which Marx taught. Like her English colleague, H. G. Wells, she is particularly annoyed by the

beard. There seems to be serious cause for concern in Karl Marx's beard. It is getting to be an obstacle to international good feeling. We could almost wish that there were some picture of Karl Marx extant in which he appears without the beard. But perhaps there is no such picture. Perhaps Marx felt instinctively that he would reveal himself in his true character if he shaved off his beard and therefore retained this mask all his life. Either Mrs. Harrison or Mr. Wells must tear it off.

In an "Afterword", Mrs. Harrison sums up her thoughts on Russia and finally asks: "What should be the policy of the United States toward Russia?" She answers: "I believe that the only sane policy for the United States is one of full cooperation with the Soviet Government."
M. H.

ПРОФ. В. Н. СУКАЧЕВ: Экскурсия на торфяное болото.
Prof. V. N. Sukachev: An Excursion to a Peat-bog, Petersburg, Government Publication, 1921, paper, 36 pages, 3000 copies.

This is the second of a series of publications of the "Excursion Library", edited by Professor B. E. Rykov. These "excursions" are purely scientific, but in reading them one readily draws some very important practical conclusions, especially applicable to Russia's industrial revival. This excellently printed book, replete with scientific information, representing a full treatise on peat formation, makes one believe that Russia is not in the least suffering from any shortage of good quality paper.

The contents of this book are no less satisfying than its general appearance. It contains a lengthy account of an excursion made by Professor Sukachev to the Suvalovsky peat-bog, in the Petrograd Gubernya (state). There are in Russia about 148,000 square miles occupied by peat-bogs and similar swamp land; in the Petrograd Gubernya alone there are 2640 square miles of such, and 16 per cent of the total Petrograd Gubernya area, or 422 square miles, consist of peat-bogs. Peat is the first stage in the transformation of vegetable matter into coal. When one considers these great quantities of peat as fuel, the scarcity of which is as colossal as the quantities of peat are large, the significance of its utilization and of the reclamation of these swamp lands becomes at once evident and obvious.

While peat is formed to some extent in warm and even tropical regions, it is especially in temperate and cold humid countries like Russia that it is produced. Thus, where lakes abound, especially in humid regions, a constant deposit of weeds, rushes, bushes, etc., is made by the waters, slowly but steadily filling them up. In the water are growing various kinds of aquatic vegetation, pond-lilies, water-weeds, rushes, etc. When these die their leaves, stems, and roots at the bottom form a black mud, composed of peat. As these masses of vegetation, and the deposits they leave behind them, advance lakeward, bushes and semi-aquatic plants, such as certain mosses, appear in the shallowing water and close to the shore and add their quota to the peat deposits below. Eventually there comes a time when the peat formation reaches to the top, or nearly so, the basin is filled with the soft black mud which produces the final stage of the peat, the lake is obliterated and a "bog" formed in its place.

The above estimated square mileage of swamps, bogs, and inundated land, in the present condition, although valuable in places for the timber it contains and the peat utilizable as fuel, is useless for agriculture. By the use of suitably placed canals and ditches, a very large (perhaps the greater) part of this land can be drained and rendered available for cultivation. With the coming industrial development of Russia and the denser settlement of the country, will come a consequent greater demand for land, and with the initiation of reclamation projects in these inundated areas we may expect to see in the future a constantly increasing use of swamp lands.

In spite of the great difficulties of living in Russia in these turbulent times, one cannot but admire the thoroughness with which Russian scientists do their work.

J. R. M.

New Literature

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Remember the Starving

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The Changed World Situation

By LEON TROTSKY

("Die Neue Etappe" is the title of the German translation of a pamphlet recently written by the People's Commissar for War, on the subject of the alterations that have taken place in the situation of the various capitalist countries since the Russian Revolution. Properly translated into English, this title would read "The New Stage", but we shall translate the essential portion of the volume in five instalments under the title that appears above. The preface of the book is dated at Moscow, August 19, 1921.)

AFTER the imperialist war we enter the revolutionary period, i. e., the period in which the foundations of capitalist society are already undermined and collapsing. The equilibrium of capitalism is a very complicated phenomenon: capitalism creates this equilibrium, disturbs it, restores it, redisturbs it, simultaneously and constantly extending its own domination. In the economic field these continual disturbances and restorations take the form of crises and waves of prosperity. In the relation between the classes, the disturbances of equilibrium assume the form of strikes, lockouts, revolutionary conflicts, etc. In the relations between nations the disturbances of equilibrium are: war, or, in an attenuated form, economic customs tariff war or blockade. Capitalism therefore has a rather mobile balance, which is constantly in process of disturbance or restoration. But this equilibrium has a remarkable power of resistance; the best proof of this is in the fact that the capitalist world has not yet collapsed.

The last imperialist war was an event rightly judged by us as a monstrous, hitherto unparalleled blow dealt to the equilibrium of the capitalist world. Indeed, the period of the greatest mass movements and revolutionary struggles grew out of the war. Russia, the weakest link in the capitalist chain, was the first to loose its bonds, and in March, 1917, entered the path of revolution. Our March Revolution found a strong echo among the working masses of England. The year 1917 for England was the year of great strikes, in the course of which the English proletariat succeeded in halting the process, produced by the war, of deterioration in the conditions of life of the working masses. In November, 1917, the working masses of Russia seized power. The great strike wave spreads over the whole capitalist world beginning with the neutral countries. In the autumn of 1918 Japan has a great series of "rice riots", which in certain districts involve as much as 25 per cent of the population and call forth severe repression on the part of the Mikado's Government. In January, 1918, there are mass strikes in Germany, and after the collapse of German militarism a revolution takes place in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The revolutionary movement extends. There begins the most critical year for capitalism, at least for European capitalism—the year 1919. In March, 1919, the Soviet Republic of Hungary is established. In January and March, 1919, great

struggles are waged by the revolutionary workers against the bourgeois Republic. In France the atmosphere becomes very tense at the time of demobilization, but victory and the hope to enjoy its golden fruits still encourage too many illusions; the struggle here has by no means the spirit that it has in the conquered countries. In the United States, toward the end of 1919, strikes assume gigantic proportions and embrace the railroad workers, miners, and metal workers. The Wilson Government starts its mad persecutions of the working class. In the Spring of 1920 the attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Germany, the Kapp Putsch, mobilized the working class and threw it into battle. The intensive but disorderly commotion of the German workers is again ruthlessly put down by the Ebert Republic which they had rescued. In France the political situation reached its culmination in May, 1920, at the time of the proclamation of the general strike, which turned out to be by no means so general, which was badly prepared and betrayed by the opportunist leaders, who did not desire a strike but dared not confess this. In August, the advance of the Red Army on Warsaw—which was also a portion of the international revolutionary struggle—met with failure. In September, the Italian workers, who had taken seriously the grandiloquent revolutionary agitation conducted by the Socialist Party, took possession of the factories but, shamefully betrayed by the Party, they suffered reverses all along the line, and subsequently were subjected to the most brutal counter-offensive of united reaction. In December, 1920, a revolutionary mass strike spreads over Czecho-Slovakia. Finally, in the year 1921, revolutionary struggles develop in Central Germany, with immense numerical sacrifices, and in England the tenacious miners' strike flares up, which has not yet come to any conclusion.

When, in the early post-war period, we looked upon the developing revolutionary movement, many of us—even those who were equipped with sufficient historical observation—felt convinced that this movement, rising more and more, must unquestionably end in a seizure of power by the working class. But already almost three years have passed since the war. Throughout the world, outside of Russia, the power has remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie. During this time the capitalist world of course was not unchanged. It

was moving all the time. Europe and the rest of the world were passing through a period that was extremely hard and dangerous for the bourgeoisie, namely, the period of demobilization after the war, demobilization of persons and things, demobilization of industry, the period of insane commercial expansion after the war, and then, the crisis that has not yet ended. And now we are faced with the great question: Is the course of events still moving in the direction of revolution, or shall we assume that capitalism has disposed of the difficulties arising from the war and restored capitalist equilibrium on the new post-war basis, or is at least approaching a solution of this rehabilitation?

The Bourgeoisie Become Reassured

Considering this question from a purely political standpoint, before proceeding to the economic basis, we must note that a number of symptoms, facts, and documents, tend to show that the bourgeoisie as a governing class has become more and more powerful, or at least feels that it is more powerful. In 1919, the European bourgeoisie was in a state of complete mental disturbance. It was the time of a panic fear of Bolshevism, which was pictured as a vague but all the more terrible form, represented in posters at Paris as a man with a knife in his teeth, etc., etc. As a matter of fact, this apparition of the bolshevik and his knife was the manner in which the European bourgeoisie embodied its terror at its own crimes during the war period. At any rate, they knew how little the results of the war were fulfilling the promises they had given. They knew precisely the extent of sacrifice in blood and goods. They feared retribution. The year 1919 was decidedly the most critical year for the bourgeoisie. In the years 1920-1921 you may gradually note the increase of their self-confidence, and no doubt also the strengthening of their national apparatus, which immediately after the war in several countries—such as Italy, for example—had almost completely gone to pieces. The regained assurance of the bourgeoisie assumed particularly crass forms in Italy after the cowardly betrayal by the Socialist Party in September, 1920. The bourgeoisie believed that it was dealing with wicked murderers and robbers; now they were convinced that they were dealing with cowards. As I have been unable to do any active work in the last few weeks, owing to illness, I have been able to read a large number of foreign newspapers. I have collected a whole brief-case of clippings indicative of the shift in the mood of the bourgeoisie and its adaptation to the new political situation. All testimony points to the one inference: the self-assurance of the bourgeoisie is at this moment decidedly stronger than it was in 1919 or even in 1920. There are very interesting communications in such a purely objective, though capitalistic, paper as the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (in Zurich, Switzerland), on the political situation in France, Germany, and Italy. As Switzerland is dependent on these countries, it is much

interested in their internal situation. This newspaper, for instance, has the following to say concerning the March events (1921) in Germany: "The Germany of 1921 is entirely different from that of 1918. National feeling has everywhere been strengthened so much that the methods of the Communists now encounter resistance in all social strata, although the power of the Communists, who in the days of the Revolution were but a small handful of determined men, have since increased more than tenfold." In April the same newspaper, speaking of the elections to the Italian Parliament, discusses the internal situation of Italy as follows: "In 1919: the Bourgeoisie had lost its head, Bolshevism advancing as a solid wall. In 1921: Bolshevism defeated and dispersed; the Bourgeoisie now a solid wall." The leading French newspaper, *Le Temps*, on May 1, 1921, wrote that not a trace remained of those fears of a revolutionary overthrow which had filled the atmosphere of France in May, 1920.

There is absolutely no doubt therefore that the self-assurance of the bourgeoisie has gone up, nor can we doubt that the police and the governing apparatus has been strengthened since the war. But this fact, important though it may be, by no means disposes finally of the question, and our enemies are doubtless hasty in immediately assuming that our program has gone to pieces. To be sure, we hoped that the bourgeoisie would collapse in 1919. But of course we could not be certain of it, and of course our plan of action was not based on this consummation. If the theoreticians of the Second and Second-and-a-half International say that we suffered shipwreck in our previsions, you would think they were speaking of a prediction of the meteorological type; as if we had made a mistake in our mathematical calculations, as if we had said that an eclipse of the sun would occur on such and such day, and had been shown up as poor astronomers. But the fact of the matter is quite different. We did not predict an eclipse of the sun, i. e., an event entirely outside the domain of our will, and independent of our actions. We were dealing with an historical event to be wrought by our active intervention. If we spoke of revolution as a consequence of the world war, this meant that we were at an effort—and still are—to make use of the consequences of the world war for the greatest possible acceleration of revolution. If revolution has not been achieved to the present day all over the world, or even in Europe, this by no means signifies the "bankruptcy of the Communist International," for its program is not based on astronomical data. Any Communist will understand this, if he is at all clear in his position. But if the revolution has not followed close upon the flaming heels of the war, it is perfectly clear that the bourgeoisie has made full use of the breathing spell afforded it, to overcome the most frightful and terrifying consequences of the war, to eliminate, or at least to conceal them, etc., etc.

Have they really succeeded in doing this? They certainly have in part. To what extent? This question of the extent of capitalistic restoration is the next that we shall take up.

What is the meaning of the capitalistic equilibrium of which international Menshevism is now speaking with such cocksureness? This question of equilibrium is not analyzed by the Social-Democrats, not traced, not precisely outlined. The equilibrium of capitalism includes very many factors, phenomena, and data, of primary, secondary, and tertiary importance. Capitalism is a way of viewing the world. It has embraced the whole earth, which became particularly clear during the war and the blockade, when one country was producing in abundance for no markets, while another country, hungry for goods, could not get them. To-day still this mutual dependence of the shattered war market is everywhere and always apparent. Capitalism in the stage it had reached before the war was based on international division of labor and international exchange of commodities. America must produce a certain quantity of grain for Europe. France must produce a certain number of articles of luxury for America. Germany must produce a certain number of cheap commodities for France. This division of labor is not a permanent institution, is not fixed for all time. It arises in historic times, is constantly disturbed by crises and competition—if not by tariff wars—is again restored and again disturbed. But in general, world economy is based upon the fact that the production of necessary goods is more or less disturbed between the various countries. And this distribution of labor throughout the world has been radically disturbed by the war. Has it been restored or not?

In each country agriculture works for industry, providing articles for personal consumption to the workers as well as raw materials for industry, while industry produces personal utensils and materials necessary for agricultural production. This again gives rise to certain mutual transactions. Finally, within industry itself, a creation of tools of production, as well as a manufacture of personal utensils, is going on, between which there is a certain mutual relation, constantly subject to disturbance and reestablishment. All these mutual relations and conditions were radically disturbed by the war, if only by the fact that European industry during the war, as well as the industry of America and Japan, to a considerable extent, was producing personal utensils and production tools in smaller quantities than instruments of destruction. But so far as necessary instruments were being produced, they were being produced less for productive workers than for the destructive soldiers of the imperialist armies. And this dislocation of the reciprocal relations between city and country, between the various branches of industry itself, in the various countries,—has this dislocation been eliminated?

Furthermore, there is class equilibrium, based on industrial equilibrium. In the pre-war period there was an armed truce not only in international relations, but also between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, an armed peace buttressed by a system of collective tariff agreements, concluded by extremely centralized trusts and the increasingly centralized industrial capital. This balance was also completely upset by the war, which led to the tremendous strike movement all over the world. Has the relative class equilibrium of bourgeois society, without which no production is possible, been restored or not? And on what basis?

The class equilibrium is closely associated with the political equilibrium. The bourgeoisie during the war, even before the war—although we paid no attention to it then—kept its mechanism going with the aid of the social democrats, the social patriots, who were their most important agents and who held down the workers within the framework of the bourgeois equilibrium. Only in this way were the bourgeoisie enabled to carry on the war. Has the bourgeoisie now restored the balance of its political system, and to what extent have the social democrats retained or lost their influence on the masses and their ability to continue functioning as protectors of the bourgeoisie? There is also the question of equilibrium between nations, i. e., of the "living together" of capitalistic states, without which a restoration of capitalist economy is impossible. Has the balance been restored in this field or not?

All these phases of the question must be discussed before we can decide whether the world situation remains a revolutionary one, or whether we must admit that they are right who say that our revolutionary expectations were utopian. The investigation of all these phases of the question will require illustration by many facts and data. I shall attempt to adduce the most important of these in my discussion of the question.

Has a new international division of labor been achieved? In this matter, the transfer of the center of gravity of capitalistic economy and bourgeois power from Europe to America is a decisive fact. It is a fact so fundamental that everyone of us must be definitely and clearly mindful of it, in order to grasp the meaning of the events taking place before our eyes now and in the next few years. Before the war Europe was the capitalist center of the world. Europe was the main salesroom of the world, its main factory, and, above all, its main bank. The European industrial magnate—particularly the English, and also, in the second place, the German; the European merchant—particularly the English; the European usurer—particularly the English and, in the second place, the French—these were actually the moulders of economic destiny and consequently of the politics of the entire world. That is no longer the case. Europe has been dethroned.

(To be continued in Next Issue)

The Berlin Relief Conference

By EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

(Delegate from the Central Committee of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee to the U. S. A.)

THE Russian Famine of the winter of 1921-1922 will stand apart from all previous famines in history in that for the first time wide masses of the workers of all countries threw themselves into the task of grappling with a natural catastrophe of this magnitude and character.

From the early August days onwards, from the time when the immediate incidence of Famine in the Volga Valley became certain, workers' and humanitarian organizations in all countries became feverishly active in their efforts to stem the colossal threatening death-roll.

It had been the wish of the Famine-fighting authorities in Russia from the first that efforts of all workers' organizations of whatever political shade or opinion should be centralized and coordinated through the medium of a central organization, which would devote itself to the task of organizing and distributing material aid to the Famine sufferers independent of any political opinions. This organization, termed the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee, had since September carried on a great action for Famine Relief through workers' industrial and political organizations in practically every civilized country, and in order still further to unify and stimulate the whole Famine Relief action, united with the Delegation of the Russian Red Cross in calling an International Conference to which were invited all known organizations active in Russian Famine Relief.

The infamous conferences of Geneva and Brussels, at which the representatives of the *Governments* of the various capitalist countries had refused all adequate aid to the starving and perishing millions on the Volga, had its counterblast in this Berlin convention, to which the workers and peoples sent their delegates.

The conference took place in the City Hall of Berlin on Sunday, December 4, 1921.

Organizations Present at the Conference

With the exception of the Hoover Commission practically every known organization active in Russian Famine Relief Work was represented. These included:

- The Nansen Relief Work
- The International Red Cross
- The International Save the Children Fund
- The Quaker Organizations
- The International Federation of Trade Unions
- The Vienna International
- The Workers' International Famine Relief Committee (Central Committee and thirteen national sections),

together with a great number of smaller organ-

izations such as Clarté (France), Hands Off Russia Movement (England), Relief Union for the Russian Peoples (France), Dutch United Famine Relief Committee, Relief Union for the Volga Germans, Unions of Artists' Relief for the Russian Famine, etc., etc. One hundred and fifty delegates and guests were present.

The conference elected a Presidium consisting of Grassmann (Amsterdam International), Coates (Hands Off Russia Movement) Madeleine Marx (Clarté), Vigdor Kopp (Russian Red Cross), and Clara Zetkin (Workers' International Famine Relief Committee). Comrade Zetkin acted as Chairman for the Conference.

The Conference was greeted in the name of the Russian Soviet Republic by Comrade Krestinsky (Chief of the Russian Soviet Delegation at Berlin), and then followed a full report on the actual situation by Comrade Victor Kopp, Chief of the Russian Red Cross delegation at Berlin.

Report of the Russian Red Cross.

The main points of this report were: The Famine covered thirteen great States of the Russian Soviet Republic, comprising an area roughly 800 miles long and 300-500 miles broad. Fifteen millions of children were starving and would perish unless speedy help reached them, and moreover throughout the whole region were large numbers of deserted and destitute children abandoned by their frantic parents, famishing children who try to appease the pangs of hunger by gnawing roots, and eating clay and all sorts of refuse. Kopp further reported that all help combined, up to the present, had succeeded in providing rations for but two million children, and that thirteen million children were completely unprovided for. Help must also be brought to the masses of starving adults if the whole of the working and peasant regions was not to perish utterly and the whole Volga Valley become a desolate waste.

Kopp particularly emphasized that the work of the various Red Cross expeditions who were active in fighting hunger typhus and other plagues and diseases was being to a large extent nullified in that those who were being rescued from death by disease were subsequently succumbing from sheer starvation. The Conference should not limit itself only to the task of providing immediate relief for the starving millions, but it should also consider the urgent need for seed for the spring sowing and the whole question of building up anew the shattered economic life of the affected regions.

Following upon the report of Victor Kopp, the

representatives of the various organizations present outlined the work they were each doing and hoped to do in the famine areas.

The sensation of the conference however was the arrival of Albert Coterill at the afternoon conference. Coterill, an Englishman, and a representative for the Quakers in the famine areas, had just arrived by train straight from the famine regions; he entered the conference hall clad in his traveling furs, after spending nearly three months in investigation and actual relief work.

Report of an Eye Witness from the Famine Areas

Coterill's report was to the effect that it was impossible to overstate the desperate character of the calamity that had befallen the Russian people. "All the reports you have received about the Famine," he said, "cannot present the position as it actually is. It is indescribable. Literally speaking, the people are dying like flies." In one village that he investigated, people were dying at the rate of eight to ten each day out of a population of four hundred, while in many villages in the uyezd of Buzuluk (to which district he was assigned by his organization) no food of any description was available at the time of his investigation, even the domestic animals having been consumed. In one area he had in mind, having a normal population last August of 9000 inhabitants, people were dying at the rate of fifty per day. By the end of this month, said Mr. Coterill, according to the officially registered deaths, the population of this district will be depleted by one half. The country areas, where 90 per cent of the population live, were in a far worse condition than the towns, dying by hundreds.

It was a common thing to see dead bodies lying in the streets, and one could not walk any distance without passing many such gruesome sights. People would fall and die in the markets. The bodies of scores of men, women, and children, without a shred of clothing, were piled indiscriminately in the cemeteries, awaiting burial in large pits already overfull with earlier victims. The corpses were scarcely more than skeletons with skin stretched over them, but their faces showed the agony they had undergone before death released them.

One large receiving home for children which Mr. Coterill visited had some 700 inmates. There was scarcely anything for them to eat and it was the regular duty of the attendants to go around once a day and pick out the dead from the living. The wailing or the dull stare of the little ones cannot be pictured, and their condition because of the lack of soap or clothing is too terrible to describe.

At one great children's centre in the district of Pavlovka, typhus, typhoid, malaria, etc., were being nursed in the same rooms and there were at least two little patients in each bed, in one case five.

Mr. Coterill paid a special tribute to the heroism and devotion of the Soviet officials and authorities

in the famine areas. They were sharing the hardships equally with the common people and were dying at their posts. In the town of Buzuluk itself the Vice-President of the Famine Committee had died of typhus whilst he was there, and the chief representative of the Health Ministry for the district was now lying on his death-bed from ill nourishment and typhus. Everywhere the Soviet officials stick to their posts, labor on till they can do no more, then sicken and die. It is beyond their power to do more than they do. It is beyond their power to save thousands and millions of the sufferers. Coterill concluded by expressing the opinion that the country was a rich and fertile one, and but for this catastrophe caused by the unprecedented drought, would be one of the richest areas. He was convinced that the country could and would pay back, and more, all help now advanced to it, and he advised the granting of immediate credits. He mentioned that the Quakers' organizations proposed to create their own loan for this purpose. It is absolutely necessary, he said, that we should recognize our duty to the Famine area, our duty as human beings, and not ourselves alone, but that we should awaken the consciences of all people in all lands, if the millions of human beings in the Volga Valley were to be saved from inevitable death.

Decisions of the Conference

The concluding session of the Conference was taken up with practical proposals to meet the situation.

The Presidium of the Conference was entrusted by unanimous vote of all the delegates to draw up a suitable manifesto to be issued broadcast, urging not only the immediate appropriation of funds for the starving workers and peasants in the Famine areas, and the removal of all obstacles to the resumption of economic and commercial intercourse with Russia, but especially to urge the granting and extension of long term credits to the Soviet Government to enable the necessary grain and other articles to be brought to the aid of the Famine victims.

Throughout the whole of this Conference, at which there were gathered delegates from organizations representing practically all shades of political and religious opinion, there was no conflicting or dissenting voice, and it was in that sense that the Conference issued its appeal to the peoples of the world,—*immediate relief for the starving millions, free from all political considerations or conditions.*

KURT EISNER

once wrote an article on Dostoyevsky, a translation of which will be one of the features of SOVIET RUSSIA for March 1.

Vladimir Korolenko

(Born at Zhitomir, July 15/27, 1853—Died at Poltava, December 25, 1921.)

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(This is the first of several articles on Russian writers. One of the later contributions will be an essay by A. V. Lunacharsky, on the poet Nekrassov.)

KOROLENKO is an out and out poetic nature. About his cradle hover dense mists of superstition, not the corrupt superstition of modern metropolitan decadence, such as is expressed in the great capitals in the forms of spiritualism, fortune-telling, and faith-healing, but the naive superstition of folk legend, which is as pure and redolent of the soil as the unbridled winds of the Ukrainian steppes and the millions of wild berries, poppies, and cornflowers which flourish there in the tall grass. In the awesome atmosphere of the servant's hall and nursery, in Korolenko's paternal home, you distinctly feel that his cradle stood in close proximity to the magic land of Gogol, with its earth-spirits, its witches, and its pagan Christmas spell.

At the age of seventeen, having lost his father, and being entirely dependent on his own efforts, he goes to Petersburg to plunge into the whirl of university life and political ferment. After three years of study at the Technical University, he enters the Agricultural Academy of Moscow. But two years later his plans for a career are frustrated, as in the case of many others of his generation, by "higher forces". Korolenko is arrested for participation in and advocacy of a student demonstration, is dismissed from the Academy and banished to the Province of Vologda in the Northern part of European Russia, and later permitted to domicile himself under police surveillance at Kronstadt.

Some years later he returns to Petersburg to plan for a new career, and learns the trade of a shoemaker, in order to be able, as was his ideal, to come closer to the working layers of the population, and simultaneously to make his own training as versatile as possible. But in 1879 he is again arrested and banished to a region lying further to the Northeast than his original place of banishment, namely, to the Province of Vyatka, where he is assigned to a remote little village.

Korolenko adapts himself cheerfully to this situation. He makes every effort to fit in with the new conditions of banishment and diligently pursues his new trade, partly with the object of making his livelihood thereby. But he was not to have peace for long. Suddenly he was transferred to Western Siberia without any visible reason, thence again to Perm, and from Perm to the extreme Far East of Siberia.

But here again he was not to cease his wanderings. In 1881, after the attempt on the life of Alexander II, the new Tsar Alexander III mounted the throne. Korolenko, who meanwhile had be-

come a railway employee, took the oath of allegiance together with the remainder of the railway force. But this was not considered to be sufficient in his case. He was asked to swear allegiance also as a private individual, as "a political exile". Korolenko—together with all the other exiles—declined this suggestion and was rewarded by banishment to the icy waste of the Yakutsk region.

For four years Korolenko, because of his refusal to take the oath, was obliged to live in a wretched settlement of half-savage nomads on the shores of the Aldan, a tributary of the Lena, in the midst of the primitive Siberian forests, in winter temperatures of 40 to 45 degrees below zero. But all the tribulations, the loneliness, the gloomy scene of the Taiga, the wretched surroundings, the remoteness from the civilized world, could not make any impression on Korolenko's mental elasticity and sunny disposition. He participates eagerly in the wretched existence of the Yakuts, tills his farm, mows hay and milks cows, devoting his winters to the turning out of shoes and icons. Korolenko later describes this period of being "buried alive", which is the term George Kennan uses of the life of the exiles in Yakutsk, when he writes, without complaint, without bitterness, even with humor, his impressions and sketches, in the most delicate poetic manner. His poetic talent, however, was meanwhile maturing and he was gathering a rich harvest of impressions of nature and human psychology.

In 1885, having finally returned from a banishment which had lasted, with short interruptions, for almost ten years, Korolenko published a short story which at once ranked him with the masters of Russian literature: *Makar's Dream*. In the leaden atmosphere of the '80s this first ripe fruit of his young talent had the effect of the first song of the lark on a grey day in February. In rapid succession now followed further sketches and stories: *The Journal of a Siberian Tourist*, *The Rustling Forest*, *In Pursuit of the Sacred Image*, *In the Night*, *Yom Kipur*, *the Foaming River*. All are characterized by the same fundamental quality of Korolenko's creations: magic depictions of landscapes and moods, brisk and amiable naturalness, and a warm interest for the "debased and disinherited".

But this strong social note in Korolenko's writings has nothing about it that is didactic, controversial, apostolic, as is the case in Tolstoy. It is simply a portion of his love of life, of his gentle nature, his sunny temperament. With all the breadth and generosity of his views, with all his

distaste for chauvinism, Korolenko is nevertheless a Russian poet through and through, perhaps the most national of the great prose writers of Russian literature. He not only loves his country, he is positively in love with Russia as a young lover, in love with its natural scenes, with the intimate charms of every region of the gigantic empire, with every sleepy little river, and every quiet forest-circled valley, in love with the plain people, its types, its naive religiosity, its native humor, and its brooding introspection.

Korolenko and Gorky represent not only two different poetic individualities, but also two generations of Russian literature and of the ideology of liberty. For Korolenko the peasant is still the central point of interest; for Gorky, the enthusiastic devotee of German scientific socialism, it is the city proletariat and his shadow, the slum proletarian. While in Korolenko the landscape is the natural frame of the story, in Gorky's works it is the workshop, the cellar den, the underground lodging house.

The fundamentally different course of their lives affords a key to the personality of the two artists. Korolenko, who grew up in comfortably bourgeois surroundings, had in early childhood a normal appreciation of the immutability, the stability of the world and the objects in it, such as is peculiar to all children of happiness. Gorky, whose roots are partly in the petty bourgeoisie and partly in the slum proletariat, nursed in a Dostoyevskian atmosphere of brooding horrors, of criminals and elemental outbursts of human passions, already as a child beat about him like a hunted wolf and gnashed his sharp teeth at fate. His childhood, full of hardships, humiliations, oppressions, of the sense of insecurity, of being thrown hither and thither, in close proximity to the dregs of society, embraces all the typical traits in the lot of the modern proletarian. And only he who has read Gorky's reminiscences* can fully grasp his ascent from the social depth to the high noon of modern culture, of sublime art, and a scientifically grounded view of the world. In this respect also Gorky's personal experiences are symbolical for

*Maxim Gorky, *My Childhood and Among Strangers*.

the entire Russian proletariat as a class, which out of the coarse and crude barbarism of Tsarism, through the hard school of struggle, worked its way up in the astonishingly short time of two decades to the position of being able to function as an historical force. This is certainly an incomprehensible phenomenon for all those cultural philistines who consider a proper illumination of the streets, a punctual railway service and clean collars to be the sum total of civilization, not to mention the diligent operation of the Parliamentary treadmills.

The pervading magic of Korolenko's poetry constitutes at the same time its limitation. Koro-



Vladimir Korolenko

lenko is entirely rooted in the present, in the moment of the experience, in the sensual impression. His stories are as a cluster of freshly plucked wild flowers; time will not be favorable to their merry colors, their precious fragrance. The Russia that Korolenko pictures no longer exists, it is the Russia of yesterday. The delicate, poetic, dreamy mood that hovers over his country and its peoples, is a thing of the past. In fact, it ceased a decade or two ago in the tragic or stormy mood of Gorky and his group, the shrill storm-petrels of the revolution. Even in Korolenko himself

this mood was obliged to yield to that of battle. In him as in Tolstoy, the social champion, the great citizen, came out victorious in the end over the poet and dreamer. When Tolstoy, in the '80s, began to preach through little popular stories,—Turgenyev, in an imploring letter addressed to the sage of Yasnaya Polyana, begged him in the name of the fatherland to return to the fields of pure art. Korolenko's friends also mourned his fragrant poetry when he plunged with consuming zeal

into journalism. But the spirit of Russian literature, the high sense of social responsibility, turned out to be stronger in this God-favored poet even than his love for nature, his wanderlust, his poetic creation. Swept away by the wave of the approaching revolutionary flood, his poetry dies down toward the end of the '90s and his blade thenceforth flashes only as the harbinger of liberty, as a spiritual center for the oppositional tendencies of the Russian intelligentsia.

Last Summer's Anti-Soviet Plot

(The following account of the conspiracies conducted against Soviet Russia by the Savinkov brothers in Poland and elsewhere will go far to explain the reasons for the long notes addressed by Chicherin to the Polish Government during the summer of 1921, a number of which have been printed in recent issues of SOVIET RUSSIA. This account is abridged from the version in which it recently appeared in the Moscow "Pravda.")

The Petrograd Plot

IN the beginning of June last year, the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission discovered and destroyed a great plot, by which a military revolt was being prepared against the Soviet Power in Petrograd, in the north and north-west provinces of the Republic. Hundreds of members of military terrorist organizations were arrested. The headquarters of the organization were discovered, and a secret printing works, dynamite, arms, and also incriminating documents were found.

From the statements of the arrested, the following has been ascertained:

"That the organization was called the 'District Committee of the Union for the Liberation of Russia', and was connected with a number of Societies like 'The Fighting Committee', 'The National Rebellion Committee', 'The Petrograd National Fighting Society', 'The United Society', etc.

"The members of the District Committee are known."

Leaders of the Plot

(1) At the head of the organization was Tagantzev, professor of the Geographical Institute. He is the person who was compromised in the plot of November, 1919, in Petrograd, which was organized by the British spy, Paul Dukes.

(2) Orlovsky, who was the leader of the terrorist section of the party.

The organization which has been uncovered was in constant touch, through their own couriers, with the Finnish, American, English and French Intelligence Departments in Finland. Many members of this Society were also in the service of the various Intelligence Departments.

Finnish: Orlovsky and Paskov.

English: Wilken and Sokolov.

French: Herman.

American: Nikolovsky, Raben, Stark.

A leading member of the organization called U. P. Herman was at the same time in the service of the Finnish and French Intelligence Departments.

All these Intelligence Departments were recruiting members for the organizations, with the help of Petrichenko, former President of the Kronstadt Revolution Committee. The members were recruited from amongst the sailors who escaped from Kronstadt and are kept in the fortress of Ino, Finland. On joining they were sent on to Petrograd, where they became members of the so-called United Organization of the Kronstadt sailors. At the head of them stood Komarov, the leader of the Kronstadt rebellion. His dwelling was the headquarters of the organization.

Komarov's organization was a branch of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia".

At the search at Komarov's house, there was found dynamite, printing works, and official paper of the above-named organization.

The organization called the "Union for the Liberation" had branches in various provinces; the leaders of these branches were in communication with groups which existed in various factories and in Soviet organizations.

The organizers of the provincial branches were former sailors.

The couriers when they left Finland for Russia, were provided with arms and passports of the Third Mine Destroying Division, the commander of which who gave out these passports is arrested.

The Aims and Methods of the Plotters

The aim of the organization, according to the statement of Tagantzev, was "to prepare the forces for the rebellion, by finding a basis for a union between the intellectuals and the mass of the people."

According to the statement of the same Tagantzev, in the Petrograd organization there were more than 200 members, chiefly former officers, sailors, lawyers, and former factory managers, and so on, who managed to penetrate into responsible positions in the Soviet administration. They considered assassination the best means for achieving their aims, and directed their activity accordingly.

By the confession of the arrested Orlovsky and others, they blew up the monument of Volodarsky, and organized a number of attempts on the lives of Soviet leaders. In his statement, Orlovsky says: "We wanted to get one of our members, the electrician Koptelov, into the Astoria Hotel, Petrograd in order that he should kill Zinoviev. Our password was "Day'." Orlovsky himself offered to kill Anzelovich with a bomb.

In a statement of June 1, 1921, this same Orlovsky says: "It is true that I, together with Nikitin, Permin, Modestov and Fedorov wanted to make an attack on the train by which Krassin was traveling, and take away all the gold and valuables; Tagantzev told us that Krassin was carrying gold, and he asked us to make this attack."

By the statement of Komarov, the organization prepared explosions in the Nobel warehouses, and an explosion of a monument on Vasilie Island; to get on fire the first State saw-mills and the assassination of the former Commissar, Kuzmin, head of the Baltic Fleet. Thanks to the timely discovery of the organization, the enemies of the revolution did not succeed in carrying out their barbaric intentions.

According to the statement of Professor Tagantzev, he together with Shakhnovsky (who was another member of the organization), organized in Petrograd and Moscow a number of secret banks and offices, in order to sell valuables in Russia and abroad, and thus fight the Soviet Government on an economic basis.

In his statement, with regard to the methods of fighting, Tagantzev, criticizing the desire of Kolchak, Denikin, and other White Generals to conquer Soviet Russia by the establishment of a large number of fighting areas, says: "You cannot conquer Soviet Russia, you must stir up rebellion in it."

"The Union of Liberation", which is an organization of the Cadet Party, had a very diffuse program. In order to attract into their plot the Socialistic groups, the monarchist Tagantzev included in the program the demand borrowed from Kronstadt, about free re-elections into the Soviets.

When the White Guards of Petrograd accepted this war-cry, they knew very well its real meaning. They openly confessed that under "Free" Soviets they really meant not Soviets of the Third International, but Soviets of the Russian land. This war-cry was necessary for them; first of all in order to remove from power the Communist Party, because the Communist Party without the machinery of State, will not be dangerous after the revolution. The dark forces confessed that they considered such elections a *coup d'etat*.

Social Traitors and Financiers

According to Tagantzev's statement, to this organization belonged people of various political views, including Left Wing Socialists-Revolutionists. The Petrograd Committee of the organization distributed a large number of appeals and

proclamations. A large amount of counter-revolutionary literature was imported from Finland.

During the search appeals were found from the leader of the Kronstadt rebellion, Petrichenko, to the workers of Moscow and Petrograd, in which this man, who is in pay of foreign agents, appeals for an armed rising against the Communistic system.

This White Guard organization was directed from abroad by the former Tsarist Minister, Kokovtsov and the apologist of Russian Imperialism, the Cadet Struve; from them the organization received the necessary money.

By the statement of Tagantzev the organization received from abroad about 10,000,000 roubles. Struve organized in Paris a group of financiers, which was to supply Petrograd with all the necessities after the revolution.

From the correspondence which has been found on Tagantzev, it is seen that the organizers of the plot, living abroad, placed great hopes in the Russian Commercial Conference, which was taking place in Paris, from which they hoped to get a large sum of money for organizing the rebellion.

From the materials found, it also seems that the Kronstadt rebellion had given new hopes to the White Guards of Petrograd. Tagantzev states: "That the intensity of the work during the Kronstadt rebellion took the form of energetic discussions of questions of organization, attempts to get into touch with Kronstadt, and the distribution of appeals printed in Finland."

The organization expected to get 8,000 tons of products from Yudenich's fund.

Savinkov's Warsaw Organization

The All-Russian Extraordinary Committee has information that the Petrograd "Union for the Liberation of Russia", united in April and May with Savinkov's terrorist organization in Warsaw.

The Cadet Party and its evil spirit of Russian counter-revolution, adopted tactics of destruction and a system of murder. This party of enemies of the people, which was selling Russia during the Revolution to all representatives of internationalism, thus appears in its true lights as the real organizer of hunger and economic destruction.

Savinkov's Plot

In the end of May, this year, the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee also discovered the large fighting terroristic organization of Boris Savinkov, which had spread out over the whole of the western and north-western provinces, and had branches and groups practically over the whole territory of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic.

The headquarters of the discovered organization was situated in the town of Gomel, and was called "The Western District Committee of the National Union of the Defence of Country and Freedom."

All members of the Central Committee and of the sub-committees in the Provinces of Gomel, Minsk, and Smolensk, were arrested. Hundreds of

members of the organizations were also arrested along with some of Savinkov's couriers and spies. A large number of incriminating documents have been found as well as a large quantity of counter-revolutionary literature. From the documents which came into the hands of the Central Extraordinary Committee, and from statements of members of the organization, we could establish not only a full picture of the origin and development of the organization, but also of the whole "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom", just as well as the relations existing between them on the one hand, and the French Military Mission on Poland and the Polish General Staff on the other.

The organization was under the entire control of the "All Russian Committee of the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom", which has its headquarters in Warsaw, in the Hotel Brühl.

The Chairman of the "All Russian Committee" was the Socialist Revolutionary, Boris Savinkov, the organizer of the White Guard Rebellion in 1918 in Yaroslav. Members of the Committee were Cossack officers, Victor Savinkov (a brother of Boris Savinkov), Dickhof-Kerental, Filosofov, General Ellevengraïne, Colonel Gnylorybov, and Selyanikov.

The organization was started in the middle of January this year, with members of the "Russian Military Committee" in Poland. Savinkov named this new organization "the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom", after the Society controlled by him in 1918, which was liquidated by the Extraordinary Commission.

Aims of the Organization and Methods of Work

The principal aim of the organization was to prepare an armed rebellion for the overthrow of the Soviet power. The construction of the organization was as follows:

A number of the District Committees are dependent on the Central Committee, while the province and town Committees are in their turn dependent on the District Committees. It was the duty of the town and village Committees to organize in all Soviet Institutions, factories, villages, army centres and so on, groups of the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom". These groups were to organize the people belonging to no parties, and use their influence at elections to Soviets, in order to get into the Soviet members of their organizations. They were also to try to disorganize the economic life of the country wherever and in whatever form possible. All members of the Committee had to belong to some fighting contingent of the party. These fighting contingents were supposed to play the deciding part at the time of a rising against the Soviet Government, though great hopes were also placed on the armies of Bulak-Balakhovich, Peremykin, Petlura, which are interned in Poland. The troops of these people were to be sent into

Russia by first bringing them near the Russian Polish frontier, disguised as workers.*

From these elements were to be formed fighting contingents, which even before the beginning of the revolt in Russia had to penetrate into the country and get into touch with the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom". The contingents were to prepare the field of battle for the interned armies that were coming, while the Cossacks had to be concentrated on the River Styr, from where they should penetrate to the Don. According to the statement of the arrested members of the organization, they had the consent of the Polish General Staff and the Chief of the French Military Mission in Poland, General Nisselle, for the transport of the interned troops into Russia.

The organizers of the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom", were recruited chiefly from among the interned officers in Poland. These were sent into Soviet Russia singly and in groups; for instance, in April this year, two groups of 192 persons of such organizers were sent into the Volga District. The special feature of this new organization is that on the same territory existed a number of organizations quite independent of each another, all working in the same direction, yet one not knowing about the existence of the other. Such a state of affairs was a necessity in view of the character of the organization and its political make-up.

When Savinkov admitted members to this organization, he paid little attention to their political views. Monarchists, Cadets, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, it was all the same to him, so long as they agreed to take orders from him, and participate in the preparation of a rebellion. In order to hide the political views of these groups, Savinkov organized parallel organizations. At the time of the organization of the party of "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom", the politicians of Hotel Brühl were expecting peasant rebellions, and they timed the activities of their organization to occur simultaneously, but when Savinkov's hopes of peasant rebellions in the spring miscarried, he postponed the time of the revolutionary activity for the time of harvest.

The working out of the full plan of the rebellion and the amalgamation of the parallel groups were expected to take place on June 5 in Warsaw. Should this congress find that they had not sufficient strength for a rebellion at harvest time, they were to postpone it for the time of gathering of taxes.

From the documents which have come to the hands of the "Extraordinary Committee," it is evident that this Congress actually took place.

*It now becomes clear why the Soviet Government, in protests addressed to Poland last summer, insisted that no Polish troops be concentrated near the Russian border. See for instance the Note to Poland, of July 4, 1921, printed in SOVIET RUSSIA, October, 1921.

Savinkov's "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom" became the Centre of all counter-revolutionary activities, and the "Government" of Petlura came to an understanding with him directed against the workers and peasants of Russia. At the present time, all these White organizations in the South of Russia are united in a counter-revolutionary union, called the "Southern States of Russia", at the head of which stands the Southern District Committee of the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom"!

Terror the Principle Tactical Method

In order to illustrate the importance which they attached to terror, let us quote a statement of one of the arrested members of the Central Committee.

"We wanted to weaken the reprisals of the Soviet Authorities by terror."

With this aim in view, a number of attacks were planned on Administrative Centres, on Soviet Central Bureaux and Party Offices. It was also intended to organize a number of explosions in Soviet Offices, at various Congresses, Conferences, etc. They wanted to disorganize and demoralize the Communists by terror, and use terror as a means for stopping the influx of new members into the Communist Party. Also the Red Army was to be disorganized by terror. With this aim in view, they planned a number of attacks on the headquarters of the Army, the shooting of Commissars, and explosions in the barracks.

This is what they meant by terror at the time of organizing the party at the end of last year. Later on, owing to the disorganization by bandits of the normal railway communication with Western Siberia and with the South, and the consequent diminution of food supplies in the country, they decided to disorganize also the economic life of the country. From that time onwards, their attacks were chiefly directed to the destruction of the economic organization of the country. They began to demolish railways, locomotives, buildings, stores, in order to bring the transport system of the country to a standstill. Destruction of fuel stores by fire was intended to intensify the crisis.

The traitorous organization of strikes in factories, destruction of machinery and burning of factories were intended to destroy Russian industry. The destruction and plunder of food stores, the destruction and spoiling of products during transport, the shooting of the food officials, agitation amongst the peasantry against the delivery of corn—all these measures were recommended by Savinkov's "Union for the Liberation of Russia," in order to strangle the workers' and peasants' power by hunger.

These measures were to produce dissatisfaction amongst the larger sections of the population and a general rising. "We must burn out a free place where to build from the beginning." This was the aim of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia."

According to the statement of the arrested mem-

bers, they used the military contingents for increasing the economic destruction of the country. This activity was also to have prepared the men for the coming fight.

Terror was also to test the efficiency of the young organization.

The program of the "Union" was obscure and indefinite.

One and the same paragraph could be explained in different ways. In the beginning they demanded the transfer of power after the rebellion to the "Union". After the Kronstadt rising, they demanded a transfer of power to new Soviets, which were to prepare the country for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

This intentional indistinctness of the program and the acceptance of Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik demands, was made in order to attract these elements into the "Union", along with the Monarchists, Cadets, and Black Hundreds. The extreme White General Elvengrem, who, already in 1917, at the time of Kerenky, was arrested for his counter-revolutionary activity, was accepted as a full member into the "All-Russian Committee".

Connection with Foreign Imperialists

The "Union" received financial support from the Polish General Staff and from the French Military Mission in Poland. The last-named paid out monthly to V. Savinkov, through Captain Drache, 10,000,000 Polish marks. In addition to this, the chief of the Information Bureau of the French Military Mission, Major Marino, paid additional sums for information of special importance about the Red Army.

An autograph letter of Colonel Pavlovsky, Commander of all Savinkov's detachments on Soviet territory, to the latter, is of interest. In this, Pavlovsky asks Savinkov to get from the French as much information as possible about the supplies of the Red Army.

When Savinkov traveled in the spring of last year to Paris, for consultation with the French Government, he succeeded, with the help of the Russian industrialist, Putilov, in organizing a group of rich capitalists to subsidize his organization. The information office of the "Union" acted as an international Secret Service Agency, for giving information about the military and general conditions of the Soviet Republic. The information about the Red Army which he obtained was printed and sent out periodically to all foreign military missions in Warsaw. Savinkov's agents, who came from Russia, went to the French Mission and to the Polish General Staff to give information.

While the French Military Mission in Poland confined its activity only to subsidizing Savinkov's organization, and to the use of constant pressure on the Polish War Ministry to give greater support to Savinkov, the Polish General Staff was active in:

- (A) Permitting and helping to organize parties and detachments on Polish territories and the transport of these detach-

ments at the expense of the Polish War Ministry. For instance, the detachment of Colonel Pavlov, Colonel Pavlovsky, Lieut. Orlov and others.

- (B) The supply of arms and munitions to these detachments. For instance, the arms used by Lieut. Orlov in his attack on the townlet of Koidanov, were supplied to him by Poland.
- (C) Assistance in recruiting amongst the interned troops, and the sending of these to Russia.
- (D) Assistance in the re-organization of the remainder of the interned armies of Bulak-Balakhovich, Peremykin, Petlura.

The Extraordinary Committee has a letter from Bulak-Balakhovich to the head of the workers' detachment in Poland, Captain Poversak, in which he clearly states that Bulak-Balakhovich's army, which is supposed to be interned in Poland, is in reality re-organized into detachments which are under the command of the 2nd Polish General Staff. The Extraordinary Committee has documents which prove that the interned Cossacks are taken into the Polish service as frontier guards. The Polish General Staff was supplying Savinkov's agents and couriers with free railway tickets and gave them permission for the transport by rail of anti-Soviet literature.

Nearly all Savinkov's agents are also in the service of the Polish Intelligence Department. All military and political communications which Savinkov's couriers brought from Russia, were supplied to the Polish General Staff.

Savinkov's agents who penetrated to Russia were conducted by the Polish frontier police.

The houses of Polish officials were used for storing anti-Soviet literature.

A member of the Western District Committee of Savinkov's organization went to Russia; permission was given to him, signed by Major Bek, to carry into Soviet Russia two kilograms of poison. This poison was really intended for poisoning trustworthy parts of the Red Army before the beginning of the rebellion.

The relations between Savinkov and the Polish Government, which cooled a little after the Russo-Polish Peace Treaty, became animated after Savinkov's return from Paris. But Savinkov was cunning enough to cheat his supporters. He falsified all the information he obtained from Soviet Russia, and supplied this to the French. He invented stories about a military union between Soviet Russia and Germany, directed against France and Poland; collected lists of commanders of the Red Army with German-sounding names and described them to the French Military Mission as people in the pay of the German Government. With this information he succeeded in frightening the French and thus opened for himself a way to their purse.

It is interesting to note that after Savinkov's return from Paris, his friend Professor Sologub-

Voino, was appointed inspector of the interned Russian prisoners-of-war camp.

At the Congress of the "Union for Liberation of Russia", which took place in Warsaw in June, a decision was adopted declaring the necessity of an Alliance with France and Poland.

Ample means and active support from France and Poland gave the organization possibilities to spread its net over nearly the whole of European Russia, and to get into the Society a number of people occupying very high posts in the Soviet service.

In Vitebsk a Menshevik, named Mark Zarkh, was arrested, who had a secret money exchange office. He changed foreign money for Russian for all of Savinkov's organizations in Western and North-Western Districts.

Besides destroying all Savinkov's organizations in the Western Districts, we at the same time succeeded in destroying a number of Savinkov's detachments which stood in direct communication with Savinkov's Executive Committee.

At the time of the defeat of Colonel Pavlovsky's detachment in the province of Minsk, of Prudnikov's and Pimenov's detachments in the province of Gomel, a number of documents fell into the hands of the Extraordinary Committee which prove conclusively that these detachments stood in close relations with the Polish General Staff, and with the White Russian Committee in Warsaw. The Extraordinary Committee also has proofs that Savinkov's detachments carried out a number of bloody Jewish pogroms in the province of Minsk. In his letter to Savinkov, Colonel Pavlovsky asks him to send along munitions, also poison.

This is in general outline a picture of that terrible destruction and bloody horror which the Black Hundred Socialist revolutionary, Savinkov, was preparing for the Russian peasants and workers on the money received from French and Polish sources. These adventures and corrupt patriots have been awaiting impatiently the quick overthrow of the workers' and peasants' Republic and the wild feasts of White terror.

As stated by one of them, "they were preparing impatiently and developing feverish activity," but the iron hand of the Proletarian Dictatorship frustrated their wild desires in time.

The FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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201 West 13th St., New York.

You do not want to see the Russian people deprived by famine of what even the armies of the great powers could not take from them. Send your money contributions to the National Office, and find your gifts acknowledged in one of the March issues of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Petrograd

SOME interesting facts and figures on the life of Petrograd in 1920 are found in the materials recently published by the Central Statistical Department. A special census was taken in Petrograd in 1918, and again in 1920, thus enabling a comparison to be made between two dates since the Revolution.

The population of Petrograd on August 28, 1920, numbered 706,841 persons — 296,501 men and 410,340 women. Compared with 1918 (1,179,256 persons — not counting suburbs) the Petrograd population thus shows a decline of over forty per cent. The 1920 figures, however, do not include the troops garrisoned in the town, so that the actual decrease is somewhat less than 400,000 persons. The remarkable preponderance of women over men (72 men to 100 women, not counting the troops) is explained by the repeated mobilizations since the beginning of the war.

Vital Statistics

During the first half of the year there were 10,004 marriages, 7,756 births, and 25,920 deaths. The number of marriages is unprecedented, having reached 26.7 to 1,000 of the population, whereas the normal rate of marriage for Petrograd is six to 1,000, and the highest rate previously recorded did not exceed eleven to twelve per 1,000. The number of births for the same period has increased, compared with 1919, both absolutely and in relation to the total population, being equal to 20.7 per 1,000 inhabitants. This rate shows a considerable advance towards the pre-war figures (28.7 per 1,000). Of those born in 1920 there were 3,991 boys and 3,765 girls.

The number of deaths (25,920) gives an annual death rate of 69.1 per 1,000. Of these deaths 4,420 were caused by typhus epidemics, 2,803 by pneumonia, 2,783 by phthisis, 2,426 by exhaustion due to lack of food, 1,645 by remittent typhoid, 628 by violent means, and the rest by various diseases. Among the highly infectious diseases the greatest increase in the death rate was shown by spotted typhus, small pox, dysentery, and influenza. On the other hand children's diseases, such as measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, and typhoid fever, have shown a smaller death rate.

Occupations

The working population of Petrograd (those between sixteen and fifty) number 391,577 persons, and represent about half the total population (fifty-five per cent.), the number of working men being somewhat greater than that of women. Of these all except 30,352 persons (of whom 26,040 were women engaged mostly in domestic work) were employed in other than agricultural occupations. A remarkable feature is the abundance of clerical workers: clerks alone numbered over 40,000, and in addition to this there were 12,000 accountants and bookkeepers, locksmiths numbered 11,801, turners 3,000, stokers 2,688 men and 183

women, electricians 2,100 men and sixty-five women, shoemakers 2,943 men and 901 women, garment workers 2,897 men and about 15,000 women, and of the unskilled workers there were 3,028 men and 1,677 women doing dock work.

The total number of flats and tenements (these being the ordinary form of housing accommodation in Russia) decreased during the last two years by 8.4 per cent. The principal cause of the decrease was, of course, the destruction of old wooden houses for fuel purposes. Of the total number of 250,000 flats and tenements, 55,139 or over one-fifth were shown as unoccupied. The average number of persons per dwelling dropped to the low figure of 2.8.

Industries

Industrial undertakings recorded by the census numbered 2,037 of which, on the date of the census, 1,262, with a total horse power of 388,582, were working, and 775 undertakings with 65,484 horse power, were idle. Of the latter figure more than a half (42,000 h. p.) was accounted for by textile factories, which at the time were not running owing to the shortage of cotton, but resumed their operations soon after.

The work of these undertakings was distributed as follows:

War industries	498
Orders from central Government	
Institutions	768
Private orders	400
Free Market	33
Needs of the owners	61

The number of workmen in all the working undertakings totalled 91,229 persons, of whom 52,153 were men and 39,076 women.

Educational Institutions

Of special interest are the figures dealing with the number and activities of various institutions for the advancement of education and culture in Petrograd. In this field in so short a time as two or three years Petrograd has surpassed many a capital in Europe with an equal population. On January 1, 1920, there were in Petrograd: forty-one colleges and institutes with 17,579 students (of whom 1,657 graduated during the year), 343 schools of the first and second grade with 90,490 pupils, twenty-nine schools of national minorities with 3,866 pupils, ten subsidiary schools with 623 pupils. For purposes of adult education there were fifty-six schools and classes; with 499 schools for illiterates, with 23,433 students. In addition to this there were thirty-nine schools for young workers, having 6,233 pupils, and two workers' faculties at the Petrograd University with 598 students. Petrograd has 299 children's homes of which 201 are for children of school age, fifty-nine for children of pre-school age, and thirty-nine special schools for deficient children. The

total number of children in all the children's homes was, in January, 1920, 28,601. Kindergartens, creches, etc., numbered 146, with 10,391 children, and sanatoria three, with 157 children. Besides these there are seventeen children's homes for national minorities with 1,944 children, as well as eleven kindergartens with 546 children. The number of children's clubs in Petrograd is seventy-eight with 11,253 children.

In all 94,919 children, or 13.6 per cent of the total population of Petrograd, are educated in schools, while 22,081 or 3.1 per cent of the population, are in pre-school and other institutions, together making a total of 117,000 children, or seventeen per cent of the population. Of these 34,397 children (4.9 per cent) are receiving additional education in clubs and homes.

At the end of 1919 there were in Petrograd sixty-five libraries containing 931,000 volumes and having 64,700 readers.

Theatres

Theatres actually open to the public numbered forty-seven, including three academic, seven State, and thirty-seven people's theatres. The most frequented was the Theatre of Opera and Ballet (formerly Marinsky Theatre), the average attendance at which was 1,688 persons, and the total annual attendance 330,787, that is, nearly half the population of the city. The Dramatic Theatre (formerly Alexandrinsky Theatre) had an average attendance of 1,186 persons, and a total for the year of 252,665, that is, about a third of the population. The Theatre of Comic Opera averaged 940 visitors per performance and 159,849 for the year, which is equal to about one-fifth of the population. Thus the theatres which possess the best artistic forces in Russia are now open not only for select audiences, as in the pre-revolutionary days, but for all the masses of the people. About a third of the total number of performances (148) were given specially for soldiers of the Red Army, members of trade unions, and scholars.

As might be expected the motion picture fills

an even more prominent part in the life of the city. There are thirty-eight nationalized motion picture theatres in Petrograd which during the first six months of 1920 gave 1,112 shows, attended by 2,323,732 persons, which works out at an average of three attendances per head of the population.

Museums and picture galleries in Petrograd number twenty-three, of which, however, only fourteen are open to the public. During 1919 they were visited by 718 excursion parties totalling 21,328 persons.

Workers' Clubs

The extensive growth of workers' clubs and various educational and artistic societies reveals an active interest and great initiative on the part of the workers in the matter of self-education. On April 1, 1920, there were open in Petrograd 160 workers' clubs, including twenty-six party clubs, seven attached to works committees, six union clubs for young workers, five clubs attached to trade unions, fifteen to various educational organizations, and forty to various undertakings and institutions. In addition there were registered 449 circles of an educational and artistic character. Over a third of all these clubs owe their existence to the initiative of the workers themselves. As regards finances, more than a half of these clubs are self-supporting, and less than a third draws on the subsidy of the Commissariat for Education. The libraries of these clubs contain 216,409 volumes. Nearly one-seventh of the total population of Petrograd are members of various clubs and circles, the former having 81,699 members and the latter 13,828.

These figures can thus be taken as a striking illustration of the movement which has seized the mass of the Petrograd population to acquire a greater knowledge and higher culture. They also show a marked awakening of the social instincts, which in the past were something entirely alien to the vast majority of the Petrograd inhabitants.

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

ACCORDING to newspaper reports the National Civic Federation has passed a resolution arranging for a committee to investigate the work of relief bodies other than the American Relief Administration. The Friends of Soviet Russia, it is reported, is the only body named in the resolution. Our letterheads are quoted as reading:

"Our principle: We make the following class appeal: Give not only to the starving, but to save the Russian workers' revolution. Give without imposing imperialistic and reactionary conditions as do Hoover and others."

It seems to us that the clear statements on our letterheads should exempt us from political investigation, because we state clearly why we appeal for working class support. On the other hand Hoover's American Relief Administration does not publicly announce its anti-Soviet policies, although Captain Gregory claims that he overthrew the Soviet Government of Hungary for Hoover.

If the American Relief Administration wishes to raise funds to overthrow Soviet governments, let them say so as clearly as we state our aims. At any rate, an organization of which the executive knows not what its agents do should be investigated by contributors.

As for an investigation of the Friends of Soviet Russia by the National Civic Federation, we only know of it through the press. But maybe it is true. Maybe we shall investigate each other. We are not informed as to the aims and purposes of the National Civic Federation, but we do not believe that the organization was formed to investigate organizations like ours, which make public appeals for funds. We rather think that for them to undertake such work would "involve needless waste and reduplication of overhead charges," because we understand the National Information Bureau is considered well equipped for that function.

We shall be pleased to give any information concerning our organization to the National Information Bureau. We have already given that organization information which it has requested. Has the National Civic Federation done the same about itself? It is, of course, remotely possible that the National Information Bureau would consider both

organizations as political (a very broad term) and for that reason not endorse either.

We are, however, getting curious about the National Civic Federation. We make this offer, so that we may know each other. We offer to exchange with the National Civic Federation copies of our latest audited statements and lists of contributors, for mutual information, publication and discussion.

We do not look to the National Civic Federation for support, nor do we intend to support them. But if there is to be mutual recrimination, let it be based on facts. We offer to exchange information—especially lists of contributors.

* * *

THE Arms Conference—as the needs of abbreviated speech, coinciding for once with the requirements of truthfulness, had caused the "Disarmament Conference" to be designated—has at last ceased. Even the faint hopes that had been placed in it by the unsophisticated had been disappointed long before the termination of amenities, and when the posthumous offspring of the Wilsonian "League of Nations", after a sad little life, swiftly flickered out, there were none to mourn it and none to attach any seriousness to its accomplishments. For world peace it has done nothing. World peace now means, more than ever, an equilibrium between social classes, a class harmony, and Leon Trotsky's series of articles, opening in this fortnight's SOVIET RUSSIA, will show how far we are from the establishment of such a condition. Even the news writers of the most reactionary newspapers in America are perfectly frank in their admissions that nothing has come of the Conference, that, in the words of Elmer Davis (*New York Times*, February 6), "it will be a long time before we see what this new spirit of which so much has been said really amounts to; and it should be remembered that there have been limitations of armament before this, although nothing so comprehensive." Mr. Davis' article is typical of the comment appearing throughout the press, both in the Washington despatches and editorially. The unanimity is not only on the subject of the futility of the Conference in general, but more specifically on the immense advantages obtained by Japan from the Conference, or rather, the power Japan has been gradually storing up in resources and in strategic position during the war and the post-war period, which now finds formulation in the new alignments as expressed in the conversations and scraps of paper with which the Washington Conference begarlands itself for the edification of future history. Japan sat with the moguls, is the unanimous opinion, dined with them, and walked off with their gold watches and chains.

All of which is of minor moment to us. But Siberia will have to pay. As Mr. Davis says:

"Why was Siberia put on the agenda, with all the formidable and elaborate subheads under which Siberian affairs were to be discussed? Siberia took up as much

space on the agenda as China, but those headings and sub-headings were never heard of in the conference. One plain spoken word from Japan, one protest, logically convincing but practically futile, from the United States, and Siberia was dropped.

"The conference was intended to do something for Siberia. The American delegation intended to have Siberia discussed. Senator Lodge's explanations after the fact cannot change that. And Siberia was not discussed. That will be represented in the Far East as a situation in which Japan bluffed America out. The notion of Siberians and others that America was the great power which would protect everybody against Japan no doubt was a rather fanciful whimsy, but at any rate it will disappear now. American notes of protest hereafter can do little but irritate Japanese feeling, for everybody knows now that beyond notes of protest America does not intend to go."

It is fortunate that at least a few straight words are being spoken in the press on the matter of the Japanese attitude in Siberia, but we regret that the inference commonly drawn from the press comment leaves it a matter of Japan's attitude only, as there is no reference at all in American papers to the military operations that have been proceeding without interruption in Siberia for years, and which, especially in the last few months, have been the occasion for atrocities perpetrated by Japan against the peaceful Siberian population that exceed even the most savage imaginings of anti-German and anti-English press hirelings during the World War. It is not our purpose to speak of those atrocities at this moment, nor of the infinitely worse, because more permanent, policy of Japan in gradually absorbing the lands that belong by right to the population of Siberia, which is of many races, including the Russian, and has no desire to be made a pawn on the chessboard of Japanese imperialism. We refrain from pursuing this subject at the present moment, but only for the reason that it will be treated in an authoritative article in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, by a contributor who is well acquainted with his subject, and who has unfortunately been absent from our columns for several months.

MEANWHILE, although Japan is being allowed a free hand in Siberia, and is receiving advance promises that she need not take seriously any communications concerning her actions in Siberia that she may receive from the United States Government, every assurance is received from many quarters that much concern is felt over the welfare of the people of Siberia and Russia. In Canada (Canadian Press service, February 2, as reprinted in the *Montreal Gazette*), the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund for Russian relief has been organized with Colonel Herbert J. Mackie, of Pembroke, as president. The Prime Minister, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, has endorsed the committee by consenting to act as honorary president. We are glad to see that even the mighty are beginning to be interested in Russian children to the extent of starting an active and apparently efficient propaganda for raising funds to feed them, and we note, though not with-

out amusement, that the National Advisory Committee of the new organization will make effort to restore Russia to the society of Christian nations:

"A national advisory committee is being formed to include representative citizens of the provinces and cities throughout Canada. Communications received by Colonel Mackie from leaders in church, business and social work indicate that there is a nation-wide desire to join in the work of saving the children and restoring Russia to the society of Christian nations."

IN a recent issue of *Clarté* (Paris), we find a reproduction of a photograph that is very interesting. It represents a portion of the soil of a Russian province, taken from an airplane flying over it. It looks something like the surface of the sediment left by a puddle of thick and muddy water, after all the water has been evaporated off. Remotely, it resembles the photographs one has seen of the surface of the planet Mars. More or less regular fissures run like a network over the country, dividing it at close intervals into bizarre panels, the space between being the unbroken surface, the dividing lines the deep furrows left by the receding soil as it caked into hard yieldless waste. We wish we could present this picture to our readers as one of our illustrations, but we fear that the rather crude picture would not look like much after passing through an additional reproduction. If we should ever get hold of the original photograph, we shall of course immediately print it in SOVIET RUSSIA for it gives a very complete notion of the drought and waste that have fallen upon portions of Russia.

THE RURAL NEW YORKER, in its issue of January 28, prints the following item under the title "Conditions in Russian Relief":

"Most of us know very little about what is going on in Russia. Now and then some incident comes through from the country where co-operation seems to be enforced with a shotgun. One of our readers in Michigan relates this incident, showing how personal relief funds are handled:

"We have a neighbor who, with his brother and their families came here perhaps 10 years ago, leaving a father in Russia. This winter they sent \$27 worth of clothing over there, and because it was sent as goods from this country direct to an individual, their government couldn't take it from him for apportioning among their people, and so it had to be sent back. In a letter their father wrote, he said they were living on roots and herbs; although he had had wheat, the government took it all, and they were obliged to eat the seed. Their next neighbor kept theirs, and the whole family were shot. Wheat that Mr. F. has had to sell here for \$1 is \$9 in Russia, and they can't buy it if the money was sent."

We are particularly sorry to see such a story reprinted in *The Rural New Yorker*, which is a paper that has hitherto been rather fair to Soviet Russia; it is not a pro-Soviet paper, but it has never stooped to the levels of misrepresentation that were resorted to by many other journals when the Government of the Workers and Peasants was under discussion. We believe that when the attention of *The Rural New Yorker* has been called to this matter, it will not print such letters.

How the Soviet Government Works

III. THE COUNCIL OF LABOR AND DEFENCE

(The following is the third of a series of articles on the institutions of the Russian Soviet Government which we are reprinting from "Russian Information and Review", published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London. The first was on the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the second on the Council of People's Commissars.)

THE main task of any civilized Government, apart from the preservation of its authority, the organization of education, and the promotion of public health, lies in the assurance of peaceful economic progress for its citizens. For the Soviet Government in particular, which came into existence pledged to assist the complete transformation of the social order and the economic foundations existing in Russia before the October revolution, these economic tasks were necessarily of primary importance from the first. And this circumstance was only the more emphasized by the utter anarchy in production prevalent in the capitalist regime of pre-revolutionary days, and by the complete bankruptcy and breakdown brought about by the death struggles of Tsarism between 1915 and 1917.

Building in this sphere, as in all others, entirely anew, without experience or any material or moral aid save its own resolution and the backing of the vast majority of the Russian workers, industrial and agricultural, the Soviet Government at the outset put before itself the bold and seemingly hopeless task of establishing a central economic authority, which should unify and co-ordinate the work of the various People's Commissariats whose activity affected the economic interests of the community, without in any way impeding their labors. It was felt that such a body should exist specifically for the purpose of drawing up and applying, through the various People's Commissariats, a general, all-Russian, economic plan of production, distribution, and commerce. Such a plan would provide for the requisite utilization of raw materials; the necessary import of supplies from abroad; the general progress of industry; the maintenance and improvement of the transport system; the most rational utilization of labor-power; the development of agriculture (not merely in the sense of ensuring an adequate supply of food to the population through State or other channels, but with the object of bringing it up-to-date and ultimately of directing it on to large-scale Communist lines); the disposal abroad of surplus products and raw materials in such a manner as to produce the maximum benefit for the whole of the community; the regulation of State currency and banking; and so on.

For this purpose there was organized in 1918 the *Supreme Economic Council* (Vysshyy Soviet Norodnogo Khozaistva), at first as a People's Commissariat, built up in the ordinary way and headed by a Chairman and Board selected by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee from

amongst its members. Its first task was to take over and administer the national industries as they one by one passed, from June, 1918, onwards, into the hands of the State. In this it worked as the central unit of a network of local economic councils, each built up out of a section of the local Soviet Executive Committee with a number of additions from trade union and technical circles. But very clear and unmistakable indications were given that the future functions of the S. E. C. were to be far wider than those involved in regulating industry: at first by agreement with the other "economic Commissariats", and ultimately by absorbing them, it was to develop into that organ of universal co-ordination and national house-keeping which has already been described.

Circumstances, however, decided otherwise. The civil war which began in the spring of 1918, passing in the summer into a war of national defence against foreign aggression and invasion, for three years obliged the Soviet Government to consider the work of each Commissariat in the light, not of its harmony with the best economic interests of the people as a whole, but of its adaptability to military requirements and the needs of a besieged fortress—as Soviet Russia felt herself to be from 1918 to 1920. Certain Commissariats (Food, Transport) developed into powerful organizations with a nation-wide scope and a sense of independence; others (Labor, Agriculture, Foreign Trade) had their vitality destroyed or their activities seriously limited from the very beginning by the conditions of war-time. The Supreme Economic Council itself found its hands more than full with the problem of adapting industry for war-time purposes and (when peace returned with the autumn of 1920) of reviving those branches which had had perforce to be allowed to fall into decline or decay. After three years of concentration on purely industrial affairs, it was no longer capable of assuming the all-embracing role assigned to it by the original planners of its existence. It had become to all intents and purposes the People's Commissariat for Industry.

A new organ was necessary: and such a one was at hand. In April, 1920, the Council of Defence (an inter-departmental "war Cabinet" set up within the Council of People's Commissars in November, 1918, for the express purpose of winning the war, like its counterparts in Western Europe) had been re-organized on a wider basis as the *Council of Labor and Defence* (Soviet Truda i Oborony), "with the object," in the words of the

decree, "of the closest possible unification of all forces on the labor front." It was hoped that warfare was at an end, and that peaceful work was once more possible: more especially the military formations previously at the disposal of the Council of Defence could now, it was anticipated, be utilized in a more rational manner, in the form of "Labor armies", by the same Council with a wider personnel, and thus the painful stage of demobilization and industrial re-absorption might to a large extent be avoided.

Once again sanguine hopes were thwarted, and the Polish attack, together with Wrangel's renewed activity in the south, effectively postponed all thought of peaceful revival for nearly twelve months. More than this, it was quite clear by the end of this new and (so far) conclusive chapter in the Soviet Republic's military life that the general exhaustion was then too marked to permit of the measures planned earlier in the year. Demobilization was therefore decided upon and carried out; and the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which met in December, 1920, to consider the new situation of Soviet Russia, was placed in a position to utilize the Council of Labor and Defence for a purpose of vaster and more far-reaching import than the direction of labor armies—namely, to carry out the work of general economic unification outlined earlier in this article.

In the decree of the All-Russian Congress, the work of the Council of Labor and Defence was defined as follows:

The C. L. D. co-ordinates and develops the activity of all departments of State in the interests of the defence of the country and of economic reconstruction.

To carry out the task imposed upon it the C. L. D. publishes its decisions, regulations, and instructions, and takes all the measures necessary to ensure their accurate and rapid execution; in particular, it determines the single economic plan of the R. S. F. S. R., submits it for ratification by the A. R. C. E. C., directs the work of the Economic People's Commissariats in accordance with this plan, supervises its application, and decides in cases of necessity on any modifications of its provisions.

The constitution of the C. L. D. which, in practice, meeting weekly, works as a Committee of the Council of People's Commissars, and publishes minutes of its proceedings in its official daily organ *Economic Life* (*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*), is laid down by the same decree. The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars is chairman of the C. L. D.; its permanent members are the People's Commissars for War, the Supreme Economic Council, Labor, Transport, Agriculture, Food, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, together with a representative of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. The director of the Central Statistical Department attends the sessions in a consultative capacity, and the People's Commissar for Finance with a decisive vote when financial questions are being discussed.

It is of great importance to note that, while the decisions of the C. L. D. are binding on all institutions, central and local, and may be altered or set

aside only by the A. R. C. E. C. or the Council of People's Commissars, the C. L. D. has set up no apparatus of its own to carry out these decisions. They are communicated in the requisite form to the Commissariats concerned, and their execution is the work exclusively of the latter; thus unnecessary bureaucracy has been avoided. On the other hand, it has a definite and extremely energetic apparatus for assisting it in arriving at its conclusions. At the centre, in the capital, it has subordinated to it a series of thirteen or fourteen great inter-departmental commissions, which work up the material and collect the data from the appropriate People's Commissariat, each in its own delimited sphere of work, but together covering all the more pressing economic problems. The chief of these is the *State Economic Planning Commission* (Gosplan), which draws up the economic program for the year in all its encyclopædic variety on the basis of the reports of the People's Commissariats, and submits it to the C. L. D. for discussion and approval. Others, scarcely less prominent, but actually more specialized, are the *State Electrification Commission* (Goelko), the *Committee for Improving the Lot of the Working Class*, the *Committee for Utilization* (which until the most recent period controlled the distribution of all the raw and partly worked-up materials of production), the *Committee for Investigating the Agricultural Conditions of the South-Eastern Region* (set up since the beginning of the famine on the Volga); and so on.

Further, the C. L. D. has at its disposal, since October, 1921, a constant and regular stream of reports from the network of local organs of similar type, set up in large numbers following a special decree of the A. R. C. E. C. of June 30, 1921. Regional "economic conferences" (*ekonomicheskoye soveshchanie*)—this was the name given to the new bodies partly to distinguish them from the old "economic councils", which are now purely industrial bodies, and partly to emphasize their super-departmental character—may be set up in any of the recently marked out economic regions or groups of provinces by special decision of the C. L. D. They are composed of representatives of the same institutions as the C. L. D. itself, who have to be personally confirmed in their appointments by the latter body; and the conferences as a whole are directly responsible to the C. L. D. Provincial, county, and area (a term which includes both rural areas and the towns) economic conferences are composed of the chairmen or directors of the following departments of the appropriate local Soviet Executive Committee; economic council, land, food, labor, workers' and peasants' inspection, municipal affairs, statistical (with a consultative voice), and the chairman of the council of trade unions for the given territory. The chairman of the local executive committee is chairman of the conference. In rural districts (sub-divisions of counties, which are smaller than

"areas") the conference is constituted by the chairman of the executive committee, the directors of the land and municipal affairs department, the chairman of the local co-operative society, and a representative of the workers' and peasants' inspection. In all these lower bodies, technical experts and representatives of other institutions are invited for consultative purposes on special questions. Finally, the lowest units of all are the village "agricultural committees" (*selkom*), set up by the Eighth All-Russian Congress for the express purpose of raising the level of agriculture; and, in the case of large factories which express a desire in this sense, factory economic conferences, composed of the chairman or vice-chairman of the Board of Management, the chairman of the Workers' Committee, the chairman of the Local Valuing Committee (set up in connection with the introduction of free trading under the new economic policy), and a representative of the local "group for assisting the workers' and peasants' inspection."

All these local organs, from the provincial economic conference to the factory or village bodies, act as sub-committees, meeting weekly or fortnightly, of the Soviet Executive Committee for the given territory or of the Soviet of the given town or village; and are directly and entirely responsible to these bodies, forming no apparatus of their own. They thus bear exactly the same relations to these general organs of State authority as the C. L. D. itself bears to the Council of the People's Commissars; and their tasks are defined by the decree of June, 1921, in a similar way:

"to unify and develop the activity of all local economic organs, to co-ordinate their work, and to ensure that they meet the problems dictated, not only by local interests but also by those of the State as a whole.

In other words, in addition to providing the "economic plan" for strictly local requirements, each grade of this gigantic economic machine is charged with supervising the execution, in the territory for which it is responsible, of that section of the general State plan which affects that territory, in all its details.

It is therefore natural that each of these economic conferences should be required to render regular quarterly reports—on lines worked out and laid down by instructions from the C. L. D. itself, to cover all sides of local economic and social life—to the economic conference immediately above it, that is, village committees to the rural district body, rural districts and small towns to the county bodies, counties and large towns to the provincial organs, and so on. The reports of the principal bodies are printed in a fixed number of copies, and sent, in addition to the recognized central economic bodies, to the principal libraries, universities, academies, institutes of economic research, etc., in the Republic. Other reports (rural district, village, and small town) are handed in manuscript form to the appropriate superior eco-

nomic conference, and are abstracted for the central authorities by the provincial statistical departments.

In conclusion, we may refer to the figures available to illustrate the work of the Council of Labor and Defence, which show that in six months (November 1, 1920, to April 30, 1921) it examined 991 questions, twenty per cent of which were raised by the Supreme Economic Council, thirteen per cent by the Commissariat for Food, and twelve per cent by the War Department; while in the first four months of 1921 seventy-three sub-commissions for special current questions (apart from the principal permanent group mentioned earlier) were set up. No statistics are yet available of the work of the lower organ; but for the last three months *Economic Life* has been steadily printing abstracts of the reports of the provincial economic conferences now coming in. These reports on the whole, in spite of many obvious defects born for the most part of inexperience, show that the general principles indicated by the C. L. D. have been correctly grasped by the local Soviet workers and economic bodies and that an earnest and systematic effort is being made to introduce an element of co-ordination and forethought into local economic activity. There is thus slowly but surely being built up a more and more solid guarantee that the new economic policy in all its ramifications will be intelligently applied, and the foundations of the new social order firmly and unshakably laid.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

The student of Russian Institutions cannot afford to be without two pamphlets that contain full texts of important laws of the Soviet Government. These are:

The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, with a Supplement on "Protection of Labor", by S. Kaplun, of the Commissariat of Labor, 80 pages, 25 cents postpaid.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304,

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Finnish Aggression Against Karelia

LATE in November the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs published at Moscow a correspondence with the Finnish Government on the subject of White Guard invasions into Karelian territory, encouraged by the Finnish Government.

On November 6, the Russian plenipotentiary representative in Helsingfors handed to the Finnish Government a note enumerating instances already reported in the press of new invasions by White bands from the Finnish side into the territory of the Karelian Workers' Commune, against which hostile act on the part of the Finnish Government protest is made, as this act involves a violation of the peace treaty with Soviet Russia, since it constitutes aid and comfort given to White Guard attacks against autonomous portions of the Soviet Federation. The note declares that the Finnish Government is held responsible for all damage caused by this White Guard invasion.

On November 18, a note signed by Chicherin was handed to the Finnish Ambassador at Moscow quoting trustworthy information obtained by the Soviet Government on the subject of aggressive acts launched from the Finnish side against a number of Karelian border villages and parishes, by White Guard bands led by Finnish soldiers, who terrorized the peaceful Karelian Commune, while the Finnish press was simultaneously conducting a campaign in favor of the invading bandits. The note calls attention to the suspicious fact that this invasion comes at the very time when the Russo-Finnish Mixed Commission is discussing Karelian questions, for which reason it may be surmised that these hostile acts have the deliberate object of creating the erroneous impression that there is a pro-Finnish sentiment in Karelia, in order thus to exert pressure on Soviet Russia in the final settlement of the Karelian question. The Russian Government protests most energetically and categorically against this support given by the Finnish Government, which openly aids and abets the invasion of Karelia by armed bandits, and asks the Finnish Government to take immediate steps to put an end to this violation of the Karelian Workers' Commune, declaring that the Finnish Government will be held responsible for all damage done by the invading bands.

A note had been received from Finland, dated November 9, to which Chicherin's note of November 18 is a reply. The Finnish note of November 9 denies that the Finnish Government is officially supporting the invasion of Karelia, but Chicherin's answer enumerates a long series of very important incidents showing that the Finnish Government cannot be uninformed on this subject. Organizations and activist groups domiciled in Finland, e. g., the so-called Karelian Union, the Hunters' Bureau, etc., deliver weapons to the cantons bordering on Eastern Karelia and send into those cantons their agents and detachments recruited in

Finland, for the purpose of attacking the Soviet Government. Many of the persons directing these organizations and groups have occupied and still occupy responsible posts in Finland, e. g., the notorious officer Tokkonen, Commander Alvella of the Skyddskar (sharp shooters' battalion), the chief of the secret police, and many other persons working under assumed names, such as "Ilmarinen", "Väinämöinen", etc.

The actual names of these persons the Russian Government hopes soon to be able to announce. Many of these persons carry on a vigorous agitation at the skyddskar meetings in favor of insurrection in Karelia. Well-known Finnish politicians, bank directors, factory owners, engineers, and military men, have formed a new organization to back the invaders of Karelia by every means. They have opened official pourparlers with the Finnish Government, which, notwithstanding its avowed intention to abide faithfully by the peace treaty, has not declined to enter into relations with these elements. The so-called "Karelian Government", openly formed in Finland, publishes daily communiqués based on information brought by couriers whose crossing of the boundary is freely permitted by the Finnish Government, although that government has officially closed its frontiers to such movement. Other facts also show that this closing of the Finnish border is a sham. Entire detachments and convoys repeatedly cross the frontier. On November 13, an armed detachment crossed from Finland to the canton of Repola, attacking the Russian frontier guard and seizing their officers, while at about the same time rifles in considerable quantities were delivered from Finland at Kemi and Ozersk. North of Repola, at the Komdalanti line, the frontier is absolutely open and there is nothing to prevent crossing from the Finnish side. Near Lieksa, in this region, recent information states that a new detachment is preparing to invade the canton of Repola. This detachment consists largely of former Kronstadt mutineers who are now interned in Finland.

These being the facts, the Finnish Government's protestations of loyalty to the peace treaty would appear to be groundless so long as its attitude continues to be dominated directly by activist influences. The active sympathy of the Finnish Government for these attacks is shown by the tone of the entire Finnish press. On November 20, all the Finnish newspapers published an appeal to all Karelians residing in Finland to form detachments for the invasion of Karelia. This appeal was signed by Colonel Malm, the former Chief of the Karelian Expedition of 1918, giving the precise address in Helsingfors where volunteers should enlist. The so-called Karelian Committee openly circulates inflammatory anti-Russian appeals among the peasantry of the border. The Finnish Government connives at this open liaison between the

Finnish activist press and the bandit movement in Karelia, extending the freedom of the press to the point of permitting open appeals to be issued for hostile acts, with the purpose of endangering the peaceful relations between two neighboring countries. But the freedom of the press was not interpreted by the Finnish Government as preventing it from suppressing all socialist and labor papers that were considered to be hostile to the present regime in Finland.

Finnish Government Responsible for these Activities

Many other cases are mentioned that show how great is the freedom allowed in Finland for the formation of all sorts of organizations hostile to Soviet Russia. Yet the Finnish Government has taken no steps whatever to prove that it is faithful to the peace treaty. On the contrary, by an inactivity and indulgence that are inadmissible under the treaty, the Finnish Government encourages a monstrous campaign in the press against Russia, the circulation of false and misleading statements, e. g., the canard about oppression by the Soviet Government in Karelia, alleged punitive expeditions, etc., all of which are mentioned in the Finnish note. For the information of the Finnish Government, the Russian Government denies that there is any possibility of such alleged oppressions in Karelia. The Russian Government has devoted a portion of the sums collected for the relief of the Volga famine to the purchase of food in Finland for Karelians in distress, but the food was seized and robbed by bandits, not without the collusion of the Finnish Government. The Russian note also calls attention to the fact that the bandit movement is disturbing the economic reconstruction undertaken with such great pains by the Karelian Workers' Commune. But on the basis of such erroneous statements the Finnish Government presumes to tell the Russian Government what policy should be maintained in Karelia, which the Russian Government interprets as an intervention in its internal affairs, against which it accordingly protests.

In conclusion Chicherin declares the Finnish Government responsible for all damage caused by the activist invaders, since the Finnish Government has taken no steps to curb them, but, on the contrary, even tolerates their direct support by the Finnish authorities. In noting the rather significant delay in answering his note of October 18, Chicherin concludes: "I must remind you that the Russian Government has at its disposal means that are quite sufficient to put an end to the dangerous adventure undertaken in Finland against the Karelian Workers' Commune. The Russian Government will not yield a single inch to the pressure brought to bear by outside intervention of this kind, and, since it respects the peace treaty and faithfully adheres to it, it has the right to expect equal respect and fidelity to the treaty on the part of the other contracting party."

NOTE TO FINLAND

(Note delivered on December 5, 1921, to the Finnish Charge d'Affaires in Soviet Russia for transmission to the Finnish Government.)

SIR,—On December 1 the Finnish Government transmitted to me a Note (No. 1705) conveying the text of its application to the so-called League of Nations. In relation to the application of the Finnish Government to the so-called League I must, in the name of my Government, state that this application appears to be an attempt to involve foreign Powers in the internal affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and also an attempt to decide questions arising out of the Russo-Finnish Treaty by means of the intervention of foreign Powers. Within this so-called League of Nations, as is not unknown to Finland, there are Governments who still maintain an attitude of more or less open hostility towards Russia, as, for example, France, which systematically organizes and participates in every hostile attempt against the R. S. F. S. R., and which, even to the present day, has concluded no treaty with her, as well as Japan, which at the present time is occupying a part of the territory of our ally, the Far Eastern Republic. The proposal of the Finnish Government for the formation by the so-called League of a commission for the investigation of the conditions in Karelia and for the entry into Finnish territory of the commission constitutes in substance and in form an unheard-of infringement of the sovereign right of the R. S. F. S. R., and is an attempt to introduce an organization of hostile Powers on to the territory of one of its inalienable components. The Finnish Government must undoubtedly have known that the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. would indignantly repudiate the suggested entry into any part of her territory of a commission or committee of experts for the purposes indicated in the Note. The Finnish Government has put forward the suggestion for such a committee obviously with the sole aim of creating belief in the alleged terrorism in the Karelian Workers' Commune, with the purpose of disposing public opinion in other countries in favor of the bandit invasions of Karelia organized and supported by the Finnish Government. With no less indignation I, in the name of my Government, reject every attempt at investigation and decision by the above-mentioned League of questions concerning the internal constitution and government of an inalienable part of the sovereign R. S. F. S. R. Apart from the fact that a decision of the League would be considered by us as entirely non-binding, we see in this an attempt of the Finnish Government to secure a new and one-sided decision in her favor of a question which has been definitely defined in the Yuriev Peace Treaty.*

Following on the above I must state that the

*Yuriev (Dorpat) was the scene of the signing of the Peace Treaty between Soviet Russia and Finland, on October 14, 1920 (full text in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol IV, No. 3.)

Government of the R. S. F. S. R. considers the fact of the reference of the Finnish Government to the so-called League of Nations as in every respect hostile, and in substance an infraction of the peace treaty. In addition to my last two Notes, which have hitherto remained unanswered, I must indicate the following: The Finnish Government tendenciously represents the incidents occurring in the border districts of the Karelian Workers' Commune as an uprising of the people, who are supposed to be driven to despair by forceful requisitions of food and by the repression of their national culture and rights. The Russian Government is in possession of irrefutable documentary evidence proving and supporting its early statement, namely, that what the Finnish Government terms "the uprising of a suppressed people" is nothing more than the invasion of bands organized on Finnish territory and receiving every manner of support and encouragement from the Finnish Government. In illustration of this it is only necessary to mention the following: The invasions into the Karelian Workers' Commune take place solely in the districts in the vicinity of the Finnish border. The attacks (the victims of which were several Russian frontier posts, for example Nos. 6, 11, 13, and others) bear witness to the fact that the Finnish frontier, in spite of the assurance of the Finnish Government, remained and still remains open at various points for passage of the bands on to the territory of the R. S. F. S. R. The whole Finnish Press, irrespective of its various political tendencies, proves the truth of all our assertions. In addition to what I have already said I must state that in the preparation of the attacks, in the choice of the moment of their realization, in the recruitment of every possible force in their support, even in the character of the individuals participating in them, there is indisputable evidence of a close bond not only between the Finnish Government and the Finnish activists but also with the aggressive portion of the Russian counter-revolutionary *émigrés*. We have here clearly revealed an attempt at co-ordinating elements hostile to Russia, which, entirely ignoring the actual state of affairs in the Karelian Workers' Commune, and the sympathy displayed by the Karelian people towards the Soviet Power, is producing at various frontier points armed invasions of an autonomous part of the R. S. F. S. R. It is very significant that the Finnish Government, on November 22, issued a visa for entry into Finland to Savinkov, the organizer of bandit invasions into both the Russian Socialist Federal Republic and her ally the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. No less significant is the participation in such movements of a number of the leaders of the Kronstadt revolt, who, in conjunction with the mutineers interned in Finland, are forming companies directed against the Karelian Workers' Commune, as for instance in the vicinity of the Finnish frontier town Leksu. Is it by the dispatch of these companies of Russian counter-revolutionaries that the Finnish Government thinks

to strengthen the belief in the alleged "wide-spread nationalist movement" amongst the Karelian people?

The Russian Government asserts that this policy of the Finnish Government expressed in the preparation of organized attacks on the territory of the R. S. F. S. R. adjacent to the Finnish frontier, and in the application to the League of Nations, constitutes an infringement of the peace treaty which may lead to the most serious consequences, and finds itself obliged to insist on the acceptance by the Finnish Government of the following measures:

- (1) The immediate and real closure of the frontier in order to prevent the invasion of armed bands into the Karelian Workers' Commune, as well as the adoption of measures for the repatriation to Finland of the remnants of the defeated bandits.
- (2) The discontinuance of any kind of assistance to organizations and individuals preparing or carrying out aggressive attempts against the R. S. F. S. R., and in particular Karelia, not excluding moral help expressed in the declared sympathy with them by the Finnish Government.
- (3) The complete liquidation of all organizations and bureaux on Finnish territory openly or covertly participating in the organization of attacks or materially supporting such attacks, such as, for instance, the Karelian Citizens' Committee, the Jägarbureau, the so-called Karelian Government organized and continuing on Finnish territory, the various recruiting bureaux and such like, as well as the prohibition of any kind of recruitment or financial collections on Finnish territory in favor of the Karelian mutineers, and any kind of help which might issue from Finland.
- (4) The dispersal of all organizations of Russian counter-revolutionaries in Finland for the conduct of armed movements against the R. S. F. S. R., and the expulsion from her territory of all leaders and inspirers of these organizations.

In the event of the Finnish Government refusing to adopt the above-mentioned measures the Russian Government will feel itself obliged to adopt other measures for the effective guarantee of the peace treaty between the Finnish Government and the R. S. F. S. R.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.

CHICHERIN.

NEXT FORTNIGHT'S *Soviet Russia*

(Dated March 1)

will be illustrated with a number of maps and charts, explanatory of the distribution and the causes of the famine.

Among the articles that will appear in this issue are:

1. *Fedor Dostoyevsky*, by Kurt Eisner.
2. *The Changed World Situation (Second Instalment)*, by Leon Trotsky.
3. *The Meteorology of the Russian Famine*, by D. H. Borodin.
4. *The Far Eastern Situation*, by Max Stryppansky.

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National Office Notes

It is generally presumed that the only sections of Soviet Russia that must be helped are along the Volga. This, however, is erroneous. The drought was most extensive and intensive there. There are other districts, nevertheless, that face danger. The provinces of Novgorod, Yekaterinburg, Perm, Pensa, Don, Northern Caucasus and a part of the Ukraine have suffered from the famine. And this is one-third of the population of the affected districts.

The Volga, however, is the area that needs most immediate aid. There was a deficit of 85,000,000 poods (1,500,000 tons) of food. 20,000,000 poods (260,000 tons) of food per month will be required to keep the people from starving. Only 2 to 25 per cent of the children can be taken care of with the present resources at hand, i. e., with the resources of all the relief organizations.

"You can say with certainty that hardly five per cent of the inhabitants of our place will live till Spring. Ninety-five per cent will perish if no food is procured for them in time. The people still have a little hope, they are waiting and believe that help will come from somewhere. Anybody coming from the city or neighboring village is immediately surrounded by people inquiring about aid. It is difficult to tell them the truth—and thus destroy the last hopes of the dying."

"Even news that seed will be furnished for sowing does not enthrall the peasants." "Who will be here to do the sowing," they say, "when we are dead?"

In December, there took place in Moscow a conference of all Russian relief organizations, which decided on measures for the care of the starving population. It was decided that every ten Russians would have to support one starving peasant. The placing of responsibility for feeding the famine-stricken population will undoubtedly stimulate the relief work.

Let American workers do likewise!

American labor unions and other workers' organizations must make themselves responsible for the feeding of at least one million starving Russians. With a little energy and with a concerted drive we can do it!

Tractors and motor ploughs wanted!!

America, the home of the motor, and of tractors and ploughs, must be the first to supply Soviet Russia. American workers can do a great deal in this sphere.

We have large tractor, motor and plough factories. Carry on a campaign among the workers in these factories. Get them, as a body, to approach their employers and procure from them the use of the factory machinery, and the supply of raw material at cost price. This is to be obtained upon condition that they, the workers, donate their work free of charge.

It can be done—with a little persuasion. In Germany, they have been doing it for some time. The workers in a large motor truck factory near Berlin have been making trucks for Soviet Russia on the above conditions. This was their contribution to the famine relief.

The work of relief is proceeding with unabated energy all over the world. English workers have collected more than 2850 pounds. Germany has collected two million marks in cash, 1½ million marks in clothing and other material. Holland has reached the figure of 120,000 guildens. Women's and children's groups have been collecting especially for the maintenance of children's homes in Soviet Russia. The first relief ship that left France "suddenly" exploded. Of course, accidentally! Since that time, the French workers have gone to work with augmented energy. Every week, more than 100 cases of clothing are sent to the warehouse in Metz. The Clarté is especially active. Norway has collected 120,000 crowns, and large quantities of food, clothing, etc. Sweden, 40,000 crowns in cash, 70,000 in material; Italy 300,000 lire, with prospects of 1,000,000 lire in a short time; Czecho-

Slovakia, 1,600,000 crowns; Bulgaria, more than 1,000,000 leva; Argentine, 1,000,000 marks. Relief committees are working in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, China and Japan.

The Norwegian workers recently dispatched the S. S. Terje, containing a large quantity of food. Berlin shoemakers are repairing 1,500 pairs of shoes donated by workers of Berlin.

The League of Nations listened to Dr. Nansen, indifferent to the whole matter of relief. A short time after the conference, we learned, however, that the French Government had voted 6,000,000 francs for relief. Up to the present, none of this money has been advanced. An empty promise, as usual, of governments to workers!

The other governments, at first recalcitrant, at last relented and consented to give help. The British government voted £250,000 worth of medicines. The American Government made a large appropriation for wheat and medicine. But it is coming too late to save the millions. It is coming too late to rescue the millions of babies who clamor for milk and get none. It is coming too late to keep alive the millions of peasants who must be on hand to sow the fields in spring and save Soviet Russia from the aftermath of the famine—no tillage. For if the peasants are not able to cultivate the fields this spring, Soviet Russia and the Russian people will face a more tremendous problem next year than this year. They will be confronted with bare fields, depleted granaries and a peasantry in the present famine region broken down in health and physique.

Hence the call to the American workers: **DO NOT DELAY! THE DANGER IS GREAT. MILLIONS WILL DIE—ARE DYING!**

The Soviet Government is co-operating with all agencies working for relief. Not a single pound of food is diverted. "It is the death penalty for any one stealing food." In fact, it has been noted that guards have stood on watch, hungry and cold. They do not touch a crumb of food! It was not the death penalty alone that restrained them. The discipline that arose during the four years of civil war, when the Soviet Government of the workers went through a life and death struggle, when treachery and deceit were the daily practice of the enemies of the Workers' Government, in their efforts to overthrow the Government — this discipline has made them true to their word,—made them true to DEATH! It has created a sense of comradeship that comes from common misery. It has awakened a sense of unity in the face of great disaster. It has aroused a bond of brotherhood that has maintained the Russian people in the midst of great calamities. And now it is the same close bond of international solidarity of the working class that is bridging the chasm that capitalist governments tried to dig when refusing and hesitating to help the starving Russian millions.

The Christmas drive of the F. S. R. is not yet over. In fact, the clothing feature of it will last for some time to come. Several cities were unable to begin on the specified day and are holding the drive now. Others have lengthened the drive, having attained such splendid results.

One hundred and thirty-eight cases of clothing left on January 24, on S. S. Gasconier. This represents a value of more than \$40,000. The warehouse of the F. S. R. is still crowded with cases that have come from every part of the country.

In Bulgaria, the radical workers have collected more than \$200,000 and a large quantity of clothes and other material. In Yugo-Slavia, despite the White Terror, which does not hesitate to destroy even works of humanity, the workers have organized a relief committee and are doing

splendid work. The South African workers have despatched a ship containing about 1000 tons of rice and other foodstuffs.

Everett, Wash., has established a branch of the F. S. R. Los Angeles recently held a concert which netted more than \$3,000. The branch is conducting two raffles, from which it expects to reap a large sum of money. The comrades are now planning activities up to May 1.

Minneapolis is still conducting the clothing drive. Chicago has not yet finished. Philadelphia has collected more than 1400 bundles. Newark is about to begin. Boston conducts a regular house to house collection every Sunday.

New York recently held a bazaar, clearing over \$3,000. A "hunger" banquet netted more than \$500. New York has arranged a second "hunger" banquet, in the nature of a reception by organized labor to Paxton Hibben.

Detroit has arranged a symphony concert with the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, Ossip Gabrilowitsch conducting.

Vancouver, B. C., has just affiliated with the F. S. R. On January 20, the branch held a concert and dance, admission being soap, medicine, canned food. This is an idea worthy of imitation.

Toronto held a magnificent Foster meeting. The police tried to interfere and even before the meeting tried to prevent it. Result: More than 100 had to be turned away. Why this activity? Why this fear on the part of the police? Because they knew that Foster knows the truth about Soviet Russia and would tell it.

The F. S. R. is putting State organizers into the field. The purpose is to do intensive work in smaller places and particularly in the Labor Union field. The organizers will be equipped with stereopticon picture slides depicting the famine in Soviet Russia. The message of Soviet Russia and the famine must be brought home to the unions and they must be lined up.

In this latter department, fine work has been done in the past few weeks. The San Diego, St. Paul, Los Angeles, Hartford and Binghamton, N. Y., branches have secured the endorsement of the Central Labor Council of their city. The Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union has endorsed the F. S. R., also recommended to its affiliated bodies to join the F. S. R.

More and more unions are affiliating with the F. S. R. The National Office of the F. S. R. is circularizing the unions in the 145 towns in which there are F. S. R. branches and in this way is succeeding in arousing greater interest in the relief work and the organization. All branches should send in a list of the Labor Unions and other workers' organizations not affiliated with their branch. Send in the date and place of your meetings and the National Office will write them. *Important!*

Edgar T. Whitehead, having been released from Ellis Island, was further sabotaged when capitalist papers to which had been sent bulletins on his case, which they failed to print, sent reporters to interview him after his release, and thereupon promptly failed to print the interviews! Hardly anything else was to be expected!

Following is a letter from a little Seattle girl:

"I have read that their is many children suffering of hunger. I am pore myself but I will try to help you children I ask the other children but they said that they couldnt any im a little girl but Im with you goodby.

Your freinds
Vina and Nell."

"The month of January is to witness the wholesale cession of all conferences on famine. The time has come not for resolutions but for millions of poods of bread." Thus Anton Avseyenko, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Government of Samara.

"Dear Sirs, Enclosed find ten dollars to aid suffering children of Russia. Sincerely, the First Aid Club Fourth Grade,.....School, Ohio." The children can do things—they also know how. So can you!

"I am old and feeble, 78 years old, afflicted with asthma in the last stage. Almost at the end of the rope. As long as I can I will send my mite."

Another political prisoner at Auburn sends a contribution of \$10. and writes: "I hope that you who are enjoying liberty will do your share in this work."

If the United Mine Workers can do a thing, why cannot other organizations do it too, provided they are animated with the same spirit? The Mine Workers are suffering as perhaps no workers in this country are. Thus, the official report of the Secretary-Treasurer of District 24 states that the members of the Wolverine Mine No. 2 have "worked only 21 days in the past eight months." This is typical of a great part of the membership. Still they are assessing themselves for relief! Not once, but twice! It is not the ability as much as the will to do the thing that counts.

The leaders in the past two weeks' collection are: Toronto \$4,700, Chicago \$4,000, Lithuanian Section of the F. S. R. \$2,700, N. Y. City \$2,774, United Czecho-Slovak Org. of Am. \$1,359, San Francisco \$1,180, Seattle \$1,400, Boston \$900, Worcester \$550, Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia \$500, Trenton \$500, Cleveland \$500, Cincinnati \$465, Superior \$375, Schenectady \$350, Indianapolis \$300, Bayonne, N. J. \$300, Kansas City, Kans. \$334, Portland, Ore. \$250, Vancouver, B. C. \$236, L'Union Franco Belge \$188, Newark \$182, Milwaukee \$178, Rock Springs, Wyo. \$180, United Mine Workers of America, Nokomis, Ill. \$170.

The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, through which the F. S. R. makes its purchases, has issued a statement as per December 31, 1921, which is as follows:

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN
FEDERATED RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF
COMMITTEE

as of December 31, 1921.

Receipts

Friends of Soviet Russia.....	260,000.00
Volkszeitung	9,500.00
Joint Furriers' Union	2,994.12
Joint Conference Russian Relations	2,000.00
Workmen's Mutual Aid Association	1,500.00
Children's Milk Fund	1,000.00
Kenosha Society, Kenosha, Wis.	800.00
Workmen's Circle, No. 457	100.00
Individual Contributions	422.00
Returns, Products Exchange Corporation	1,006.61
Rent and Telephone	129.88
Interest from bank	24.95

Total Receipts279,477.56
Total Disbursements274,113.54

Balance on Hand 5,364.02

SUBSCRIBERS

to SOVIET RUSSIA, as well as dealers handling the paper, are requested to make their remittances to this office in United States funds only. Foreign (Canadian, Australian) remittances should be on United States Banks or Post Offices, reading in dollars.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304,

110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

Books Reviewed

R. W. POSTGATE: *Revolution from 1789 to 1906, Documents selected and edited, with Notes and Introductions, etc.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1921. Cloth, 400 pp.

This is a collection of the chief documents of the revolutions and working class movements of Europe from 1789 to 1906. Among the revolutions and movements dealt with are the French Revolution of 1789, the Chartist movement of England, the revolutions of 1848, the founding of the First International, the Paris Commune, and the Russian Revolution of 1905.

The work is arranged according to the following plan: each chapter and each section of a chapter deals with a separate revolution. Each section is divided into two halves, an introduction, and the documents. In those cases where adequate histories can be obtained in English, the editor has made his introductions just long enough to explain the documents, but where this is not the case he has written a more lengthy introduction.

In the selection of the documents, the author tells us, a definite aim has been kept in mind, not so much to present a picture of the dramatic moments of the revolutions in the words of the participants themselves, as to select such documents as will give the student and reader an idea of what the revolution was "all about", what problems the revolutionists were called upon to solve and particularly which of their acts were to become the seeds of the future revolution. He continues: "It is also hoped that there is some connection between the various sections and that they are not a series of disconnected incidents. It is obvious that the modern revolutionary movement must be treated as a whole, and that its history cannot be written from a purely national standpoint. Something alien to French national history intrudes itself, for example, into the history of the Commune: this non-national element is precisely the revolutionary force, the International. This revolutionary force assumes different aspects to suit the particular problems of different countries, but it is in essence the same. The Commune is a chapter of French history, no doubt, but it is also, and equally clearly, a chapter, if not the only chapter, in the history of the First International."

The *Communist Manifesto* is printed in full, just before the "Introduction to the 1848 Revolutions", and a brief account is given of its influence on that period. Marx's *Civil War in France*, which was issued as an address to the members of the First International, is included among the documents dealing with the Paris Commune.

As there is no English history of the Russian Revolution of 1905, the author has given quite a full account of this revolution. And the documents do add emphasis to the story. After reading the "Black Hundred" proclamations inciting to pogroms, and the protest of even the non-proletarian members of the Chamber of Commerce of Baku at the massacre of innocent Armenians in that city, one can appreciate more vividly the methods which the reactionaries in Russia at that time were using in their attempts to bewilder the simple peasant and worker and to conceal from him the real problems before him.

Our readers will be particularly interested, because of the particularly savage tone in "Black Hundred" Proclamations of April and May, 1905, two of which we reproduce herewith:

I.

Proclamation: "On the 17th of February of this year the Grand Duke Sergius Alexandrovich perished at the hand of a cowardly assassin. Another noble soul has departed for a better world. Russians, reflect where we are going! Into what an abyss! Whom did Sergius' death benefit? His entire life was devoted to defending the Russian people against the insolent Jews. He worked with all his strength to prevent the Jews from exploiting the Russians; he would not permit Holy Moscow to be made into a Jewish city. That was why the Jews decided

to kill him, for all the Socialists are bought by the Jews and the Japanese.

"This cowardly Socialists killed the Grand Duke. True Russians, do not believe the lies of the Socialists! They are all bought by the Jews. Put an end to them in the real Russian way!

"The Union of the Russian Land."

"Roman Catholic priests, Poles, and Jews, are now trying to re-introduce serfdom into Russia. They assist the Japanese in the war and send large sums to help them, but have not given a farthing to the Russian Red Cross. The Tsar has said privately that if he could only get rid of the Jews and the Poles he would divide large tracts of the Crown lands among the peasants.

"The Russian Orthodox Committee."

II.

Pogrom Circular spread in Kiev and Volhynia during October 1905.

"The great Anchorite of the Lavra in Kiev has ordered the people to be informed that St. Vladimir, who first christened the people of Russia, has risen out of the bowels of the earth, has awoken the Anchorite and wept with him concerning the Fatherland, brought to shame by Poles and Jews.

"O God, where is the courage of that Russia who once drove back the foreign hordes? Shame and dishonor to the descendants of the holy Vladimir who tremble before a handful of cowardly Jews and the hooligans that they employ. All of us who still hold dear the name of Russia should know that the Jews and Poles are thirsting for our blood, that they are trying to set us by the ears so as to reach the throne over our dead bodies and thus overthrow the Tsar.

"Let us gather in the Churches and take counsel there about the defence of the Fatherland against the Poles and the Jews.

"Do not kill the Poles and the Jews* but give the students who are sent by them the sound thrashing they deserve.

"Each person who receives this letter must make at least three copies and send them to other villages and towns.

"He who has not fulfilled this order within six days will be stricken by grave sickness and affliction, but whoever spreads more than three copies of this letter, will be granted recovery from incurable diseases and prosperity in all things.

"In the Cathedral of St. Sophia and the Cloister of St. Michael many will assemble, and when they go out they will cry to the people that it gather together against the Jews and Poles."

The last few pages of the book are devoted to the debates and resolutions of the First International on the control of industry, in 1867, 1868 and 1869. —M. H.

P. АРСКИЙ: *Металл и его значение в Советской России.*

R. Arsky: *Metal and Its Significance to Soviet Russia.* Government Publication, Petrograd. 20 pages, 1920.

To those who have faith in the approaching and ultimate reconstruction of public economy in Russia under Soviet institutions, this small booklet, *The Significance of Metals to Soviet Russia*, will have a strong appeal. To the author the Russian Revolution emerges triumphant because of Russia's colossal natural wealth in metallic ores and pure metals. He treats of the significance of iron, manganese, and lead in the industries and economic life of a country in general, and of Russia in particular. The author makes this significance so emphatic that the whole contents become a tribute to these metals and their important role in

* Of course, this circular nevertheless led, as was hoped to pogroms and not to the beating up of students. By comparison, the *Dearborn Independent* seems much less crude.

transforming society from primitive modes of living to the more modern, present-day standards of comfort and civilization.

We are told that without metals and all the possible utilitarian products made from them, normal life is not to be had, a truth which our ancestors of the "Stone Age", in their transition to the "Metal Age", soon recognized. In our age, everything, all manufactured products, hammers, axes, scythes, sickles, plows, including the most complicated machines, all are made from metals. Countries poor industrially, technically, politically, and in all other respects, possess few of the more modern comforts of life and are least progressive, facts which are substantiated by the high position of material civilization as exemplified by England, Germany, and the United States.

Russia is so rich in natural resources, in iron, manganese, and lead producing ores especially, that neither she herself nor anyone else knows even approximately the extent of her wealth. The pamphlet abounds in data and statistics about the various regional distribution of the iron, manganese, and lead deposits in the territories now making up Soviet Russia. The relative production quantities of the various regions are given and again the much-heard of Donets Basin appears as the chief contributor of metallic ores, and the most significant in its ore reserve and in its mechanical equipment, and as the most efficient in the methods employed in mining and smelting. In this regard, the South-Russian region has been behind and largely neglected, in spite of the fact that it has great significance to the railroads and industries of the Ural District.

Mention is made of the large quantities of ores and smelted metal lying about idle in the various smelters. For lack of transportation facilities these cannot be delivered to the surrounding factories to be converted into finished products. The solution of the railroad problem, however, in no way solves the problem of the further efficient development of these natural resources. Russia always suffered from a "Metallurgical Famine", and especially now, since all industries are so closely dependent upon metals for their beginning, existence, and further development.

This pamphlet will serve as a reference, since 1914, for all interested in metallurgical and mining engineering.

J. R. M.

JOHN S. CLARKE: Pen Pictures of Russia under the "Red Terror". Glasgow, National Workers' Committee, 31 North Frederick Street, 1921. Cloth, 327 pages.

As the title-page further tells, the chapters of this book are "reminiscences of a surreptitious journey to Russia to attend the Second Congress of the Third International" and are illustrated by "forty-two illustrations from photographs taken by the author and the Soviet Government."

To our readers, many of these chapters are familiar by reason of the fact that we took the liberty to reprint them in our weekly issues, a year and more ago. Unfortunately, we did not include in our reprints, the interesting pictures above referred to, which added so much to the charm of the articles as they originally appeared in the *Glasgow Worker*, of which John S. Clarke is the editor. Here you will find the pictures with the stories themselves. Clarke combines the vigor of the journalist with the erudition of the scholar, and manages to convey attractive morsels of historical and cultural information together with sharp comments on the savagery of present-day opponents of the working class and its representatives in power, as embodied in the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia. In fact, there are very few events of importance or interest in present-day life that do not come in for some comment at the hands of the author. The reader will remember the caustic paragraph on Mr. H. G. Wells' promise to shave off Karl Marx's beard. We have printed it once, but it is so good that we must give it again:

"What a terrifying threat! It would be a much more intelligent occupation to take up the spectacles and read Karl Marx, of course; but to a man capable of penning the above puccility the theories and facts of Marxism would be equally unpalatable, even had their discoverer been the present writer, who is not only destitute of facial hair, but possesses damned little on his head."

On page 43 occurs the sentence: "Kola was destroyed in 1885 by the English." The date should be 1855. In that year the English navy bombarded not only many points on the Black Sea coast, but also a number of towns on Omega Gulf and other Northern waters, including the town of Kola.

J. W. H.

Financial Statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia

(The following statements and certificate have been prepared for publication by the Auditor of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia.)

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

National Office, 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Statement "A"

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of Organization, August 9, to December 31, 1921.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from Local F. S. R. Conferences and Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received. Receipt Nos. 1 to 1528 for incomes received to November 30, 1921 have been previously reported in detail, a total of \$251,258.74
 Receipt Nos. 1529 to 2596 for income received during December are reported in detail in the Bulletin dated January 1922 (mailable upon request) a total for the month of..... 66,552.18

Total received and acknowledged\$317,810.92

The above income was deposited in a bank account, and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to 183.13

Making the TOTAL INCOME.....\$317,994.05

From which must be DEDUCTED the following items:

(1) Remittances received as contributions which the bank refused to honor (Receipt Nos. 1 and 214)	\$274.25
(2) Check temporarily returned by bank to be signed (Receipt No. 1812)	7.50
(3) Exchange and discount on checks received	4.35
(4) Expenses incurred and charges to National Office by locals....	189.93
(5) Lawyer's fees and bail premiums for local workers arrested for making appeals....	425.00
	901.03

Leaving the INCOME RECEIVED by National Office \$317,093.02

HOW THE FUNDS WERE RAISED:

In order to assist Locals and Workers' organizations to raise and contribute funds the National Office sent speakers throughout the

country, published advertisements and literature and supplied buttons for sale and contribution lists for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for this purpose is explained in Statement "B" below. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. But it is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred these expenses themselves. But because this money was spent to help Locals and Workers' Organizations raise the money which they sent to the National Office it is deducted from the amount which they sent in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after deducting all expenses paid by Locals and all publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office.

Thus: Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office\$ 15,587.34
Leaving INCOME received by National Office

LESS COST OF RAISING SAME.....\$301,505.68

EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for those needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent \$2.17 for every \$100 of "income less cost of raising same". They amount to 6,548.39

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of Soviet Russia of.....\$294,957.29

Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:

Food shipment, direct	\$ 2,185.73	
American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for F. S. R.....	260,000.00	
Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I. L. G. W. U.	2,288.94	
Freight, express and trucking charges on old clothes contributed Federated, International and Russian Conference expenses.....	645.95	676.96
		265,797.58

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of 29,159.71

Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent FOR RELIEF but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or FOR EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank	\$ 24,236.95	
Petty Cash on hand	713.75	
Advances to Sections, Locals, and Speakers	1,745.26	
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost)	595.25	
Deposits for Electricity and Gas	35.00	
Books purchased for Sale, less Sale	1,833.50	\$ 29,159.71

Statement "B"

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES

From date of Organization, August 9, to December 31, 1921.

*Wages:	
Speakers and Organizers.....	\$ 2,197.72
Publicity	240.00
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers.....	4,779.62
Postages	1,299.25
Official Organ "Soviet Russia"—subsidy.....	500.00
Bulletins and Financial Reports printed and distributed	862.92
Advertisements	560.00
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed....	2,134.59
Posters, window cards, etc.....	300.50
Motion Picture Films	786.22
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc.	697.24
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.....	1,236.78
	<hr/>
Less sale of publicity literature.....	7.50
	<hr/>
Total	\$ 15,587.34

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Statement "C"

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

From date of Organization, August 9, to December 31, 1921.

*Wages:	
Secretary	\$ 960.00
Office Staff	1,971.30
Office Rent	266.00
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance and cleaning,	600.72
Office Furniture Rent	20.00
Office Supplies, etc.	329.75
Printing and Stationery	829.06
Telegrams	252.61
Telephone calls, carfares, etc.	91.70
Auditor's Charges	227.25
	<hr/>
Total	\$ 6,548.39

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Certificate

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the period from the date of organization, August 9 to December 31, 1921, a period of nearly five months.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements, "A", "B", "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B", and "C" are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period, December 31, 1921.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

2764 Creston Avenue,
New York, N. Y.
January 30, 1922.

Relief Contributions, January 1-31

2597	Mrs. A. Hoar, Denver, Colo...	5.00	2660	Coll. by Ralph Dubinski, Nako-	35.00	2722	Coll. by H. Blum, Napa, Cal.	10.00
2598	A. Puotinen, Spokane, Wash...	5.00	2661	E. Esaline, Rainier, Ore.	27.00	2723	George Dresch, Mercer, Pa.....	10.00
2599	S. Wintner, N. Y. C.	1.00	2662	R. S. Pitts, East Orange, New		2724	Coll. by Oscar Strom, Vashon,	
2600	H. Getcoat, Cambridge, Mass...	1.00		Jersey	25.00		Wash.	6.00
2601	M. Cosari, N. Y. C.	8.50	2663	W. C. Adams, Westmount,		2725	Davis Hames, Hutchinson, Minn.	5.00
2602	Russian Relief Committee, New-	600.00		Quebec	25.00	2726	Peter Senuta, N. Amhurst, Mass.	5.00
2603	H. B. Windeman, Forsyth, Mont.	1.00	2664	List No. 2353, U. M. W. of		2727	J. M. Donaldson, Continental,	
2604	F. G. Wilhelm, San Francisco,	5.00		Am., Smithton, Pa.	25.00		Ohio	5.00
2605	Lists No. 8381/2, coll. by Mrs.	2.00	2665	Oscar W. Demmler, Pittsburg,		2728	J. Mehlin, Flint, Mich.	5.00
2606	B. Francis, Portland, Ore.....	5.00	2666	F. S. R. Branch, Sioux City,		2729	Simon M. Jamilis, Moline, Ill.	5.00
2607	Joseph Butkina, Chicago, Ill...	1.00		la.	25.00	2730	G. B. Marinas, & J. A. Barn-	
2608	Nell Amter, N. Y. ....	.85	2667	U. M. W. of Am., local No. 4146,			house, Trinidad, Col.	5.00
2609	Fred N. Britz, N. Y.	30.00		Duncanwood, Ohio	25.00	2731	Coll. by J. Chernoboy, Port	
2610	Rosemary Norris, Cincinnati, O.	2.00	2668	Geo. Schuchle, Seattle, Wash.			Huron, Mich.	5.00
2611	F. S. R. Branch, Los Angeles,	500.00	2669	J. Taraboco, Vancouver, B. C.		2732	James P. Dougherty, Tonawanda,	
	Cal.			Canada	20.00		N. Y.	5.00
2612	Franco-Belgian Club, Lawrence,	148.00	2670	Wm. T. Demmler, Boston, Mass.		2733	Alex. Hannatta, Pittsburg, Pa...	5.00
	Mass.		2671	Frank Lehti, (collection),		2734	Journeyman's Barbera Int. Union	
2613	F. Burmeister, N. Y.	9.00		Tampa, Fla.	17.00		Loc. No. 732, Waterbury, Conn.	5.00
2614	Erna Kornbloom, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	2672	Chas. Retzky, Chicago, Ill....	15.00	2735	George Butner, E. Cleveland,	
2615	Mrs. Hautf, N. Y.	1.00	2673	John Tangborn (Collection),			Ohio	5.00
2616	F. S. R. Branch, Ogden, Utah	10.65		Schleswig, Iowa	15.00	2736	Ralph Holbrook, New Kamilcho,	
2617	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco,	600.00	2674	Finnish Socialist Federation,			Wash.	5.00
	Cal.			Angora, Minn.	14.00	2737	Katherine H. Hodgins, Seattle,	
2618	F. S. R. Branch, Rochester,	150.00	2675	Ole Leina, Sacramento, Cal....	11.00		Wash.	5.00
	N. Y.		2676	Emil Kuellmar, St. Joseph, Mo.	10.00	2738	Mrs. Lola Barnes, Richmond,	
2619	F. S. R. Branch, Indianapolis,	75.00	2677	L. K. Brown, Anacone, Wash.	10.00		Cal.	5.00
	Ind.		2678	Clema Tanquay Robinson, N. Y.		2739	Moses M. Kottar, Memphis,	
2620	F. S. R. Russian Section, Lynn,	141.00		City	10.00		Tenn.	5.00
	Mass.		2679	Angel Garcia, Tampa, Fla....	10.00	2740	Mr. & Mrs. Hugo Weder, Bakers-	
2621	Dr. H., Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	2680	I. O. Hunt, Wyoming, Pa.	10.00		field, Cal.	5.00
2622	E. Roll, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	2681	Albert Meyer, Friendship, Ohio		2741	Mrs. E. Carlson, Belvedere, Cal.	5.00
2623	B. L. Rosenberg, Pittsburgh, Pa.	50.00	2682	Coll. by Ben Carmen, Louisville,		2742	J. B. I. U. of A. Loc. No. 828,	
2624	F. S. R. Branch, Brockton, Mass.	500.00		Ky.	10.00		Bristol, Conn.	3.00
2625	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	422.72	2683	Hallen Bell, Royal Oak, Mich.	10.00	2743	Fred. Barling, Lakeview, Oregon	3.00
2626	F. S. R. Branch, Ansonia,	101.15	2684	B. Fine, Cleveland, Ohio....	10.00	2744	Floyd Parks, Lakeview, Oregon	1.00
	Seymour, Conn.		2685	U. M. W. of A. local No. 2246,		2745	Mrs. Virginia W. Otis, Denver,	
2627	Coll. by A. Roseburg, Willow	64.50		Marsteller, Pa.	10.00		Colo.	3.00
	Creek, Cal.		2686	M. G. Lloyd, Washington, D. C.	10.00	2746	Coll. by Rev. J. N. Delcamp,	
2628	Frank Hartuka, Leville, Ont.,	4.65	2687	John Joear, Minneapolis, Minn.	10.00		Lansing, Mich.	3.00
	Canada		2688	Coll. by Howard B. Keehn,		2747	W. S. & D. B. Fund, Br. No. 1,	
2629	Gunderson, N. Y.	1.00		Reading, Pa.	10.00		N. Y. C.	2.00
2630	Thos. F. Doyle, Mt. Vernon,	5.00	2689	B. A. Wyman, Stockton, Cal...	10.00	2748	Marcus Stern, San Francisco,	
	N. Y.		2690	Dr. D. M. Becker, Cleveland,			Cal.	2.00
2631	Esthonian Pub. Society, N. Y.	94.83		Ohio	10.00	2749	F. S. R. Branch, Phila., Pa.	750.00
2632	Woman's Educational League,	300.00	2691	Maccabees Sloga, Tent No. 1536,		2750	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	250.00
	West N. Y., New Jersey			Monessen, Pa.	10.00	2751	Dr. A. B. Adelson & Sam Levitt,	
2633	U. M. W. of A. No. 2282, Rock	217.50	2692	Coll. by J. A. Buck, Urbana,			Chicago, Ill.	100.00
	Spring, Wyo.			Ohio	9.00	2752	Finnish Socialist Br., Fitchburg,	
2634	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis,	165.80	2693	Coll. by Casper Lenthold, Mil-			Mass.	73.00
	Minn.			waukee, Wisconsin	8.00	2753	U. M. W. of A., No. 2702,	
2635	F. S. R. Branch, Newberry,	72.20	2694	Coll. by Harry Frucht, Ferndale,			Gunn, Wyo.	50.00
	Mich.			Cal.	8.00	2754	Coll. by P. Glatsfelder, Luding-	
2636	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis,	68.92	2695	Coll. by C. R. Swope, Warren,			ton, Mich.	9.00
	Minn.			Ohio	8.00	2755	Workmen's Circle No. 487,	
2637	List No. 13257-58, Coll. by J.	66.75	2696	Coll. by A. Block, Winnipeg,			Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	5.00
	Koncruis, Acme, Wyo.			Canada	7.00	2756	F. H. Hagerman, Cincinnati, O.	5.00
2638	U. M. W. of A., local 4010,	28.47	2697	List No. 13795 through R. E.		2757	W. F. Walker, Twohumm, Cal.	5.00
	through J. Rose, Owings, W. Va.	27.60		Weaver, Reading, Pa.	7.00	2758	W. S. & D. B. Fund, Branch	
2639	August Maki, Enaville, Idaho	25.50	2698	Coll. by Frank Biecka, Seabeck,			No. 109, Claridge, Pa.	5.00
2640	John Braum, Hoquiam, Wash...	24.44		Wash.	6.00	2759	L. H. Gibbs, Scranton, Pa. . .	5.00
2641	Finnish Socialist Federation,	24.44	2699	Mrs. C. H. Rows, Buffalo, N. Y.	5.00	2760	W. S. & D. B. Fund, Br. No.	
	Chicago, Ill.		2700	Hans Ranch, New Haven, Conn.	5.00		178, Hackensack, N. J.	5.00
2642	F. S. R. Branch, List No. 9694,	23.25	2701	Louis Witten, N. Y.	5.00	2761	F. S. R. Branch, E. Chicago,	
	Brooklyn, N. Y.		2702	W. S. & D. Ben. Fund Br.			Indiana	23.00
2643	Coll. by Oscar P. Almgren,	21.50		No. 177, Springfield, Ill....	5.00	2762	F. S. R. Branch, Kansas City,	
	Bronson, Minn.		2703	Christ Delch, Jacksonville, Fla.	5.00		Kans.	10.00
2644	Coll. by Joseph Siegal, Brooklyn,	16.15	2704	Aksel Larsen, New Bedford,		2763	C. Lipinski, Jersey City, N. J.	5.00
	N. Y.			Mass.	5.00	2764	Henry C. Rummel, Detroit,	
2645	Coll. by Dr. Louis A. Baralt, Jr.,	12.25	2705	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland,			Mich.	5.00
	Havana, Cuba.			Ohio	584.69	2765	Coll. by V. Piatnizky, Tobaiser	
2646	Coll. by Wilhelm Moser, New	11.35	2706	Russian Relief Organization,			Cal.	4.00
	Bedford, Mass.			Morgantown, W. Va.	154.30	2766	Coll. by C. H. Becker, Ft.	
2647	Coll. by A. Eugene Cox, Port-	4.80	2707	William James Sidis, N. Y.	10.41		Wawne, Ind.	3.00
	land, Ore.		2708	List No. 13112, coll. by Stai-			Ind.	3.00
2648	F. S. R. Branch, Wilmington,	2.75		dular, Rock Springs, Wyo.	47.40	2767	W. S. & D. B. Fund Br. No. 2,	
	Del.		2709	Coll. by Evert Hill, Cambrie,			Jersey City, N. J.	3.00
2649	G. A. Werth, Bandon, Ore. . .	2.50		Wyo.	39.75	2768	W. J. Sticht, Gloverville, N. Y.	2.00
2650	Coll. by C. P. Powers, Cf. Falls,	1.60	2710	Lists No. 6530, coll. by Chas.		2769	J. Kamposh, Springfield, Ill...	2.00
	Montana			Kiellis, Racine, Wis.	19.34	2770	J. B. Hinman, E. Akron, Ohio...	2.00
2651	S. E. Fouts, Modesto, Cal....	.50	2711	Coll. by Chas. Pualetti, Eureka,		2771	Louis I. Relis, Ferndale, N. Y.	2.00
2652	List No. 5442, Coll. by Dr. P.	3.75		Cal.	17.50	2772	A. E. Johnson, Warren, Pa....	2.00
	Nelson, Hartford, Conn.		2712	Finnish Soc. Br. Newfield, N. Y.	10.90	2773	W. K. Bryce, Riverhurst, Sask,	
2653	John P. Wiese, Lay, Colo....	2.50	2713	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	2,000.00		Canada	2.00
2654	F. S. R. Branch, Gary, Ind...	100.00	2714	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich.	800.00	2774	S. Solomon, Cincinnati, Ohio...	1.00
2655	Coll. by Steven Hornik, Neffa,	58.00	2715	Roxbury Lethish Club, Roxbury,		2775	F. M. Adsit, Syracuse, N. Y....	1.00
	Ohio			Mass.	250.00	2776	Herman Schwartzman, Bx. N. Y.	1.00
2656	Socialist Finnish Local, Bovey,	50.00	2716	F. S. R. Branch, Yonkers, N. Y.	150.00	2777	Minnie Allen, Morgentown,	
	Minn.		2717	Mrs. Alice C. Erwin, Harbor			W. Va.	1.00
2657	Mrs. T. M. Nagle, Wesleyville,	50.00		Spring, Mich.	8.35	2778	A. D. Strangler, Enderly, B. C.,	
	Pa.		2718	Chas. Haener, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.25		Canada	1.00
2658	U. M. W. of A., local No. 3257,	50.00	2719	Bronx Society for Relief of	200.00	2779	R. Steward, Enderly, B. C.,	.50
	Wyano, Pa.			Russian Babies, Bx. N. Y. . .	10.00		Canada	1.00
2659	List No. 1272-4, Henry Geiger,	36.00	2720	Mrs. S. M. Calkins, Denning,		2780	Mrs. R. H. Steward, Enderly,	
	Tiffin, Ohio			N. M.	10.00		B. C., Canada	1.00
			2721	I. A. of M. Oakland, Lodge		2781	L. W. Strangler, Enderly, B. C.,	
				No. 284, Oakland, Cal.....	10.00		Canada	1.00
						2782	A. Eleny, Enderly, B. C.	1.00
							Canada	1.00

2783	John Campbell, Enderly, B. C., Canada	.50	2844	Cenarty, Hammond, Ind.	7.15	2903	Chas. Selwood & Wife, Greeley, Colo.	10.00
2784	Ralph Clark, Enderly, B. C., Canada	.50	2845	A. Champion, Danville, Ill.	9.00	2904	Chas. Kluge, Sa. City, Iowa	3.00
2785	J. Monk, Enderly, B. C., Canada	.55	2846	F. S. R. Branch, Lawrence, Mass.	125.00	2905	Finnish Socialist Branch, Green, Mich.	34.43
2786	Albert Tompkinson, Enderly, B. C., Canada	1.00	2847	Dr. A. C. Heintze, Camden, N. J.	10.00	2906	V. A. Carns, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.50
2787	Arthur Tompkinson, Enderly, B. C., Canada	1.00	2848	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	5.50	2907	F. S. R. Branch, Ansonia, Conn.	189.26
2788	W. Tompkinson, Enderly, B. C., Canada	.50	2849	John Elliot, Wabash, Ind.	2.00	2908	Coll. by James Eblen, Robard, Ky.	29.50
2789	Mrs. L. M. Lambert, Enderly, B. C., Canada	2.50	2850	List No. 7133 Coll. by Mike Skura, Leichburg, Pa.	11.25	2909	F. S. R. Branch, Canton, Ohio	23.62
2790	E. R. Bobb, Enderly, B. C., Canada	3.00	2851	Aug. & Anna Mencke, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00	2910	F. S. R. Branch, East Liverpool, Ohio	14.25
2791	L. Pilkington, Enderly, B. C., Canada	3.00	2852	United Mine Workers of Am., No. 2309, Rock Springs, Wyo.	175.00	2911	Leo J. Wydia, Belleville, Ill.	8.40
2792	Stephen Lellman, Enderly, B. C., Canada	3.00	2853	J. C. Macy, Modesto, Cal.	5.00	2912	Sam A. Harrison, Los Angeles, Cal.	7.50
2793	A. M. Fenton, Enderly, B. C., Canada	1.00	2854	Committee through J. P. McGrath, Pittsburg, Pa.	686.55	2913	Coll. by Helge Kallgren, Minneapolis, Minn.	6.50
2794	C. J. Piper, Enderly, B. C., Canada	.50	2855	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	192.47	2914	Joseph E. Badger, Wife & Children, Sebastopol, Cal.	4.50
2795	W. Barker, Enderly, B. C., Canada	1.00	2856	Kehityseura, Kelsey, Minn.	5.40	2915	United Mine Workers of Am. Local No. 3574, Klein, Mont.	2.75
2796	Friend Walker, Enderly, B. C., Canada	1.00	2857	Collection by Frank Hotnasky, Hammond, Ind.	1.50	2916	Coll. by W. F. Holmes, Farmington, N. Mexico	2.50
2797	Chas. Montrib, Enderly, B. C., Canada	1.00	2858	List No. 5332, C. Kubarich, Cleveland, Ohio	4.00	2917	Coll. by Ig. Huth, Cleveland, O.	1.50
2798	J. Tompkinson, Enderly, B. C., Canada	2.00	2859	Frank McArthur, J. L. Koenig, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	2918	Henry Roeme, Ithaca, N. Y.	1.00
2799	J. C. Perry, Enderly, B. C., Canada	.25	2860	R. Wight, Danbury, Ohio	2.00	2919	H. E. Sawdon, St. Elmo, Tenn.	1.00
2800	T. S. Morton, Enderly, B. C., B. C., Canada	1.00	2861	Mrs. E. C. Hill, Tampa, Fla.	1.00	2920	Coll. by Paul A. Knerr, Sandusky, Ohio	2.00
2801	A. Friend	1.00	2862	F. S. R. Branch, Gardner, Mass.	250.00	2921	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	2,000.00
2802	P. M. Klebapasky, E. Moline, Ill.	1.00	2863	F. S. R. Branch, St. Paul, Minn.	186.50	2922	F. S. R. Branch, Schenectady, N. Y.	350.00
2803	Anonymous through J. W. H.	.50	2864	Dr. L. A. Muldeking, Holdingford, Minn.	20.00	2923	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y.	394.23
2804	J. Adelson, G. Hagman, Prescott, Arizona	10.00	2865	Herman Ruffin, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	2924	Coll. by Stephen Taylor, Wolf Pt., Mont.	60.00
2805	Mike Stanoff, Rockport, Wash.	10.00	2866	Herman Ruffin, St. Louis, Mo.	700.00	2925	F. S. R. Branch, Branch, Seattle, Wash.	28.00
2806	S. H. Babcock, List No. 6656, Conneant, Ohio	1.00	2867	F. S. R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	100.00	2926	Mrs. F. E. Fick, Cleveland, O.	25.00
2807	L. A. Schepp, E. Liverpool, O.	1.00	2868	Finnish Socialist Branch, Buffalo, N. Y.	25.00	2927	Wm. Shaughnessy, Mansfield, O.	25.00
2808	Coll. by Walfrid Heinonen, Duluth, Minn.	18.60	2869	F. B. Shockett, Ordway, Colo.	2.00	2928	F. S. R. Branch, Bay City, Mich.	21.00
2809	C. Dobrodumoff, List No. 5424, East Chicago, Ind.	8.25	2870	Jacob Kotnasky, New Orleans, La.	5.00	2929	Nat. Slovak Soc. Assembly 443, Ambridge, Pa.	20.00
2810	Collection by G. Jackson, Seldonia, Alaska	70.00	2871	Savely Green berg, New Orleans, La.	2.00	2930	J. R. Reen, Portland, Ore.	10.00
2811	Lith. Nat. Club, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	2872	Capt. Chas. M. Albrecht, New Orleans, La.	5.00	2931	H. S. Brown, Evanston, Ill.	10.00
2812	Mrs. Catherine Arbur, Phil., Pa.	21.00	2873	A. Kusmenko, New Orleans, La.	2.00	2932	Dr. Philip Hillkowitz, Denver, Colo.	10.00
2813	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	700.00	2874	Karroll Moses, New Orleans, La.	1.00	2933	Louise Christiansen, Malles, L. I.	10.00
2814	Workmen's Circle, Br. No. 94, Stamford, Conn.	163.00	2875	Lodge Kampen of IOGT of Worcester, Mass., through Oscar Larsen, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	2934	Rodman Barker, Phila., Pa.	5.00
2815	F. S. R. Branch, Portland, Ore.	150.00	2876	A. Wilberg, through Oscar Larsen, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	2935	Chas. Yagar, N. Y.	5.00
2816	United Mine Workers, Rock Springs, Wyo.	100.00	2877	P. Wilberg, through Oscar Larsen, Chicago, Ill.	3.00	2936	Coll. by C. A. Hoffman, Miami, Ohio	5.00
2817	F. S. R. Branch, Rochester, N. Y.	200.00	2878	P. Grondahl, through Oscar Larsen, Chicago, Ill.	3.00	2937	John Devine, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
2818	Russian-German Society, Racine, Wis.	50.00	2879	J. A. Anderson, Amshury, Mass., through O. Larsen, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	2938	Adolph Fergin, Detroit, Mich.	5.00
2819	Henry F. Mines, N. Y. C.	29.00	2880	Vigge Aronson, St. Louis, Mo., through O. Larsen, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	2939	Coll. by W. H. Boyd, Pasco, Wash.	3.00
2820	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	640.90	2881	Pete Anderson, through Edward Ellis, Gallup, New Mexico.	1.00	2940	J. E. Scobba, Camas, Wash.	3.00
2821	F. H. Clark, N. Y. C.	20.00	2882	Finnish Workers, through Matti Lehto, Bessemer, Pa.	30.11	2941	A. H. Lampe, Breckenridge, Colo.	2.00
2822	Coll. by John Weber, St. Louis, Mo.	13.00	2883	Ernest Schwartz, List No. 9848, St. Louis, Mo.	3.70	2942	Thos. Brozenich, Midvale, Ohio	2.00
2823	Addison W. Barr, Worcester, Mass.	10.00	2884	Coll. by Louis Kardos, Cleveland, Ohio	4.00	2943	Mary E. Harrington, New York	2.00
2824	Mrs. Caroline Bostel, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	2885	Star Hat & Frame Co., Employees, Cleveland, Ohio	25.00	2944	Theodore R. Wines, N. Y. City	1.00
2825	A. Zappe, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	2886	Russian Dramatic Club, Boston, Mass.	300.00	2945	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. City.	140.00
2826	I. Serier, Kennewick, Wash.	5.00	2887	Mrs. F. A. Bennett, Hurricane, W. Va.	2.00	2946	Ellen Hayes, Welleley, Mass.	100.00
2827	Louis Kontarich, Samoa, Cal.	5.00	2888	Italian Colony, through P. Saldi, Jessup, Pa.	123.72	2947	Mrs. M. Coffee, Fairview, Mo.	25.00
2828	Coll. by L. W. Longmire, Mineral, Wash.	5.00	2889	Collection by Emil Tapalla, Juneau, Alaska	24.05	2948	Fin. Soc. Branch, Westview, Pittsburg, Pa.	24.00
2829	Howard H. Burr, Washington, D. C.	1.00	2890	Collection by Pete Esvanoff, So. Brownsville, Pa.	16.25	2949	Belle Robbins, N. Y. City.	10.00
2830	B. Arline Phillips, Wilkes Barre, Pa.	1.00	2891	List No. 9852, Geo. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio	11.20	2950	Booriman Robinson, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.	10.00
2831	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	24.90	2892	Schudardt Bros., Terre Haute, Ind.	10.00	2951	Captain A. Rust, Boston, Mass.	10.00
2832	F. S. R. Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.	345.66	2893	J. J. Quantz, through Schudardt Bros., Terre Haute, Ind.	5.00	2952	Louis Retaliante, Ft. Landerdale, Fla.	10.00
2833	Belgian Group, New Bedford, Mass.	5.00	2894	Louis Long, D. C. N. Y. C.	1.00	2953	Coll. by J. H. Parker, Carrollton, Mo.	8.00
2834	Elsa Rolfe, N. Y. C.	3.00	2895	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 217, Fmil Andres, Secy, Maywood, N. J.	10.00	2954	J. B. I. U. Local No. 373, Johnston, N. Y.	5.00
2835	U. M. W. of A., Local No. 1440, Taylor Springs, Ill.	111.00	2896	Collection by John Anderson, Port Vnc. Pa.	6.25	2955	Leo I. Korb, Cleveland, O.	3.00
2836	Mrs. T. U. Wilson, Helum, Ind.	5.00	2897	Alch. & Gustav Verbult, Collierville, Ill.	8.25	2956	Mrs. Mary Frey, N. Y. City.	2.00
2837	J. Rabinowitz, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	2898	Dr. J. F. Brady, Detroit, Mich.	200.00	2957	Jeannette & Benjamin Glassberg, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
2838	F. A. Foote, East Jordan, Mich.	5.00	2899	Geo. Frlich, (on Acct. of lists) Tuckshoe, N. Y.	40.00	2958	Coll. by Pablo Anceume, N. Y. City	14.25
2839	Workman's Circle Br. No. 31, Morristown, N. J.	3.00	2900	Eshonian Group, through J. Elhua, Phila., Pa.	40.50	2959	Mary Graber, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.50
2840	Chas. Palmer, Stoneboro, Pa.	2.00	2901			2960	F. S. R. Lith. Section, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,942.00
2841	Stanley Binck, List No. 12605, CoMichen, W. Va.	20.25	2902			2961	F. S. R. Lith. Section, Brooklyn, N. Y.	757.83
2842	Lith. Sons of America, Dickson City, Pa.	15.48				2962	Coll. by Rev. L. J. Anderson, Boston, Mass.	7.25
2843	Lists No. 13793-13794, W. J.					2963	Mary Norton, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
						2964	Alex Pennamen, Spirit Lake, Ida.	5.00
						2965	Cancelled, Receipt No. 3105 issued (5000.00)	
						2966	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1000.00
						2967	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	780.00
						2968	S. T. A. S. R., General Bureau, N. Y.	500.00
						2969	Belle S. Van Canteren, Los Angeles, Cal.	25.00
						2870	Coll. by Samuel Bernhard, Brooklyn, N. Y.	20.00

2971	Geo. J. Willman, N. Y. C.....	15.00	3038	Geo. D. Sauter, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00	3107	F. S. R. Branch, Portland, Ore.	250.00
2972	Jacob Levine, N. Y. C.....	5.00	3039	M. C. Salter, Kalamazoo, Mich.	1.00	3108	F. S. R. Branch, Muskegon, Mich.	100.00
2973	F. S. R. Branch, Newark, N. J.	182.94	3040	A. Larson, Port Arthur, Tex...	1.00	3109	A. T. W. of A., Fitchburg, Mass.	50.00
2974	Workers Immediate Aid to Soviet Russia, N. Y. C.....	147.00	3041	Coll. by Frank Platzer, Dayton, Ohio	20.50	3110	O. B. U. Juneau, Alaska.....	25.00
2975	Finnish Soc. Br., Fitchburg, Mass.	97.98	3042	A. Butterfield, Ruskin, Fla....	1.25	3111	Panama Canal Workers, Canal Zone	20.00
2976	F. S. R. Branch, Racine, Wis...	24.42	3043	Wm. Gleichauf, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	3112	List No. 255 thru Mania Afroff, Bx. N. Y.	15.00
2977	F. S. R. Br., Seattle, Wash.....	250.00	3044	Wm. Gustke, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	3113	Lasters Local No. 1 U. S. W. of W., Lynn, Mass	10.00
2978	Workmen's Circle Mutual Loan Ass'n, St. Paul, Minn.....	25.00	3045	Geo. Swaysse, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	3114	Edmund Kosinski, San Diego, Cal.	10.00
2979	H. L. Clark, Highland Park, Mich.	12.00	3046	Richard Boecker, Rochester, N. Y.	1.25	3115	W. J. Grogan, Asheboro, N. C.	10.00
2980	Lillian D. Archibald, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	3047	Chas. Eisenberg, Rochester, N. Y.	5.25	3116	Dr. John A. Miller, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00
2981	Mrs. F. Hebronner, N. Y. C.....	10.00	3048	M. Rothmund, Rochester, N. Y.	5.00	3117	I. Serier, Kennewick, Wash...	10.00
2982	Chas. Sturte, Claymont, Del....	8.00	3049	J. Mychailow, Leichburg, Pa...	50.00	3118	First Aid Club, 4th Grade No. Norwood School, Norwood, Ohio	10.00
2983	Finnish Soc. Dr. Clinton, Mass.	10.00	3050	F. S. R. Branch, Lowell, Mass...	70.00	3119	John M. Killough, Waco, Tex.	5.00
2984	Charlotte M. Levy, Newark, N. J.	5.00	3051	F. S. R. Branch, Hanna, Wyo...	30.00	3120	H. E. Van Geldn, Hicksville, N. Y.	5.00
2985	C. Serley Lewiston, Idaho.....	5.00	3052	Geo. A. Miller, Wakefield, Mass.	10.00	3121	Frank Waechter, Vanada, Mont.	5.00
2986	John Saveikas, Loat Creek, Pa...	5.00	3053	L. Fortin, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	3122	Frank J. Roubal, Woodstock, Ill.	5.00
2987	W. S. & D. B. Fund, Br. 211, Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.....	5.00	3054	J. E. North, M. D., Rock Rapids, Iowa	5.00	3123	Gustave C. Hoones, El Paso, Texas	5.00
2988	S. Ealoff, St. Paul, Minn.....	8.00	3055	Eilrn Woodruff, Brunswick, Me.	5.00	3124	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 137, Adams, Mass.	2.00
2989	F. S. R. Branch, Tacoma, Wash.	22.35	3056	H. R. Dougherty, N. Y. C.....	5.00	3125	Mrs. Sabina Zum Brunnen, Enfield, Minn.	10.00
2990	Coll. by Harry Kuenki, Evansville, Pa.	21.60	3057	Rose I. Zeltsman, Chelsea, Mass.	3.00	3126	M. B. Levick, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
2991	Br. Pottstown, S. P., Pottstown, Pa.	16.50	3058	U. C. Moore, Seattle, Wash....	5.00	3127	Ceo. & John Pedrick, Scranton, Pa.	2.00
2992	S. Solomon, Cincinnati, Ohio...	.50	3059	A. L. and S. Smith, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00	3128	S. Glasman, Medford, Mass. ...	2.00
2993	F. S. R. Branch, Providence, R. I.	166.97	3060	E. Burkenroad, New Orleans, La.	2.00	3129	Edwin F. Collins, Boston, Mass.	2.00
2994	Joint R. & Lith Relief Com., Haverhill, Mass.	56.50	3061	S. Heraknik, B'klyn, N. Y.	2.00	3130	L. Paulding, Des Moines, Ia.	2.00
2995	Louis V. Middleton, Grand Rapids, Mich.	2.00	3062	Coll. by E. Larenson, Juneau, Ala.	44.50	3131	Lois Richardson, Erie, Pa.....	1.00
2996	Frank J. Flaig, Cincinnati, O...	5.00	3063	Lith Wom. Prog. All., Binghamton, N. Y.	35.12	3132	Coll. by C. T. Williams, Murchinson, Texas	5.35
2997	Arthur Warner, B'klyn, N. Y...	8.00	3064	Coll. by Othilia Schriver, Daytona, Fla.	11.25	3133	F. S. R. Branch, Cincinnati, Ohio	465.50
2998	Coll. thru Fred Hesse, Muskegon, Mich.	14.50	3065	W. C. Ashlock, Xenia, Ill.....	.50	3134	F. S. R. Branch, Sioux City, Ia.	98.96
2999	C. W. Gilman, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	11.25	3066	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	68.50	3135	F. S. R. Br., Spokane, Wash.	112.50
3000	Mrs. W. H. Adams, Stone Mt., Va.	10.00	3067	Edith and Ruth Nelson, Two Harbors, Minn.	1.00	3136	F. S. R. Branch, Passaic, N. J.	90.02
3001	Mrs. E. Meyer, N. Y. C.....	5.00	3068	J. Merkl, Abita Springs, La.	2.25	3137	Cancelled, issued by mistake (7.75)	
3002	F. A. Tingly, Danville, Ill....	2.00	3069	G. F. Sediwy, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	3138	Leopold Hoffman, Crafton, Ohio	5.25
3003	Vera Samorodin, N. Y. C.....	10.00	3070	F. Marinaro, N. Y. C.....	.50	3139	F. S. R. Branch, Cheyenne, Wyo.	6.50
3004	Thru Rev. L. J. Anderson, Boston, Mass.	1.00	3071	F. De Corte, B'klyn, N. Y....	.50	3140	Andrew J. MacDonald, Flat River, Mo.	6.35
3005	Dr. W. Van Netto, Clyde, Ohio	8.00	3072	C. White, Harrison, N. J.....	.50	3141	F. S. R. Branch, Eureka, Cal...	75.00
3006	A. W. Loucks, St. Johnsville, N. Y.	1.00	3073	F. S. R. Branch, Trenton, N. J.	500.00	3142	Frank Labde, Rutland, Mass.	.35
3007	Salomie Jackson, Flourtown, Pa.	2.00	3074	F. S. R. Branch, Worcester, Mass.	300.00	3143	Moe Levine, Brooklyn, N. Y....	.50
3008	E. Kuhn, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1.00	3075	Dr. A. B. Herschman, Jersey City, N. J.	25.00	3144	Phillip Proman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.25
3009	H. N. Daniels, La Grange, Ill...	1.00	3076	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.....	1111.00	3145	Jake Kurman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.25
3010	A. Munkens, Newark, N. J.....	1.00	3077	John Beiss, List 395, N. Y. C...	16.00	3146	Irving Pollack, N. Y. C.....	.25
3011	Cancelled, issued by mistake (12.00)		3078	L. Overacker, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	5.00	3147	Harry Zerlin, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.50
3012	Louis Salling, N. Y. C.....	5.00	3079	Mrs. F. K. Rupprecht, Greenwich, Conn.	2.00	3148	S. Cooper, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	.25
3013	M. M. Lorenz, N. Y. C.....	4.00	3080	F. S. R. Branch, Bellingham, Wash.	77.51	3149	E. Berger, N. Y. C.....	.50
3014	Dr. M. G. Arguelles, Ybor City, Fla.	5.00	3081	Coll. by Louis Wilhelm, Portsmouth, Ohio	89.50	3150	A. Rothenberg, N. Y. C.....	.25
3015	W. E. Giltrap, Cottage Grove, Ore.	8.00	3082	W. C. Branch No. 257, Bristol, Pa.	11.20	3151	Isale Cohen, Brooklyn, N. Y....	.50
3016	Marcus Eriksen, Casadero, Cal.	2.00	3083	Coll. by C. Kostrzewski, Chicago, Ill.	5.25	3152	Henry Ginsberg, Bklyn, N. Y.	.25
3017	J. R. Lamazan, Knoxville, Tenn.	1.00	3084	O. Bodeen, Port Wing, Wis...	1.35	3153	Abe Yudin, Bklyn, N. Y.....	.25
3018	U. B. of C. J. of A. Local 1620, Rock Springs, Wyo.	25.00	3085	Henry Myers, Carlyle Sask. Can.	.50	3154	David Cohen, Bklyn, N. Y.....	1.00
3019	H. M. W. of A., Local 2516, Rock Springs, Wyo.	25.00	3086	M. J. K. Blanchard, Stoneham, Colo.	1.00	3155	Mack Skyer, B'klyn, N. Y.....	1.00
3020	Felicia Larson, Hasty, Minn...	14.00	3087	List No. 12920, Max Hirschberg, N. Y. C.	7.50	3156	Isale Lippman, B'klyn, N. Y....	.50
3021	Coll. by Alex Nienl, Ironwood, Mich.	10.00	3088	F. S. R. Branch, Bayonne, N. J.	300.00	3157	Sylvia Miller, N. Y. C.....	.25
3022	Coll. by Chas. Palmiter, Stoneboro, Pa.	6.00	3089	Nat Kaplan, N. Y. C.....	3.00	3158	J. Grenadir, B'klyn, N. Y.....	.25
3023	Peter Sommer, Petersburg, Alaska	5.00	3090	A. Pitt, Cleveland, Ohio.....	3.00	3159	Abe Hereu, N. Y. C.....	.25
3024	List No. 11811, H. Lockwood, Portchester, N. Y.	1.00	3091	F. S. R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	500.00	3160	Joseph Grunin, Bklyn, N. Y.	.50
3025	List No. 11811, thru Udasin Bros., N. Y. C.....	1.00	3092	U. M. W. of A., Local No. 493, Nokomis, Ill.	170.00	3161	Sam Balderman, N. Y. C.....	.25
3026	List No. 1181, J. Shapiro, Portchester, N. Y.	1.00	3093	Students of the Circle of Light, Buffalo, N. Y.	26.00	3162	Coll. by H. Jokl, Fairbanks, Alaska	142.00
3027	List No. 11811, J. C. Neilson, Portchester, N. Y.	2.00	3094	Employees of Robert J. Purdy, Buffalo, N. Y.	7.00	3163	F. S. R. Branch, Erie, Pa.....	100.00
3028	List No. 11811, H. Gorkin, Portchester, N. Y.	2.00	3095	W. S. & D. Benefit Fund Br. No. 40, Detroit, Mich.	25.00	3164	Elise M. Badger, Louisville, Ky.	10.00
3029	On List 11811, J. Tuchin, Portchester, N. Y.	3.00	3096	F. S. R. Branch, Grand Rapids, Mich.	25.00	3165	Arthur D. Monaghan, Wellaley, Mass.	10.00
3030	Max Tuchin, B'klyn, N. Y.....	5.00	3097	Mrs. O. Silverman, Piedmont, Cal.	10.00	3166	Dr. Sidney B. Levy, N. Y. C....	10.00
3031	Finnish Work, People's Soc'y., Fly, Minn.	62.00	3098	Coll. by Joe Comberg, Orient, Ill.	5.00	3167	Emile Klases, No. Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00
3032	U. M. W. Shiwasee Local, Saginaw, Mich.	50.00	3099	Henry H. Sweetland, Brush, Colo.	2.00	3168	Mrs. M. G. Nightingale, Montrose, Pa.	5.00
3033	Timothy Cole, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	25.00	3100	F. S. R. Branch, Kansas City, Kansas.	334.31	3169	Harry A. Vosburgh, Warsaw, N. Y.	5.00
3034	Aid Soc. Christian Lettas, Phila., Pa.	15.00	3101	F. S. R. Branch, Rock Springs, Wyo.	180.46	3170	Walter H. Potter, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
3035	David Butt, N. Y. C.....	10.00	3102	List No. 12823 thru J. Zaleski, Lewiston, Me.	31.50	3171	Coll. by Ch. Lita, Sanduakv. O.	3.00
3036	W. S. & D. B. Fund, Br. 173, N. Y. C.	5.00	3103	John Kahl, Armatrong, B. C., Canada	.25	3172	Coll. by Aubrey B. Bailey, Phila. Pa.	3.00
3037	Vina & Neil Stopson, Risterville, W. Va.	2.00	3104	I. Amter, N. Y. C.....	10.00	3173	Herman Schwarzman, N. Y. C...	1.00
			3105	F. S. R. Branch, Toronto, Can. (Canadian \$5000.00)	4,700.00	3174	J. B. Retallick, E. Orange, N. J.	8.00
			3106	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, Ohio	500.00	3175	F. S. R. Branch, Cliffside, N. J.	31.00
						3176	W. S. & D. Ben. F. Br. No. 166, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
						3177	List No. 7870, J. Kostevich, Newport, N. H.	66.00
						3178	Pac. Coast Ed. Bureau, Seattle, Wash.	400.00

3179	Coll. by Edw. Tils, Kalamazoo, Mich.	22.25	3249	Walter Friedrich, Belleville, Ill.	1.50	3314	J. C. McBride, Boulder, Colo.	5.00
3180	Edith Serier, Kennewick, Utah.	5.00	3250	P. Panmala, Ontario, Canada	11.28	3315	A. A. Parkhurst, Boulder, Colo.	10.00
3181	Eliz. D. Elder, Worthington, O.	5.00	3251	L. Acree & C. Velge, Ossa Lake, B. C., Canada	6.58	3316	E. E. Brown, Boulder, Ohio	5.00
3182	W. C. Br. 403, B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00	3252	F. S. R. Branch, Vancouver, B. C., Canada	236.66	3317	Anna Morry Hunter, Boulder, Colo.	10.00
3183	G. L. Fisher, Jackson, Mich.	2.00	3253	Mr. & Mrs. B. Lynch, Grand Junction, Colo.	5.00	3318	Lizzie M. Tru, Boulder, Colo.	5.00
3184	Mr. & Mrs. Geo. Aspden, Grandview, Calif.	2.00	3254	Coll. by J. Tuomela, Chassell, Mich.	17.05	3319	C. E. Snyder, Boulder, Colo.	10.00
3185	Mrs. M. E. David, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	3255	Coll. by W. L. Forrest, Janesville, Wis.	10.00	3320	W. H. H. Music, Boulder, Colo.	2.50
3186	F. S. R. Branch, Indianapolis, Pa.	300.00	3256	H. Klattake, Sacramento, Cal.	5.00	3321	Anna Belle Morris, Boulder, Col.	5.00
3187	Joe Lencer, Philadelphia, Pa.	35.00	3257	List No. 9852, G. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio	5.00	3322	F. S. R. Br., Centralia, Wash.	32.04
3188	F. S. R. Branch, Belleville, Ill.	20.00	3258	Coll. by A. Boudreau, Attleboro, Mass.	2.00	3323	List 10287, Finnish Soc. Club, Abedeen, Wash.	66.75
3189	Mary Rose McCord, Quincy, Ill.	10.00	3259	John Hines, Wapella, Ill.	2.00	3324	List No. 10288, Industrialist Supporting Club, Aberdeen, Wash.	34.39
3190	Sain Halkala, Hudson, Wyo.	5.00	3260	United Society; Srobobran Sloga, Pittsburgh, Pa.	100.00	3325	F. S. R. Br., Kirkland, Wash.	20.61
3191	Daniel Hall, Hudson, Wyo.	5.00	3261	List No. 2801-5, F. S. R. Br., Nanticoke, Pa.	145.06	3326	F. S. R. Branch, Tacoma, Wash.	57.50
3192	Peter Pross, B'klyn, N. Y.	10.00	3262	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	1,130.80	3327	F. S. R. Br., Portland, Ore.	100.00
3193	F. S. R. Branch, Nashville, Ten.	5.00	3263	F. S. R. Branch on lista, San Diego, Cal.	50.00	3328	List No. 10292, Axel Strom, Williston, N. D.	56.83
3194	Carlyle C. McIntyre, Sierra Madre, Cal.	7.00	3264	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 102, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	3329	List No. 10293, William Kane, Minot, N. D.	24.00
3195	Belgium Group, New Bedford, Mass.	5.00	3265	G. A. Brown, Cecilville, Cal.	2.00	3330	List No. 10294, C. L. M., Grand Forks, N. D.	3.45
3196	Coll. by Rev. L. J. Anderson, Boston, Mass.	9.50	3266	Estonian Publ. Soc'y, N. Y. C.	60.50	3331	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	25.00
3197	F. S. R. Branch, Westville, Ill.	66.35	3267	Ethel Brook Sanford, Oakland, Cal.	1.00	3332	List No. 10296, F. S. R. Branch, St. Paul, Minn.	60.60
3198	Coll. by Jacob Lake, Mayger, Oregon	60.85	3268	Louis Benson, N. Y. C.	.50	3333	F. S. R. Branch, Indianapolis, Minn.	38.00
3199	Russian Famine Relief Com., Astoria, Oregon	18.50	3269	A. Lami, Duluth, Minn.	10.00	3334	F. S. R. Branch, Indianapolis, Minn.	8.88
3200	F. S. R. Branch on Lista No. 9268-10901, Buffalo, N. Y.	13.00	3270	Nat Kaplan, N. Y. C.	3.00	3335	List No. 10299, F. S. R. Br., Tiffin, Ohio	22.43
3201	Edna G. Van Ness, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	3271	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 246, Ridgefield Pk., N. J.	2.00	3336	F. S. R. Branch, Cincinnati, O.	50.00
3202	Dr. J. J. McVey, Haverhill, Mass.	2.00	3272	Oscar Carlson, Yonam, Wash.	2.00	3337	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	40.00
3203	Axel Nummi, E. Weymouth, Mass.	1.00	3273	United Czechoslovak Org. of Am. Chicago, Ill.	1,359.00	3338	Cancelled. Issued by mistake (25.00)	
3204	Coll. by W. H. Spahn, N. Y. C.	1.25	3274	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	1,000.00	3339	List No. 12227, F. S. R. Branch, Superior, Wis.	15.00
3205	Coll. by H. C. Dieffenbach, Carlstadt, N. J.	3.83	3275	F. S. R. Branch, Washington, D. C.	575.00	3340	List No. 12228, F. S. R. Branch, Duluth, Minn.	20.00
3206	Peter Shauman, N. Y. C.	10.00	3276	List No. 9833, C. Breckerl, Cliffside, N. J.	7.00	3341	Cancelled.	
3207	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 316, Belleville, Ill.	10.45	3277	Coll. by J. E. Downs, Fairbanks, Alaska	52.00	3342	List No. 12229, F. S. R. Branch, Two Harbors, Mich.	15.00
3208	F. H. Conant, Auburn, Wash.	5.00	3278	Coll. by J. W. Stone, Latouca, Alaska	40.00	3343	List No. 12230, F. S. R. Branch, Hibbing, Minn.	10.95
3209	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	3279	F. S. R. Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.	15.50	3344	List No. 12231, F. S. R. Branch, Oisholm, Minn.	10.00
3210	F. S. R. Branch, Worcester, Mass.	250.00	3280	List No. 15062, Walter J. Conarty, Hammond, Ind.	6.00	3345	I. A. of M., Oakland Lodge, Oakland, Cal.	20.00
3211	F. S. R. Branch, Rockford, Ill.	150.00	3281	List No. 6653, W. Nevala, Conneaut, Ohio	5.50	3346	W. S. & D. B. F. Branch No. 64, Providence, R. I.	10.00
3212	F. S. R. Branch, Grand Rapids, Mich.	145.00	3282	Mrs. Meins, Dundee, Oregon	5.00	3347	Dr. E. F. Gorman, Anchorage, Alaska	10.00
3213	Croatian Frat. Ben. Assn, Pittsburgh, Pa.	100.00	3283	Edmund Tremblay, Salem, Mass.	5.00	3348	C. P. Griffiths, Anchorage, Alask.	2.50
3214	F. S. R. Br., Maynard, Mass.	44.00	3284	Felix Sper, B'lyn, N. Y.	5.00	3349	Coll. by G. Konkly, Detroit, Mich.	8.00
3215	August Mackie, Enaville, Idaho	25.00	3285	James S. Robertson, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00	3350	Mrs. J. G. Dutcher, Davenport, Iowa.	1.00
3216	List No. 37728 E. Mizher, Auburn, N. Y.	10.00	3286	Coll. by E. Sarin, Schobarie, N. Y.	3.50	3351	Mrs. S. T. Braman, Tampa, Fla.	1.00
3217	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 18, N. Y. C.	6.00	3287	E. A. Sanders, Cincinnati, O.	3.00	3352	Mrs. E. C. Hill, Tampa, Fla.	1.00
3218	Bayard Boyesen, Athol, Mass.	5.00	3288	John Nehlin, Flint, Mich.	3.00	3353	Coll. by M. Sonkup, Neffs, Ohio	16.20
3219	F. S. R. Br., E. Chicago, Ill.	11.00	3289	Joe Ramspott, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	3354	List No. 2791, W. N. Patterson, Zanesville, Ohio	10.00
3220	Chas. Bernatock, N. Y. C.	5.00	3290	Mrs. Van der Zee, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	3355	Coll. by Mrs. O. E. Julian, Ferrdale, Wash.	6.30
3221	Nellie Higman, Watsonville, Cal.	50.00	3291	Alex Duncan, Detroit, Mich.	2.00	3356	J. H. Steele, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00
3222	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	35.00	3292	F. S. R. Branch, Superior, Wis.	375.00	3357	Andrew Mattson, Bellingham, Wash.	5.00
3223	Coll. by J. Kriseman, Haynes, N. Dakota	34.00	3293	Russian Ed. Club, Lynn, Mass.	135.00	3358	Edith Berkman, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
3224	Coll. by Mike Kronholm, Bryant, Wash.	26.00	3294	Hartford Women's Relief for the Hungry Children of Russia Hartford, Conn.	100.00	3359	Thos. S. McMillen, Salineville, Ohio	6.00
3225	Mrs. F. E. Dooley, Alascadero, Cal.	25.00	3295	Joe Zelinski, Saginaw, Mich.	15.00	3360	Philip La Manna, Washington, D. C.	3.00
3226	Margaret Tucker, Newton, Mass.	15.00	3296	Lists No. 12845-47 F. S. R. Branch, Ogden, Utah	8.00	3361	Charles Morris, Portland, Me.	1.00
3227	Samuel Cornfield, Phila., Pa.	10.00	3297	Dr. Rollin S. Myers, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	3362	Mikel Swirbul, Pricedale, Pa.	1.00
3228	C. H. Tabor, Kingman, Ariz.	10.00	3298	W. Romanik, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	3363	Coll. by A. Friese, B'lyn, N. Y.	7.00
3229	Coll. by I. Putnam, Templeton, Cal.	3.00	3299	Geo. Bucrubak, Ignacio, Cal.	5.00	3364	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	162.60
3230	Kurt Sell, Walled Lake, Mich.	3.00	3300	W. E. H. Porter, Hanaboro, N. Dakota	1.00	3365	F. S. R. Branch, Erie, Pa.	100.00
3231	Metal Polishers Int. Union Loc. No. 35, Hartford, Conn.	2.00	3301	Ukrainian Workmen's Assn. Herkimer, N. Y.	10.00	3366	Lists No. 7122-23, A. Huff, Easton, Pa.	3.48
3232	A. C. Roegner, Troy, Mich.	1.50	3302	F. S. R. Branch, Waterbury, Conn.	40.00	3367	List No. 5230, N. Crouse, Brooklyn, N. Y.	8.74
3233	Green Socialist Union, N. Y.	37.50	3303	Samuel Solomon, Cincinnati, O.	.50	3368	E. E. Phillips, Cedarhurst, L. I., N. Y.	5.00
3234	Coll. by Anton Dickley, So. Royalton, Mass.	30.45	3304	Douglas, Jane and Eliz., McIlwraith, and Jane and Eliz., Counsell, Hamilton, Ont., Can.	5.00	3369	F. S. R. Lithuanian Section, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2,186.39
3235	Charles rWay, Oak Park, Ill.	1.00	3305	Frances W. Epley, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	3370	F. S. R. Branch, Gilbert, Minn.	10.00
3236	A. T. Jennings, San Antonio, Texas.	1.00	3306	Geo. D. Sauter, St. Louis, Mo.	1.50	3371	F. S. R. Branch, St. Paul, Minn.	4.14
3237	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich.	500.00	3307	F. S. R. Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.	178.07	3372	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	50.00
3238	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	400.00	3308	Dr. E. A. Moore, Boulder, Colo.	3.00	3373	F. S. R. Branch, Mason City, Ia.	10.00
3239	F. S. R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	400.00	3309	Mary F. Hare, Boulder, Colo.	2.50	3374	F. S. R. Branch, Sioux City, Ia.	30.00
3240	F. S. R. Branch, Mansfield, O.	40.00	3310	Rinn and Archibald, Boulder, Colo.	10.00	3375	F. S. R. Branch, Rock Springs, Wyo.	40.00
3241	Workers' Club, Mullan, Idaho	20.00	3311	The Misses Shuna, Boulder, Col.	10.00	3376	F. S. R. Branch, Salt Lake City, Utah	13.00
3242	Ida E. Riebenkam, Lancaster, N. Y.	10.00	3312	John R. Furlong, Boulder, Colo.	3.00	3377	F. S. R. Branch, Hanna, Wyo.	22.75
3243	Haspar Walpse, Elk, Cal.	2.00	3313	Mrs. C. Johnson, Boulder, Colo.	2.00	3378	F. S. R. Br., Cheyenne, Wyo.	15.00
3244	H. B. Alexander, Stanford University, Cal.	1.00				3379	F. S. R. Branch, Denver, Colo.	68.75
3245	L'Union Franco-Belge, Lawrence, Mass.	188.60						
3246	Order of R. R. Seleg, St. Louis, Mo.	81.58						
3247	F. S. R. Branch, Virginia, Minn.	11.77						
3248	Louis Parriah, Belleville, Ill.	.50						

Total for January.....\$53,287.34

SOVIET RUSSIA

Semi-Monthly Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia

Fifteen Cents

March 1, 1922

Vol. VI, No. 4



Will Help Come?

These are the children who need your aid, as Kizil Zdanovich, an Armenian artist, draws them for a Tiflis exposition. The National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York, is ready to receive your contributions.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Vol. VI

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Ninth Soviet Congress on Famine

(At the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets a number of interesting speeches were delivered on the subject of the famine. Some of the proceedings in this connection are given below.)

Resolution of Thanks to Dr. Nansen

THE Congress adopted the following resolution of thanks to Dr. Nansen: "The Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress, having learned of your noble efforts to save the perishing peasants of the Volga area, offers you its profoundest gratitude in the name of the millions of toilers of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The people of Russia will ever cherish in its memory the name of the great scientist and explorer, Citizen Frithjof Nansen, who heroically broke through the eternal ice of the silent North, but was yet powerless to overcome the boundless savagery, rapacity, and heartlessness of the capitalist Powers."

Foreign Governments and the Famine

M. Sosnovsky reminded the Congress of Colonel Wedgwood's statement in the House of Commons: "Had the British Government given for famine relief even half of the sums they wasted on help for Denikin and Kolchak there would not have been one case of hunger death in Russia." He pointed out that all the various capitalist Governments and organizations had contributed £10,750,000 for famine relief, while the Allied Governments spent up to April, 1921, £180,000,000 on maintaining an army of occupation in Germany. How much was spent by them on the armies of Denikin, Kolchak, Wrangel, and the Archangel Government it was impossible to say, but the sum must have been enormous—and that money was spent on bringing death and destruction to the Russian people.

Sosnovsky contrasted the liberality with which the capitalist Governments had financed the White armies with their meanness in famine relief. When it is a question of helping the Russian people the capitalist Powers reckon in a cold calculating manner the question of profit and loss, not caring that death is daily taking its dreadful toll. M. Sosnovsky referred to the situation in countries like the United States and Argentine, where grain is being used as fuel while the people of Russia are dying for lack of bread.

Kalinin's Report.

Kalinin, the Chairman of the Congress and of the Central Famine Relief Commission, gave a full report of the famine situation and the relief measures in progress. He reminded the Congress that famine is not a new thing in Russia. Within twenty years there were four great famines, those of 1891, 1898, and 1911, while famines on a comparatively small scale are a permanent feature of the peasants' life in Russia.

It is not surprising that famine should have occurred in 1921. Since the beginning of the war in 1914 agriculture in Russia began to decay. Women were replacing men who had been mobilized, but the number of able-bodied workers was constantly decreasing, great quantities of cattle were slaughtered, agricultural machinery and implements were getting worn out and could not be replaced.

During the years 1918-1920 Red and White armies constantly crossed and recrossed the area which is at present suffering from famine conditions. As early as 1920 the harvest failed in five provinces, and the Government had to supply relief; but in 1921 the number of people officially registered as suffering from the famine conditions is twenty-two millions, and there are about five millions more who are very hard hit.

The first duty of the Central Relief Commission was the supply of seed for the autumn sowing. Hardly had this work been accomplished when the campaign began for the spring sowing. At present seed is being collected, cleansed, and transported in order to be ready when the time for sowing comes.

The attention of the Central Relief Commission was also directed towards the organization of food centers in the famine area for feeding the starving population. With all the available resources of Russia it is, however, only possible to provide for the feeding of an average of 2,250,000 people per day. The plan of feeding was worked out in

conjunction with the Commissariat for Food, and was put in operation from October 1, 1921.

The plan, as shown below, covers the supply of a number gradually increasing from 500,000 in October, 1921, to 3,250,000 in March and April, 1922, and terminates in June, 1922, as the next harvest should be ready in July.

1921 Month	Number of people to be fed		
	Children	Adults	Totals
October ...	375,000	125,000	500,000
November .	750,000	250,000	1,000,000
December .	1,125,000	375,000	1,500,000
1922			
January ...	1,500,000	1,000,000	2,500,000
February ..	1,500,000	1,500,000	3,000,000
March	1,500,000	1,750,000	3,250,000
April	1,500,000	1,750,000	3,250,000
May	1,500,000	1,500,000	3,000,000
June	1,500,000	750,000	2,250,000

The following quantities of foodstuffs have been set aside for carrying out the relief scheme:—

Name of foodstuffs	To be used for children	To be used for adults	Total
	(tons)	(tons)	(tons)
Grain	70,313	28,125	98,238
Groats	28,126	7,501	35,627
Meat	35,160	28,123	63,282
Potatoes ...	46,876	112,501	159,377
Other roots.	52,736	56,251	108,987
Salt	3,128	3,753	6,881
Sugar	2,350	—	2,350

It was, however, obvious from the start that the calamity was so extensive that all the resources of the Soviet Government could not cope with it, and the co-operation of the whole nation, as well as of foreign countries, was invited.

Up to December 1, 34,000 tons of grain and 10,000 tons of other foodstuffs had been collected in the country for famine relief. Small as this contribution is in comparison with the needs, it must be remembered that many have given all they can from their own slender resources. Never before has the Russian people contributed so willingly for the relief of famine as the peasants and workers throughout Soviet Russia are doing at present. Up to December 13, 46,700 tons of relief supplies had been received from abroad. This quantity includes medicaments, motor lorries, etc., but there must have been not less than 26,700 tons of grain.

Resolution on the Famine

After the reports and discussion on the famine the Congress adopted the following resolution:

“The drought of 1921, which destroyed the crops in large areas of Soviet Russia, has produced terrible famine conditions. The economic life of whole provinces and large areas has been destroyed, and many districts are threatened with

complete extinction. The deep wounds inflicted on Soviet Russia by the attacks of the White armies and by the blockade to which Russia was subjected for three years are responsible for the fact that no agricultural measures could be taken to guard against the calamity, and that Russia was powerless to fight its terrible results effectively. The conditions under which the Soviet Government had to fight the famine were all the more unfavorable because Soviet Russia could expect no serious help from the antagonistic foreign Governments.

“The various famine relief committees set up by the Government were forced to rely at first only on the exhausted resources of Russia. The Soviet Government invited all the organizations of the Russian people to help in the relief campaign, and put the whole of the machinery of government at the services of the relief workers. A number of measures were taken, the first and most important being the granting of seeds for autumn sowing. The successful execution of this task had a great moral influence on the population. It stopped the stream of refugees and inspired hope in the population. They believed now in the possibility of the regeneration of the drought-stricken area.

“The Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, having heard the report on the activities of the Famine Relief Commission and on the relief given by the laboring people of Russia decides:

- “(1) To inform all workers, peasants, and honest citizens, as well as Soviet institutions, that the terrible danger which faces many provinces and threatens the whole of their population, has not yet disappeared; that on the contrary it is becoming more threatening from day to day with the exhaustion of the meagre supplies of grain and substitutes which up till now have been available.
- “(2) To instruct the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to take special measures to extend the work now being done by the People’s Commissariats in the famine area, to strengthen their organization in that area and increase the material resources at their disposal for the purpose of the relief campaign.
- “(3) To take all necessary steps to ensure that the People’s Commissariat for Food collects and delivers 200,000 tons of grain for feeding purposes and 417,000 tons of seed for spring sowing.
- “(4) To instruct the Central Relief Commission to consider as its first and most important duty the execution of the measures decided upon at the conference of famine relief committees, and especially of those measures designed to provide a permanent improvement in conditions in the famine area; and to bear in mind that it is also necessary to increase the voluntary collections of money throughout the

country by a contribution from all business concerns, assessed as a percentage of output, turnover, or profits; and that particular attention should be paid to giving increased relief to children, and to the care of children generally, which must be considered as the most urgent duty of the organizations for famine relief.

"The Congress expresses its profoundest thanks to the workers of all countries who have come to the assistance of Soviet Russia. In spite of the unemployment and the difficult economic position of the European and American workers, they have given generously to help the starving population of the Volga area.

"The Congress notes that the laboring population of Russia appreciates especially the help it has received from the workers of Europe and America. The Congress sees in it an expression of the international solidarity of all workers.

"The Congress notes that the capitalist Governments and the Russian counter-revolutionaries, who up till now have been supported by these Governments, have considered that the Russian famine has provided them with a suitable opportunity to attempt the overthrow of the Soviet Government and to make counter-revolutionary plots. At the same time important industrial interests abroad supported by their Governments owing to the pressure they are able to put upon them, have considered the famine a suitable opportunity for an attempt to obtain for themselves a predominant economic position within Russia.

"The Congress notes also that the capitalist Governments have offered help on conditions which, if accepted, would mean the abrogation by Russia of her sovereign rights as an independent country, and would place her very existence in danger. In view of the terrible plight of the famine population and the necessity for obtaining wider relief the Congress approves the agreements concluded with foreign countries and organizations (A. R. A., Dr. Nansen, etc.). It welcomes these agreements as the first steps towards wider economic relations with other countries. But it also approves of the antagonistic attitude of the Soviet Government towards the use of the famine in order to prejudice the interests of the Republic—such attempts as those engineered by M. Noulens.

"The Congress expresses its thanks to Dr. Frithjof Nansen, who is nobly endeavoring to obtain help for the starving peasants of Russia from foreign countries. It also expresses its profoundest thanks to the American Relief Administration, which has developed its relief work on so wide a scale, and to all societies and countries who have sent help to the famine-stricken. The Congress instructs the Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissaries, and the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to do all they can to obtain further help from abroad. The Soviet Government should be ready to make all concessions which are not incompatible with the sovereign rights of the Republic and do not prejudice the country's security from external attacks or infringe upon the fundamental necessities of the economic life of the nation."

The Famine and the Foreign Powers

By PAXTON HIBBEN

(The remarks made by Paxton Hibben at the Luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association, held at Hotel Astor, New York, on January 21, 1922, are all the more interesting by reason of the fact that they were the occasion for an important correspondence between Mr. Hibben and Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, which will be published in SOVIET RUSSIA for March 15.)

DR. PAXTON HIBBEN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot present as one of my qualifications to speak to you the fact that I have been in jail. (*Laughter*). I have never been in jail yet, I am sorry to say (*laughter*)—but I have hopes. (*Laughter*.)

Now, I agree with almost everything that Mrs. Harrison said, so much so that I am not going to take up at all that line of reminiscence of what I saw in Russia; I am going to leave it with her, disagreeing with her on two points, which I shall state now.

I don't find—and it is not at all because I know more about Russia than she does, but perhaps I know more about Communism than she does—I don't find that Russia is now, ever has been or is likely to be for a very long time a Communist

dictatorship or Communist anything. I grant you that the men who are in charge of Russia are for the most part Communists; but I know that the men who are in charge of the United States are Christians, too. (*Laughter*.)

And the second point of disagreement that I have with Mrs. Harrison is about free speech. Now, I went into Russia with no right to go there, I suppose; not from any prohibition by the Russian government—they were very glad to have me come—but because before I could go into Russia my own government took my passport away from me. I was rather cross about this and when I found out, on coming out of Russia, that the government had been sending me telegrams about what to do and what not to do while I was in Russia, I went back to the State Department and asked

them how they got that way; I told them, "After you take my passport away from me I will do what I damn please" (*laughter*)—and I did.

Throughout Russia, from one end to the other—and I, also, speak Russian to a certain extent—I found criticism of the present government of Russia rampant. There was no group of Russians about a station or in a tea shop or any place else that were not talking politics very violently and a great many of them, perhaps the majority of them, attacking the present government; but I want you to understand that the criticism was the type of criticism that you hear in any country, that you can hear in this country, where you hear Democrats who are attacking the government of Mr. Harding. It was not that type of criticism which will lead to a revolution in Russia, and for that type of criticism—I mean open criticism of the government—there was absolute freedom of speech as far as I could see.

Now, the matter which concerns me and which Mr. McDonald says is controversial, the matter which concerns me very distinctly and I think you, too, as American citizens, is the question of our national attitude—our governmental attitude, if you please—toward the present government of Russia and the bearing which the relief now being administered in Russia has upon that attitude.

I happened to be in Russia at the time that the arrangement between the Russian Soviet Government and the American Relief Administration was effected, and I was there when the first representatives of the American Relief Administration arrived in Moscow. I talked about this program of relief with many of the people in the Soviet government and I found that there was a very distinct view about it on the part of the Russians themselves—they were rather dubious about the motives which underly our undertaking relief in Russia. Now, they had had the Friends working in Russia for some years and the Friends had earned the very high regard of everybody in Russia. They had minded their own business and they had effected very excellent relief, on a very small scale of course, and everybody liked them. With the arrival of the people of the American Relief Administration everybody began to ask: "What is the big idea of feeding a million children and leaving about 27,000,000 people to starve? What is to be gained by it?"

So with that idea very strong in my mind, when I came back I went to Washington and I had an opportunity of talking with Mr. Hoover and I told him that in my view, which is Mrs. Harrison's view, there was only one really effective relief that could be given to Russia and that was a constructive relief that would enable the Russians to get on their own feet, and that relief of a very few people in Russia would inevitably lead to the death of a very great many and possibly to another famine next year owing to the lack of production because of the lack of seed-grain and because of the lack of agricultural implements and so on;

and I put it very strongly to Mr. Hoover that if we were really sincere as a people or as a government in trying to get Russia back on her feet, in trying to help the Russian people to help themselves, that there was one way to do it, and only one, and that was a comprehensive scheme of economic relief which would put Russia back in position to support herself. And Mr. Hoover replied that he was sure that the American people would not do this, that he believed that the American people would grant any amount of relief for starving children, but they were not interested in putting Russia back on her economic feet.

I said to Mr. Hoover that I disagreed with him, that I believed that if the matter were put squarely before the American people they would be for the economic regeneration of Russia, and I asked his permission to go out and say frankly what I thought about that and he said, "Go as far as you like; the more you talk about Russia the better people will understand it." And so I am talking now quite frankly in opposition to this attitude which Mr. Hoover has taken, in which he may be right and I may be quite wrong.

Now, about this time Mr. Allen Wardwell, who is here, headed a committee for relief called The Russian Famine Fund, which went out to gather funds to be used by the Quakers in their relief work in Russia. The Quakers, of course, had been working in a very small way. The idea was to get together \$5,000,000 to enable the Quakers to extend their relief, and this committee included a very great many good people, and I was all for it and I think most everybody was for it. And about that time Mr. Hoover came before Congress and asked for \$20,000,000 to buy supplies to send to Russia, and he got it; and then there came a changed attitude on the part of our government toward this relief business, and it is that that I want to put before you to-day and I think we ought to be cleared up in this matter; because this \$20,000,000 does not belong to the administration in Washington or to anybody else—it belongs to you and to me who pay the taxes; we have brought this \$20,000,000 into the treasury of the United States Government and we have something to say about how it is to be spent. The moment that \$20,000,000 was turned over to the American Relief Administration there came into the public prints a great deal of talk about the transportation situation in Russia being so bad that nothing more could be handled in the way of relief supplies except what was to be bought and sent in by the American Relief Administration; in other words, that it would be necessary for Mr. Wardwell's very excellent Committee, the Russian Famine Fund to curtail its work, because even if it did get \$5,000,000 it could not send supplies into Russia for the reason that the Russian ports and the Russian railways could not carry those supplies; and I happen to know that a great many people who inquired of those in authority in the American Relief Administration were told there was no use

of raising more than the \$20,000,000 because the additional supplies could not be taken care of by the Russian transportation system.

Now, I spent a great deal of time in observing the Russian transportation system and I do not believe that's true; I believe that the people in this country are misinformed. I know that the men who ran one of the railways there told me they could handle 2,700 tons of food every day out of Novorossisk; I know that Professor George Lomonossov, who is head of the Russian railways, told me that the railways out of Rostov could handle 2,000 tons of food a day; that makes 4,700 tons of food. I know in addition to those ports there is Nikolaiev and Berdyansk and Sebastopol and Feodosia and Kerch and Odessa and Mariupol, all ports that lead into points on the Volga by rail, all of which could carry a great deal of food supplies. I know also that there is the great Trans-Caucasian Railway that runs from Batum to Baku and which could carry supplies from Batum to the Caspian Sea, where they could be carried up to Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga. In other words, I am convinced that if one wanted to do it, one could deliver 10,000 tons of food a day to the Volga famine region, and 10,000 tons of food a day would mean the saving of the lives 17,500,000 people instead of 1,250,000 people, who are all that are being fed by the American relief to-day.

Now, I respectfully submit to you that there is something upon which we ought to be clear. Is there an effort to concentrate or to limit in any way the relief which is being given by the American people to those in Russia who are starving to a small number of people, with the possibility always that those who do not receive relief will become dissatisfied with the present government and overturn the government; and if there is that tendency or that purpose to limit the relief that we are extending to Russia, why is it being so limited and what is the idea behind it? Now, I am impugning nobody's motives; I am simply asking this question as one American taxpayer, and I leave it with you to think it over.

There is another question which confronts me also and that is whether Russia is to have that peace which Mrs. Harrison says is so essential to any real solution of the Russian problem. I think that that peace depends of course not upon us, because we are not going to make war upon Russia, I take it, but it does depend upon the attitude of the European powers; and with the present change of Government in France, I think we are all asking ourselves what is Monsieur Poincaré's attitude going to be toward Bolshevik Russia?

In that connection, a fact which has come to my attention, which has been reported to me, is of interest. I have been informed by a diplomat, who is in position to know whereof he speaks, that, on the 21st of last October at Angora, Monsieur Franklin Bouillon, representing the French Government, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of

the Turkish Nationalist Government entered into a secret agreement by which the French were to supply the Turkish Nationalist Government with a hundred million francs in gold and with ammunition necessary to prosecute a new war upon Soviet Russia this spring. Now, I have no proof of that; I simply have the word of this diplomat who tells me that he was present at various conferences in Paris in which large French financial interests were represented, and he gives me the name of the man who acted as the paymaster for this little scheme, and he explains to me that the purpose of it—and it seems to me a rather plausible purpose—is to secure for France that oil field just north of the Caucasus Mountains which France has not been able to secure by any arrangement which she has been able to make with the British Government since the Treaty of Versailles. You will recall that at the conference at San Remo, oil played a very large part, and it was so arranged that the Mesopotamian oil fields should be largely—seventy-five per cent., I believe — British owned; and Admiral Chester reported about the Persian oil fields that they were virtually completely under British control. The oil fields of Baku, which were formerly the second largest oil fields in the world, used to belong very largely to the Rothschild interests, which are French.

In the course of many negotiations which have taken place in the last few years, the Royal Dutch Company, which really controlled that oil field, passed into British hands, and the French have only a very small proportional part in the nominal ownership of the Baku oil fields, which of course are actually in the possession of the Soviet Government. That leaves the British in control of all the fields of the Near East, and the French with nothing.

If the French are going to have large battle-ships, or if they are going to have a large fleet of submarines, they must have oil. I am not blaming the French. As the world is to-day, it is impossible for a nation to have a navy without oil, and if the French go into an agreement with the Turkish Nationalist Government by which they expect to be able to wrest from Russia a large oil field, producing something like 2,000,000 tons of oil in 1916, that is a business as business is done to-day, isn't it?

But, what does interest me, my friends, is this: that any new attack upon Soviet Russia is going to produce more hardship, is going to drive that distracted people into a further condition of abysmal despair, and may launch on the world more war and more misery; and it does seem to me that it is an infamous thing that this should take place without somebody trying to stop it. Now, I don't know—as I say, I have no documents to prove this; it may be quite wrong—but it does seem to me that we can all profit by bringing it out in the open and having a talk about it and seeing just what the French are at.

There is another element in the situation, of

course, which seems to be fraught with danger—and perhaps that is because I have, as Mr. McDonald said, lived a long while in the Near East—and that is, the price which the French, according to my informant, have paid to the Turks for this agreement; for, obviously, the Turks are not doing this for love of the French; they are doing it because they expect to get something themselves, and what they expect to get out of it is, of course, the old thing we have heard so much about,—a vast Mohammedan corridor all the way to India; and they expect to get it in this way.

Mind you, that dream has been the dream of a vast number in Turkey and among the Mohammedans for many years. The realization of that dream really enlisted Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha on the side of Germany in 1914; it was that dream which led the Turkish army to Baku in 1918, after the break-up of the Russian Trans-Caucasian army; it was the realization of that dream, in the fall of 1920, which led the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Nationalist Army to invade Armenia, and to try to reach Baku and to hook up Mohammedan Turkey with Mohammedan Azerbaijan to reach all the way to India. In 1920 Russia put her foot down and said: "We will not allow the creation of a vast imperial Mohammedanism in the world to-day."

Now, if the Turks have hooked up with the French and expect to hook up Turkey with Azerbaijan and so on around to India, the French getting the oil fields, on the way, out of it, and the Turks finally realizing this dream of a vast imperialistic, militaristic Mohammedan empire, it seems to me that we are going backward from even such a peace as we have, resulting from the war; and I respectfully submit to you that that is also a matter that we must take up and bring out in the open and talk about.

Now, my friends, I have talked a great deal about other things; but I want to say one little word about Soviet Russia. When I came out of Soviet Russia, I felt very much like a man who has stepped out of a fairy story. You remember, all of you, that old fairy story about a swineherd's son who married the beautiful princess and who, before he could get her, had to pass through so many trials? You remember he had to pass over the Great Desert where he found all the bleaching bones of the people who had died on their way to the beautiful princess, and how he was guided by this fairy godmother of his, and how he came to the tree where there was the golden apple, and it was guarded by a great dragon; and by the help of his fairy godmother he somehow or other got that golden apple. And then he came to the great mountain of glass. And on top of this mountain was the palace with its sweet, cool garden where the princess lived. And it was his fairy godmother who got him somehow or other to the top of the mountain of glass; and he came at last in that sweet, cool garden were the beautiful prin-

cess lived. And the name of that fairy godmother is Faith.

I felt when I left Russia and came back to this world, where everybody is toiling and sweating and getting money, only to give it away; where people are hating one another; where people are driving one another out of work; where there are those who are great and rich and those who are poor and needy and starving, and where there is only hatred in the world, one for the other,—I felt as though I had come out of a fairy story when I left Russia. And I know and you know, in our hearts, that this thing which those people over there have conceived—this great, wonderful life where we all have a chance of beauty and fulfillment and education and fineness, is a wonderful, wonderful dream. Maybe it can't be. Maybe it will only be thousands of years before that great dream comes true. But that dream will come true only if we have faith, only if we believe in fairies,—and I do. (*Great applause.*)

Propaganda Against Relief

By PAXTON HIBBEN

(*At the Hunger Banquet arranged by the Friends of Soviet Russia in New York on February 11, Mr. Hibben made the following further reference to the subject of his controversy with Mr. Hoover.*)

THREE weeks ago, at a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor, I seem to have started something which has assumed amazing proportions. I asked a plain question:

"Is there an effort to concentrate or to limit in any way the relief which is being given by the American people to the starving of Russia, with the possibility always that those who do not receive relief will become dissatisfied with the present government of Russia, and overturn that government? And if there is that tendency or that purpose to limit the relief that we are extending to Russia, why is it being so limited, and what is the idea behind it?"

We have to-day a categorical answer to that question. The propaganda emanating from Washington, from the Department of Justice and the Department of State and the Department of Commerce, all official departments of our government, which is appearing in the *New York Times* and, I believe, in the *Chicago Tribune*, is a definite effort to limit the relief which is being given by the American people to the starving of Russia. The effect of this propaganda is and is intended to be so to impress those whose generosity of heart might otherwise tempt them to give of their substance to help the starving millions of Russia with the possibility that some of the funds so contributed might be handled by the Soviet Government of Russia, that their giving is at least discouraged if not inhibited. The idea back of this propaganda seems to be to brand every man or woman in the

United States who dares to save a starving child in Russia otherwise than through the American Relief Administration as a "red" or an associate of "reds". The *New York Globe* has stated the logical consequence of this campaign against charity and broad humanitarianism:

"The natural consequence of the silly attack upon various bodies which are collecting funds and food for Russians in the famine areas will be to add to the millions of impotent and innocent victims."

Of course this will be the result, and those who have launched this campaign to starve the Russians know it full well. Back in 1919, Mr. Hoover sent a cablegram to President Wilson, referring to an American relief organization then operating abroad, in which he criticized the methods of that organization and added that if the facts were to become known the resulting scandal would be a blow to organized charity for a generation—I quote from memory. He proposed, not that that organization be publicly arraigned in the press, but that men whom he would choose should be placed in control of that organization to reorganize it. And it was done.

Now Mr. Hoover knew then—and I quote Mr. Hoover now merely as an authority on relief work; certainly there is none greater—that an attack upon one relief organization as inefficient or incompetent or dishonest would inevitably reflect upon all relief agencies seeking funds from the public; and as Mr. Hoover was himself then seeking funds from the public for relief work, and did subsequently again go before the public for funds for relief work, he very naturally did not want to do a thing which would inevitably discredit all relief. But now it is different. The American Relief Administration has received its funds from the Congress—it has no need to make a public appeal. But there are other organizations whose aim is as much the saving of the famine victims of Russia as the American Relief Administration—and who impose no conditions whatever upon their relief, save that those to whom food is sent be hungry. They must go to the people of the United States and appeal for funds if they are to save anyone. And this attack on all relief organizations not controlled by the American Relief Administration or not actively hostile to the Russian Government, ties their hands and makes their task, already a difficult one, almost an impossible one.

For let no man think for a moment that the American allotment of food for the starving of Russia will meet the need. It will not. Immediately above the article in the *Times* this morning attacking all other relief agencies not semi-official there is a London dispatch quoting the American Relief Administration itself as stating that "official request was made by the Soviet Government for further additions to the child feeding program in certain Volga districts due to the increasingly terrible conditions in the Volga valley." The

Times itself, on December 26, in an editorial placed the number of starving in Russia at 15,000,000 and on January 7, quoted President Kalinin of Russia as putting the figure at 27,000,000. By no possibility can the American Relief Administration give to 6,000,000 people even so little as 14 ounces of bread per day until the harvest is in.

Who is going to keep the other 9,000,000 Russian farmers from starving? There are 9,000,000 children to feed. If every bit of the American Relief Administration's stock goes to feed children only, there will be something like 3,000,000 children to keep alive until the middle of next August. Who will do it? And if this campaign against the relief agencies which are trying to complete the job of saving the millions of starving in Russia, has the effect of curtailing the gifts of the generous people of the United States to save those millions, who is responsible for their needless death?

In a letter to me of February 3, Mr. Hoover took exception to what he termed my fear that he would commit murder. I should, myself, have hesitated to put a name to what must be the effect of this propaganda from Washington in which Mr. Hoover himself is so largely quoted. But Mr. Hoover has put a name to it. Let it stand.

Understand me; I am throwing no stones at Mr. Hoover. He has got together \$47,500,000 for the starving of Russia, and a man who can do that I take off my hat to. For what I am interested in—and what we are all interested in, I take it—is those people over there who have fought the good fight—who have existed for four years in the face of an enemy world—and who now have their backs to the wall, driven into a corner by sheer hunger. I don't want to see them lose that fight; but most of all I do not want to see them lose that fight for the lack of food of which you and I have plenty. And what they have got to understand down in Washington is that the war is over, and all the dark and shady methods of the war—the propaganda and the terrorizing of people into silence—are done with. And that if millions of workers all over this country want to take up the job of feeding the starving of Russia when the supplies of the American Relief Administration are exhausted—as workers, to help the workers of the only government of workers by workers and for workers in the world—it is nobody's business to interfere. And those who try to interfere are the ones who are making politics out of relief, not those who are trying to feed the starving.

REMITTANCES

Remittances from abroad should be in United States funds only. Drafts on U. S. Banks and Money Orders on U. S. Post Offices should call for payment in dollars, as other forms of payment require much attention and book-keeping, besides causing actual loss of money to this Office. This refers only to payments for this periodical.

Famine Relief by the Workers

By EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

(*Delegate of the International Workers' Famine Relief Committee to the U. S. A. Comrade Whitehead left this country for England on February 17.*)

CENTRALIZATION and coordination are the fundamentals of successful organization, and with this in mind the Workers of Europe were unanimous in their desire of international co-ordination of all workers' efforts for the Famine Relief Action.

Complete coordination was unfortunately not achieved but it is true to say that the whole Labor Relief Movement in Europe for the starving Volga peasants comes within one of two great frames: that of the International Federation of Trade Unions (the "Amsterdammers") boasting twenty million membership—the right wing, and that of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee (Berlin)—the left wing.

The Work of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee

The Workers' International Famine Relief Committee early took its stand on the platform of material aid to the famine sufferers free from all political conditions or considerations. Workers' organizations, both political and industrial, right wing and left wing, were invited to cooperate with the Berlin Committee on this basis, and a very wide response was shown.

The province of Kazan was allotted to this committee, and by the beginning of December they were able to announce that no fewer than seventeen food ships had been sent to Russia under their auspices, that rations were being issued to 225,000 persons in Kazan, that fifteen main distribution centres had been established there under the direct supervision of trade unionists of the different European countries, that in addition three hundred car-loads of foodstuffs had been delivered to Marxstadt, Saratov, and other centres on the Volga, and that a total sum of 800,000 dollars had been raised by the united efforts of the various national sections.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee in Berlin the sections of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee have carried through a series of successive great drives for relief. The first of these was the initial Famine Week in August, when the whole of the resources of the component organizations, as regards press, speakers, and general propaganda were devoted to stimulating the relief work. In Britain alone over 1,000 famine meetings were held during this week, including 467 outdoor meetings in London alone. Over a quarter of a million handbills were distributed and special editions of the workers' press, devoted to information about the famine and relief action.

The next great drive was in the week of November 7, the anniversary of the Workers' Revolution in Russia. During this week huge meetings and

demonstrations were held for famine relief in every large town in Europe and the whole of the wages for this day, November 7, donated to relief work.

At Christmas and New Year great drives were also held for the benefit of our starving brothers in Russia, and in Germany especially, a powerful agitation was carried on at this time. "At Christmas profiteers buy pearl necklaces for their mistresses, but the class conscious worker makes a gift of food for his starving Russian comrades." "The first Christmas present of each worker belongs to the starving brothers in Russia". "For every worker the love festival (German for *Christmas*) is a festival of solidarity with his starving Russian brothers". Under such slogans a great action was carried through, which gripped the wide masses of the workers in a manner never before witnessed.

Austria

Foremost among the work of these national sections was that of the Austrian workers who despite their own terrible poverty and terrible semi-famine conditions contributed weekly one hour's pay per week for the famine funds. This steady and sustained method of help brings larger results than any spasmodic or irregular effort can achieve and thirty million of Austrian kronen were speedily collected in this manner.

Germany

The workers of Germany also showed great activity and amassed three million marks very rapidly. In addition, vast collections of articles to help the famine area, of iron goods, tools, nails, warm clothes, boots, children's clothes were made. Cities, towns, and villages, all took their share in this work which reached great proportions, some thousands of cases being dispatched from Stettin harbor in this way.

The working women formed mending circles to put all gifts of clothes in good repair, and similar working circles were formed by cobblers and carpenters to repair the boots and make the packing cases. Some children's groups collected soap and salt,—both urgently needed in the famine areas, and some even collected rags and bones from door to door to be sold to the marine store dealers for the benefit of the famine funds.

Workers in some factories voluntarily worked overtime to supply certain special gifts to Russia, in particular a splendid motor wagon and tractor to aid in the transport work and a motor plough being so donated.

Bulgaria

The workers of Bulgaria showed such enthusiasm and class solidarity in providing help for their fellow workers and peasants of the Volga that

for specified weeks they voluntarily gave up smoking and also ceased to shave, so as to donate the money from these sources to the famine fund, in addition to the usual tax on wages.

Large numbers of children from the famine areas have been received directly from those regions into the homes of the Bulgarian workers.

France

In France a great campaign for "A Day's Pay for the Famine Sufferers" was organized under the slogan "We have worked all our life for our capitalist masters. Let us work one day for the benefit of our brothers dying on the Volga." A fund of a million francs was speedily accumulated.

Holland

In Holland the workers' relief action combined with the bourgeois relief committees, and largely aided by groups of artists and intellectuals under the leadership of Roland Holst soon accumulated 80,000 gulden.

The share of the workers' committee from this united Dutch effort was administered by the International Berlin Committee.

Switzerland

The efforts of the workers of Switzerland rank probably second to those of no other country. The seven thousand members of the small Swiss Communist Party raised such a fund as averaged over twenty francs per member. In addition great collections of clothes and other goods were made and sent through to Stettin.

Britain

The Russian Famine Fund in Great Britain, affiliated with the Berlin Committee, has raised over four thousand pounds in cash. The money was sent to Berlin as it could be spent more advantageously by the Central Committee. Considerable quantities of jewelry, gold rings and gold and silver watches were donated by workers to this fund to be sold for the benefit of the famine sufferers.

Sweden

In Sweden the relief action was carried through by the workers with extraordinary energy. By the end of November the Swedish Workers' Committee had amassed 40,000 kronor in cash and 70,000 kronor in goods collections. In addition the purely Communist Committee had collected 110,000 kronor. Additional to these amounts came 26,000 kronor from the Swedish Metal Workers, although the industry was terribly hit by unemployment, and a further 85,000 kronor from the trade unions. Three food ships were dispatched to Petrograd by the Swedish section alone, in addition to further assignments of machinery, tools, etc.

Norway

The workers of Norway who were united behind the Berlin Committee also dispatched their own ship and sent 2,500 barrels of herrings, 100 barrels of medicinal oil, and 500 cases of condensed milk

as a first relief. More than 100,000 kronen were quickly raised.

Denmark

A consignment of more than a million tins of condensed milk was early sent by the Danish workers and used in the children's homes and kitchens of the Kazan area. In comparison with the size of the country the efforts made by the Danish workers reached a high level.

Other Countries

In Italy, in Spain, in Belgium, in the Argentine, the results achieved by the workers' famine relief organizations affiliated with the Berlin Committee reached good proportions. The work done by the "Friends of Soviet Russia" in America, now also affiliated with the Berlin Committee, is too well known to be described at length in these columns. Suffice it to say that this action of the American workers has amounted to more than half that achieved by all other national sections combined. This is indeed largely due to the high money rate of wages and it is especially for this reason that the ability of American workers and of Americans to help fight the famine is greater than that of all the other national sections combined. That cannot be too strongly stressed. *American workers have the power to save more lives among the perishing millions on the Volga than the workers of the rest of the world together.*

The work of grappling with a natural catastrophe of the vast magnitude of the Russian famine does not end with the actual sending of foodstuffs for the relief of the famine victims which must continue until next harvest, a further period of six months. The actual saving of the lives of the starving only meets one part of the famine problems. The larger work is the rebuilding of the shattered economic life of the devastated provinces. Seed-grain has to be supplied so that some sort of a harvest grows there for the remnants of the population this year. Ploughs and tractors in large quantities are essential, for all draught animals have been devoured long since. And then come the wider questions of the insistence on full resumption of economic relations with the Workers' Soviet Republic and the formal recognition of the Soviet Government by all countries of the world. The question of long term credits or loans will also come into this scheme of economic reconstruction. Competent observers have testified that these famine provinces, comprising the richest land of the former granary of Russia, will be able to fully repay, and more, all the help afforded them in helping to rebuild their economic life.

Until these problems have been successfully dealt with, the fraternal task of the workers of the world in aiding their unfortunate brothers of the Volga will not have been completed.

"The Amsterdammers Work"

The program of the Amsterdammers limited itself to raising a million dollars, which would establish

and maintain ten children's homes, each sheltering a thousand children. The Soviet authorities assigned the famine province of Chuvash to this committee and O'Grady, of the British Labor Party, was sent as High Commissioner. His report of the existing conditions disclosed a terrible state of affairs in this province, but up to December 4, the date of the Berlin International Famine Convention, no food supplies from these Amsterdamers had reached the famine area.

The fact that this Amsterdam organization is controlled by labor leaders who are in receipt of salaries which place them right out of the class of workers, and that economic equality would operate strongly against their class interests, perhaps explains why their action has been conducted with so little energy and initiative.

It is, however, to the lasting discredit of these yellow labor leaders that they should have steadily refused to cooperate with other working class elements in united working class famine relief, but preferred instead to allow political differences and prejudices to stand in the way of efficacious and united working class action for the benefit of those dying on the Volga.

The actual cash results of the first three months' work of the International Federation of Trade Unions amounted to some fifty thousand pounds, or something less than one and a half cents for each of the twenty million membership.

Such a result for a well established international

organization of workers is not very inspiring and there is little doubt but that much more would have been achieved by these "Gompersites of Europe" had they accepted the call to cooperate in famine relief work with other sections of the international proletariat.

Conclusion

In conclusion it cannot be too strongly stressed that the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee is interested in one problem and one problem only—to bring help and succor to the perishing millions on the Volga. It cannot be too strongly stressed that our administrative, supervisory, and distributive machinery, both outside and inside Russia, stands second to no other organization in the world. It cannot be too strongly stressed that the Workers' International Relief Committee, and its section, the "Friends of Soviet Russia", does not divert any part of its funds in propaganda or any other channel, that the overhead charges of the Central Committee amount to less than one-half of one per cent. and of most national sections to less than five per cent. It cannot be too strongly stressed that the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee has its own area inside the famine district, and works apart both from the Hoover Administration and all other relief administrations. And finally it cannot be too strongly stressed that urgency to stem the already frightful death roll calls for the united and sustained efforts of the workers of all countries.

Fedor Dostoievsky

(Born October 30, 1821, Died February 9, 1881)

By KURT EISNER

(Kurt Eisner, a brilliant German publicist, was a prominent member of the Socialist Party; during the war he took a stand similar to that of Liebknecht. He was the leader of the Revolution in Bavaria and his assassination by a monarchist on February 23, 1919, was the immediate prelude to the formation of the Bavarian Soviet Republic.)

ABOUT the middle of the eighties of the last century, at the moment when the young naturalistic school of Germany was breaking its way into literature, Fedor Dostoievsky's chief work, *Crime and Punishment*, was much read and was exerting a powerful influence. This Russian novel was written and published in the original when the representatives of the "youngest" Germany were born, in the year 1867. When they entered the universities, Raskolnikov began to live in them, for in a way they had grown up together with him. In the literary productions of this agitated period of German letters, Raskolnikov's influence may often be noted. The bourgeois *déclassés* met with sympathetic views in Dostoievsky's uncanny and fateful novel, which depicts the destiny of a brain. The soil that had been socially bequeathed to them was disappearing under their feet; their mythological traditional faith was gone; a social conscience

was stirring painfully; revolutionary ideas dominated them vaguely and amorphously; they cultivated *les grandes passions*, which are after all but petty aberrations; they longed for a mighty lawlessness to shatter all values; they beheld in raptures the rosy dawn of a millennial kingdom, to which they, however, rendered no service; they felt at bottom that they were only clanking their chains, that they were purposeless and superfluous, mere observers of the sober, active world. They delighted in intoxicating themselves with Raskolnikov's psychology. They had the lust of youth to descend into a chaos of a consciousness stirring with elementary emotions, disorderly in its moods of thought, to bore their way into the wilderness of the *ego* in ferment, to expose themselves in hidden weaknesses, lies, treacheries, to be their own detectives. Youth delights in listening inward, in following the contortions of a psychosis; every newly discovered

intimate detail seems to it as an important revelation. The maturing spirit gradually loses its interest in that which is merely psychological, and learns that these nine-days' wonders are no more than recurrences of the ever-recurring, the unalterable, inevitable fact, and that this psychological *ego* is nothing more or less than the primeval unchanged human beast that has hardly any new revelation of value to offer, and after the fruitless years of psychological brooding there follows an active period of clear, creative and fruitful thought and action, the true and only vehicle of mankind's evolutionary development.

Crime and Punishment is a dangerous book for the young. Raskolnikov's diabolic power is destructive, and may easily bend and break them that are weak. It is a creation of the night, of nervous phantasm; the corroding naturalism of insanity blazes in it.

II.

The tremendous Utopia which is the form Russia assumes in our eyes gives birth to the monsters of Russian art, one of which is Raskolnikov. Never have crime and the criminal been depicted with such compelling power, permitting room for never a moment's doubt, and yet, his is not a crime that would have any interest for criminal statistics, it is a Utopian crime, a crime generated in a crucible; Dostoevsky is the naturalist of the improbable, at least of the extraordinary; he evolves the consequences of a mood, he makes dead earnest of a play of thought. A stormy yearning for new, subversive theories, a yearning that is characteristic of the Russian intelligentsia and that commonly exhausts itself in the ecstasy of disputation, dashes into fact—a course that is shorter, to be sure, in Russia, than anywhere else.

Raskolnikov, the intelligent student, commits a murder out of a theory. He kills an old, repulsive, worthless money-lending woman, a vermin, in order to clear a way for himself with the conquered booty to liberty, to the great good of mankind—a Cain-Christ. He is dominated by the theory of the Superman. In Raskolnikov's book, the concept later used by Nietzsche was still attached to the name of Napoleon. "I once put to myself the question," Raskolnikov tells Sonia, the *Puella dolorosa*, "as to what would happen if Napoleon, for example, had been living in my stead, and had not had the career that we know was his, if there had been in his life no Toulon, no Egypt, no passage over Mont Blanc, but only an old, unprepossessing woman, the widow of a government clerk, whom he would be forced to kill in order to take money out of her chest—for his career, you see?—Now the point is, would he have decided to do it if there had been no other escape for it? Would he not have resisted, the whole thing being too little illustrious and—sinful too, after all? Now, I tell you, I have been torturing myself with this question for some time, so much so, that it seemed unspeakably humiliating to me when I

finally—and quite unexpectedly—guessed that he not only would not have resisted, but that it would not even have entered his head that the deed was in any way unworthy of perpetration—he would not even have understood what there was to be resisted! If he had had no other road before him, he would have throttled her himself, before allowing her to utter another sound; he would not have given the thing a thought. Now, I too—have given up these reflections, I have killed her, following the great man's example, and my act was entirely on that scale; I have only slain vermin, Sonia, a useless, ugly, malevolent thing."

And then later, just before he delivers himself up to the law and collapses under the burden of guilt, he exclaims: "What! I slew an ugly, evil creature, an old usurer of no further use to anyone, whose elimination was equivalent to a remission of sin, who was sucking the blood from the poor, and you call that a crime? I assure you it is nothing to me; I shall not expiate. . . . Blood is shed in the world like a cataract that rushes in its course, like champagne, and for shedding it laurels are distributed at the capitol and the shedders are called benefactors of mankind. Just look at me and see who I am! All I wanted was the good of mankind; I should have achieved it a thousandfold instead of merely committing a folly, not so much a piece of folly as an indiscretion,—the whole idea was not so bad, after all, as it is now made to appear by its failure!"

Failure! Raskolnikov is not Napoleon; he has the weak conscience that is characteristic of the heroes of Russian literature, and he does not murder in cold blood as a mere application of his theory, but in a state of irresponsibility and madness, when physically exhausted by privations and hunger, physically tortured by sore distress pressing in upon him on all sides—the victim without will of a diseased *Zwangsvorstellung*. His crime is fruitless. The few watches and rings that he hastily snatches together—he does not take the old woman's fortune—he buries. He is now driven by only one remaining thought, namely, to obliterate the traces of his deed, to fight against his unmasking. He is determined to live, if only on the narrow ledge of rock over the abyss. But Raskolnikov is no Napoleon. Although he attempts to flee, he drives himself into the net.

III.

Literature has no other book to show in which the criminal's fear of discovery is presented with such delicate cruelty and demonic power. And there are many pages in this novel, of which each sentence concentrates an entire tragedy. The ancient shudder in the presence of the Erinnyes here appears intensified and sharpened by a psychological criminology. In Dostoevsky, the merciless inquisitor who traces all the processes of the feverish consciousness as in a test tube, and who—directs these processes, has become an artist. The sick brain sets down its own record moment by

moment. Murder arises against the murderer and transforms him into a victim of torture and unending vivisection. Every word Raskolnikov speaks betrays him; his every gesture is the Nemesis of its predecessor. The higher the intelligence of the guilty man, by which he escapes the meshes laid for him everywhere, the more hopelessly he drifts into self-betrayal. He is both cat and mouse in one. Insanity relentlessly besets him; hell sends her racking dreams. Raskolnikov has not the robust hardness of the Superman: he is a soft, kind, self-sacrificing human, possessed by a fixed idea.

The psychological monodrama in which Raskolnikov appears rests on the broad basis of a social study of Russian misery. It is not so much the world of the poor as the world of the impoverished. The worse fate of the down-and-outs, the *déclassés*, is the background. The malicious wayward humor which is characteristic of Russian literature produces the nuances in this gray world of wretchedness, rascals and alcohol. And from the realm of the possessor come base voluptuaries defiling even the outcasts.

All the characters of the novel are analyzed in a satiric-ironic spirit. This gives them, in the eyes of the non-Russian reader, an exotic and freakish countenance. At bottom it is a society of fools and recluses—all these wrecks and these honorables of higher officialdom and of the well-to-do. Shrill shifts of mood, a Slavic racial trait, often confuse the characters, making them composite rather than individual.

Into this whirlpool of misery and derision, there drifts the white blossom Sonia, the *immaculata* of street prostitution, who has sold her childlike body to get bread for her family. Nothing has had the power to soil her, for all her essence is in her gentle eyes, which have not gone into the bargain. Raskolnikov takes refuge with her, to confess his guilt to her; his wounded soul is restored in her presence, in the rebirth of resurrection.

IV.

Russia's horizon is Siberia. Siberia's horizon is the New Testament. Punishment brings external cleansing; the gospels lavish inner redemption. Raskolnikov is like Tolstoy's novel, *Resurrection*. During the generation that lies between these two works, the moods of the greater Russian art have passed through practically no change. Raskolnikov seems like an older edition of Tolstoy's *Resurrection*. In action and characters, psychology and tendency, the two works are alike in essence. But Tolstoi is milder, and the ghastly odor of blood in Raskolnikov's visions is strange to him. The protest against that which is, the negation of society and the despair of a practical solution—these are also found in the later work, equally sharp and hard. Tolstoy made no advance over Dostoevsky. Instead of working for a human solution, both take refuge in the thought of redemption. In Raskolnikov also, the Communism of the times appears shadowy and distorted, an interesting prob-

lem with no possibility of realization. The Communist Dostoevsky knows nothing of the workers' movement, of economic evolution, of political tasks; he is interested only in free love and concerns himself with the momentous problem of whether every one will be permitted to enter any house under the Communist state of the future. At the end of the century, as well as the generation before, the two great writers of Russia do not walk in the vanguard of life, but escape life. From the prison of Russian conditions there is no escape except estrangement from the world. The guilt-laden dreamer and the poor prostitute take refuge in the mystic asylum of the transcendental love-nest of the Nazarene. After the intelligentsia has shattered all authority, doubted all truth, undermined all laws, it creeps away into the anti-cultural simplicity of the primitive Christian spirit whose ecstatic revelations now appear to the whilom foes of heaven as the last word of wisdom. Thus Russia's best men withdraw to a romantic worldless retirement, they escape the repulsive institutions by going inward, into their own *ego*, into a pious cloud of simplicity.

Dostoevsky too is one of the mighty poets whom Plato, at the door of his academy to train sane men, will rudely turn away.

The Salt Song

By NIKOLAI NEKRASSOV

(From *Who Can Live Happily in Russia?*)

God's will be done!
No food he'll try,
The youngest son—
Look, he will die.

A crust I got,
Another bit—
He touched it not:
"Put salt on it!"

Of salt no shred,
No pinch I see!
"Take flour instead,"
God whispered me.

Two bites, or one—
His mouth he pouts,
The little son.
"More salt!" he shouts.

The bit appears,
Again all floured,
And wet with tears
It was devoured.

The mother said
She'd saved her dear. . . .
Salt was the bread—
How salt the tears!

How the Soviet Government Works

IV. THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

(This article is one of a series on institutions of the Soviet Government which we are reprinting from "Russian Information and Review", published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London. The series began in January's SOVIET RUSSIA.)

THE supreme authority of the Soviet Republic in all matters is the *All-Russian Congress of Soviets*. As the Soviet in each town or village—the Workers' and Soldiers' Council or the Peasants' Council — concentrates in its hands all authority in the area for which it is elected, being composed of delegates from the workers elected at their place of employment, so the All-Russian Congress, composed of delegates from all the local soviets to whom the latter have for the time being handed over their plenipotentiary powers, has full powers conferred upon it in this indirect way by the Russian working class, which alone enjoys the full rights of citizenship in the Soviet Republic.

During the four years of civil war and painful internal disorganization in which the first eight All-Russian Congresses assembled, there was little leisure or thought for reducing this principle of election of the congress to the most finished system. Quite apart, however, from the psychology of the revolutionary moment, which was not at all concerned with a completely accurate electoral system, a whole series of "checks and balances" existed to reassure the doubtful.

The Constitution of July, 1918, laid down (Part III, Chapter 6, Article 25) "The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of town soviets on the basis of one deputy for every 25,000 electors and representatives of provincial congresses of soviets on the basis of one deputy for every 125,000 inhabitants." This provision has at various times given rise to a great deal of misunderstanding; but the explanation is perfectly simple, and was very clearly presented at the Fifth Congress, when the draft Constitution was being discussed, by George Steklov, reporting on behalf of the Drafting Commission. As he pointed out at the time, the town soviets, which are themselves elected by compact groups of electors, with whom no other class of the population is intermingled (i. e., the workshops, factories, trade unions, etc.) naturally choose their representatives on the basis of number of electors and not number of population. In the case of the rural soviets and provincial congresses, on the other hand, where the chief occupation is that of agriculture, it is much more difficult to distinguish a hard and fast category of electors and still more so to assemble them in one place; and the first congresses of peasants' soviets, which met as a separate organization in 1917, while the Provisional Government was still in power, quite naturally based their representation on the principle of one deputy for every 125,000 inhabitants. This relation took for granted that roughly one in every five of the in-

habitants of the countryside was an elector (i. e., the head of household or an adult engaged all his time in production).

When the two All-Russian organizations of soviets — worker and peasant — amalgamated to form a single congress in November, 1917, they quite naturally maintained the dual system of election which practice had shown to be best adapted to the varied needs of Russia.

Again it had been made a subject of criticism that elections to the All-Russian Congress are indirect, i. e., that at best in the towns the constituents are two degrees distant from the body they have elected; while in the country, as the rural delegates to the provincial congresses are themselves elected by rural district congresses, the distance between the congress and the elector is doubled. Apart again from the fact that this is a feature of ordinary working-class organizations which any member of a trade union will recognize and understand, what the critics always overlooked was that the system of recall, constantly practised in the lowest units of the Soviet system, keeps them constantly in touch with the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the electors. Consequently, the special congresses which were always summoned during the last four years to elect delegations to the All-Russian Congress turned out to be almost automatic in their expression of the desires of the local public.

In addition, statistics of the Ninth Congress show that 885 of the delegates came from European Russia, 494 from the federated or allied Soviet Republics, 107 from Siberia, 54 from autonomous areas, and seventy-six from the Red Army.

To a certain extent the historical circumstances under which each of the congresses met determined its composition and work. The first, which met when the soviets were still a class organization pure and simple, with no legal standing or authority, busied itself with such questions as the financial resources of the Central Executive Committee, the attitude to be adopted toward the Provisional Government of Kerensky, the anti-war agitation of the Bolshevik Party (which then as we have seen above was still in a minority in the Soviets), the land reforms to be urged on the Provisional Government, etc. The Second Congress, which met on the day following the seizure of power in Petrograd by the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, in which the majority had for two months been Bolshevik, showed that the calculations of the Bolshevik Central Committee were not unfounded by giving a slight majority to that party. The work of this congress, therefore,

consisted in laying the foundations of the Soviet State; the appointment of the Council of People's Commissaries, the decree on the land, the decree on peace, the decree ordering the formation of revolutionary committees in the army, etc.

So far nine All-Russian congresses have taken place, one of them before the establishment of the Soviet Government. The following are the more important statistics of their composition:

No.	Date	Communists and Sympathizers	Other Parties
I	June, 1917	100	681 (297 Socialist Revolutionaries, 253 Mensheviks, 85 various Social Democrats, etc.)
II	November, 1917	390	259 (160 Socialist Revolutionaries, 72 Mensheviks)
III	January, 1918	434	276 (mostly Socialist Revolutionaries)
IV	March, 1918	732	352 (238 Left Socialist Revolutionaries, 40 Social Democrats)
V	July, 1918	868	557 (507 Left Socialist Revolutionaries & Maximalists, 28 Independents)
VI	November, 1918	900	14 (10 Socialist Revolutionaries, 3 Independents)
VII	November, 1919	970	32 (26 Independents)
VIII	December, 1920	1,614	114 (Independents)
IX	December, 1921	1,522	109 (Independents)

From 1918 a curious coincidence decreed that the end of the year (and the anniversary of the November Revolution) should repeatedly fall in with a temporary relaxation of the pressure on the Soviet Republic. In Nov., 1918, the Czecho-Slovak rising had been crushed and the first White detachments from Siberia were driven back to the Urals, while Kolchak had only just seized power at Omsk and did not as yet constitute a real menace. In November, 1919, Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich had been crushed in the east, south, and north-west, and General Wrangel was engaged in rallying the last remnants of the White "Volunteer" army for a desperate stand in the Crimea. In December, 1920, the menace of Wrangel and the unexpected Polish attack of the spring had both successfully been liquidated; and the All-Russian Congress introduced into its labors that dominant economic note which in normal circumstances should be the characteristic of such an Assembly in a Socialist

Republic, and which became still more accentuated at the Ninth Congress a year later. In December, 1921, there was practically no fighting to look back upon; but the stress and strain involved in the transition to the new economic policy had been almost as effective in preventing the earlier summons of a Congress. Once again December brought with it all the suitable circumstances for a review of the general national situation; the new economic policy could now produce its first quarterly reports, albeit incomplete and sketchy. On this occasion the Congress prudently enacted that for the immediate future at any rate All-Russian congresses were to meet yearly instead of every six months.

The Ninth Congress which met in the last week of December, 1921, finally established as a rule of law what practical experience had already made an almost universal custom—that elections of town soviets and rural district, county, and provincial congresses should take place in future once a year, and during the month immediately preceding the assembling of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. In this way a definite step is taken to insure, in law as well as in fact, that the All-Russian Congress shall reflect as nearly as possible—more nearly than has been possible during the first years of the Soviet Republic—the interests and points of view of the locality.

With the completion of a year's more or less peaceful reconstructive work, and the prospect of some opportunity for the future of continuing that work undisturbed by external foes, there is every likelihood that the All-Russian Congress of Soviets will continue to function as the effective supreme controller of the destinies of the Russian working community of Soviet Republics.

Now A Semi-Monthly

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SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Published Semi-Monthly

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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MR. George Barr Baker "says American Reds embarrass Soviets", according to *The New York Times* of February 18. Mr. Baker tells how little concerned the Russian Soviet Government is with the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Government in August, 1919, and waves aside Mr. Liggett's reference to the story contributed by Captain T. T. C. Gregory to the June (1921) issue of the magazine *The World's Work*, in which Captain Gregory gave the impression that there had been "a connection between the distribution of American relief in Hungary and the overthrow of Bela Kun". Now, we have no desire to make the Captain Gregory story immortal, and wish that Mr. Hoover had buried it long ago by issuing an official disavowal of Mr. Gregory's tale, either in the form of a statement that Mr. Gregory's story was untrue, or one to the effect that Mr. Hoover had had no connection with the incidents related by Captain Gregory. And we shall go further: we have no evidence in reports reaching us from Russia that any effort has been made by officials of the American Relief Administration to inaugurate an overthrow of the Russian Soviet Government, although we deplore the frequent resort to priests and other reactionary elements in the villages as agents for the distribution of the supplies. As for the accusation that "Reds" are embarrassing the Soviet Government, if "Reds" means us, we are very sorry. We have had no desire to embarrass the Soviet Government, and whatever direct messages we have had from Russian officials were not of a nature to lead us to suppose we had embarrassed them.

BUT we are genuinely surprised that an organization that has had so much communication and made so many arrangements with the Soviet

Government, as has the American Relief Administration, and which furthermore now expresses, through Mr. George Barr Baker, so much concern that collecting agencies on this side of the water may be embarrassing that Government, should insinuate, in its newspaper propaganda of the last few days, that it is very wicked for relief organizations to appeal largely or chiefly to Communists and Communist sympathizers, and that the Friends of Soviet Russia, because a large number of their contributors are alleged to be Communists, are so tainted with the Communist virus that it would be wrong for them to collect funds to feed a starving population if thereby the Government which that population has been defending for five years would be continued in power. Writing for the Friends of Soviet Russia, we cannot say that we consider our relations with the Soviet Government to be too close, nor that the assistance that our relief supplies give to the Soviet Government is so excessive or inspiring as to cause alarm to statesmen in America. As a matter of fact, we are not nearly in such close communication with the Soviet Government as is the American Relief Administration. With one hundred American employees, the American Relief Administration is distributing enormous quantities of foodstuffs in Russia. It would be difficult to believe that these are the only workers employed in this gigantic enterprise by the American Relief Administration. As a matter of fact, thousands of Soviet workers support the activities of the American Relief Administration at every step, and Soviet commissars are attached to every distributing centre and travel with every consignment of American Relief Administration food on the Russian railroads. How different is the case with the Friends of Soviet Russia, who simply hand over food to the Worker's Aid Foreign Committee (*Auslandskomitee der Arbeiterhilfe*), without the complicated liaison work which is necessary between the American Relief Administration and the authorities of the Soviet Government. Furthermore, the American Relief Administration, in its eagerness to act only in accord with the desires of the Soviet Government in the distribution of food, had one of its representatives (Brown) sign an agreement at Riga with a representative of the Soviet Government (Litvinov), which was reprinted in many places, and which puts the American Relief Administration definitely on record as not opposed to negotiations with the Soviet Government, except when they are conducted by other relief organizations than the American Relief Administration.

THE Friends of Soviet Russia collect money with which to purchase food to be distributed by an international workers' organization in Russia. They have spent this money only for the purpose mentioned and for the publicity necessary to raise more money. They have never received money from the Soviet Government for the making of such purchases of foods. The American Relief Administration has received such money, in fact, we un-

derstand the American Relief Administration is spending \$10,000,000 of the Soviet Government's money in the purchase of seed-grain at the instructions and in accordance with specifications furnished by that Government. We do not object to this co-operation between the American Relief Administration and the Soviet Government; in fact, we have every reason to desire that this co-operation may prosper and redound to the great advantage of the Soviet Government, but we merely mention it as a type of relation with the Soviet Government to which Mr. Hoover raises no objection. We might add that on the very day Mr. Hoover's campaign in the press against "rival" relief organizations was inaugurated (February 9), his representatives in Minneapolis made an exceptionally large purchase of seed-grain out of the \$10,000,000 they are spending by instruction of the Soviet Government. Of course the reader will understand that it is with regret that we attach to Mr. Hoover's name the odium of a relation with that Government, but as his relation with it is so real and tangible and our own so spiritual and tenuous, it seemed not unreasonable to draw the comparison between the American Relief Administration's relations with the Soviet Government and the relations of the Friends of Soviet Russia with that same Government.

N. P. Dawson, reviewing Stephen Graham's *Europe—Whither Bound?*, in the *New York Globe* of February 4, agrees with the sympathy expressed by Graham for the many Russian refugees in foreign countries, and finds the lot of these refugees particularly sad when she recalls that Lenin makes humorous speeches, and that "Trotsky looks fine in his military uniform". But Trotsky seems to take his new honors, including his new uniform, quite democratically, for we read in the *New York Times* of January 28 that after visiting the improvised studio of an American cinema operator, who filmed him "working at his (presumably the operator's) desk", the great man "pulled on his heavy military overcoat, gave a firm handshake to everyone, including the electrician and a housemaid who had come to open the door, and was off in his auto a second later. The whole business had taken exactly six minutes."

But it may be difficult to satisfy N. P. Dawson. Perhaps the difficulty is that Trotsky's uniform is worn by a revolutionary general who helped dethrone capitalism in Russia, while the unhappy Russian refugees who are selling their last possessions on the streets of Constantinople and Athens are dispossessed counter-revolutionists. We do not like to be hard on Miss Dawson, but may be the idea of exiled Russian revolutionists leading a life of starvation abroad before the Revolution was not so offensive to her, and maybe the handsome uniforms of Tsarist generals, or their American parallels, did not offend her eye so much as the relatively simple dress of Trotsky. It makes a lot of difference whose dog is hit.

COL. Andrew Kalpaschnikoff, Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Washington under the old regime and Prince Lvov who was head of the Provisional Government immediately after the downfall of the Tsar in 1917, seem both to be greatly interested in Russian relief according to news items appearing in the *N. Y. Times* of February 18, but only to the extent that N. P. Dawson expresses in her review of Stephen Graham's book, i. e., they are interested only in Russians outside of Russia. To reactionaries of Kalpaschnikoff's type even the work of Secretary Hoover's American Relief Administration is not completely acceptable, for this assistance does after all go Russians inside of Russia. After praising the work of the American Relief Administration, in a speech delivered on February 17 at the Hotel Plaza, New York, Colonel Kalpaschnikoff outlined the following simple method of helping Russia out of her difficulties. The famine seems not to play a prominent part in Colonel Kalpaschnikoff's reflections on Russia.

"But the only certain way of establishing the idealism for which this great country stands is by educating the youth of Russia. If America really wants to help Russia she will bring students here and teach them new ways that they know not now. It would only cost \$2,500 a student, and several thousands or even millions spent in that way would do much more than the millions spent for other aid. Five thousand could be brought here for the cost of one cruiser. If this is not done, it may cost this Government many more cruisers—if the German spirit is to prevail."

Lest our readers fail to understand what the Colonel is driving at, we hasten to add, from the same issue of the *Times*, that it is the Colonel's conviction that the Russians are being "pulled by two opposing forces—the German imperialist and the American idealist". In general, Colonel Kalpaschnikoff has great fears of the consequences of this "German influence" on Russia. We had thought that German propaganda stories were about played out, but may have to reconcile ourselves later with a condition of affairs in which the Friends of Soviet Russia will be represented by hostile circles as an instrument devised before the collapse of the German Empire in 1918 for the reestablishment of that empire at a later date through activities to be conducted in Russia after the food contributed to Russia by the Friends of Soviet Russia shall have handed over the entire country to the control of the Workers' Aid Movement, Foreign Committee. And the history of relief organizations has a number of examples of the use of such bodies for political ends, which will give the story some plausibility.

THE Friends of Soviet Russia are now sending donations of clothing with the assistance of an expert organization in this field. Such donations of clothing should be addressed to "Friends of Soviet Russia, c/o Export Service of America, 80 Front Street, Brooklyn, N. Y." and should bear in addition the words: "Jay Street Terminal". To save forwarding expenses, do not ship in wooden cases, but sew up in burlap.

The Changed World Situation

By LEON TROTSKY

(The second instalment of Trotsky's brilliant study on the altered equilibrium of capitalism is printed below. It paints the picture of France and Germany, under the new conditions. The next instalment, which will appear in SOVIET RUSSIA for March 15, will describe the situation in England and America.)

Europe's Economic Decline in Figures

LET us attempt to measure the fact of the transfer of the economic center of gravity, and the proportions of Europe's economic decline, in actual figures, though they be only approximate. Before the war the national wealth, i. e., the total possessions of all citizens of the countries participating in the war, was about 600 billion gold dollars. The annual income of all these countries, i. e., the sum of the products turned out by them each year, amounted to 85 billion dollars. How much has the war consumed and destroyed? No more and no less than 300 billion gold dollars, i. e., exactly one-half of what all the belligerent countries had accumulated in all their history. Of course the war expenses were defrayed first of all by current income. But if we assume that the national income of each country decreased only one-third as a consequence of the great cessation of labor, and consequently amounted to only 56 billion dollars; and if we further assume that the non-war expenditures amounted to 55 per cent. of this, we arrive at the conclusion that the new national income would not serve to cover more than 25 billion gold dollars of the war expenditures. In the four years of war this will amount to 100 billion gold dollars. Consequently the lacking 100 billion dollars must have been defrayed at the expense of the fundamental capital of the belligerent countries, and particularly, by the failure to restore their production apparatus. It follows that the total wealth of the belligerent countries at the end of the war was no longer 600 billion gold dollars, but only 400 billion, i. e., one-third less.

But not all the countries participating in the war were impoverished to the same extent. On the contrary, there were among the belligerents—as we shall see later—even such countries as became wealthy through the war, such as the United States and Japan. In figures this means that the European countries participating in the war lost more than one-third of their national wealth and some of them, like Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, the Balkan States, much more than half.

Increase of Worthless Paper

Capitalism as a form of economic organization is of course full of contradictions. During the years of war these contradictions attained immense proportions. In order to obtain resources for waging war, the state had recourse particularly to two measures: first to the issue of paper money, and second to the raising of loans. In this manner so-called "securities" circulated in increasing num-

bers, with the aid of which the state was actually absorbing the real material goods of the nation and destroying them in warfare. The more the state expended, i. e., the more real values it destroyed, the more fictitious values were circulated in the country. Mountains of government securities were accumulated. It seemed the country was getting extraordinarily rich, whereas in reality the economic foundation was being eaten away and was gradually collapsing. The national debts attained a figure of about 250 billion gold dollars, amounting to 62 per cent of the present national wealth of the belligerent countries. Before the war there was in paper money and treasury certificates 7 billion gold dollars; now there are from 55 to 70 billion, i. e., ten times as much, altogether disregarding Russia, of course, for we are now speaking of the capitalist world. All this is true particularly, or even exclusively, of the European countries, primarily of the continent of Europe, and more specifically, of Central Europe. On the whole, as Europe became more and more impoverished, and continues to become so, it was covered with an increasingly thick layer of paper values, fictitious capital, and continues to be so covered. This fictitious capital—treasury certificates, credit notes, loan issues, bank notes, etc.—is either a reminiscence of capital destroyed, or a hope of capital to be born. But at present there is certainly no actual capital represented. When a state raised a loan for production purposes, for instance, for the Suez Canal, the corresponding national securities were guaranteed by a real possession, by the Suez Canal, for instance, which bore steamers, took in money, yielded profits, in fact, was a portion of the economic life. But when the state raised war loans, the values mobilized with the aid of these loans were destroyed, and these in turn destroyed new values. But the loan certificates remained in the pockets and brief-cases of the citizens, while the state became indebted for billions and billions of dollars. These billions exist in the form of a paper wealth in the pockets of those who subscribed to the loans. But where are the actual billions? They do not exist. They are burnt to nothing, they are annihilated. On what does the holder of these papers place his hopes? If he is a Frenchman, he hopes that France may carve these billions out of the flesh of the Germans and repay his investment.

The Housing Question

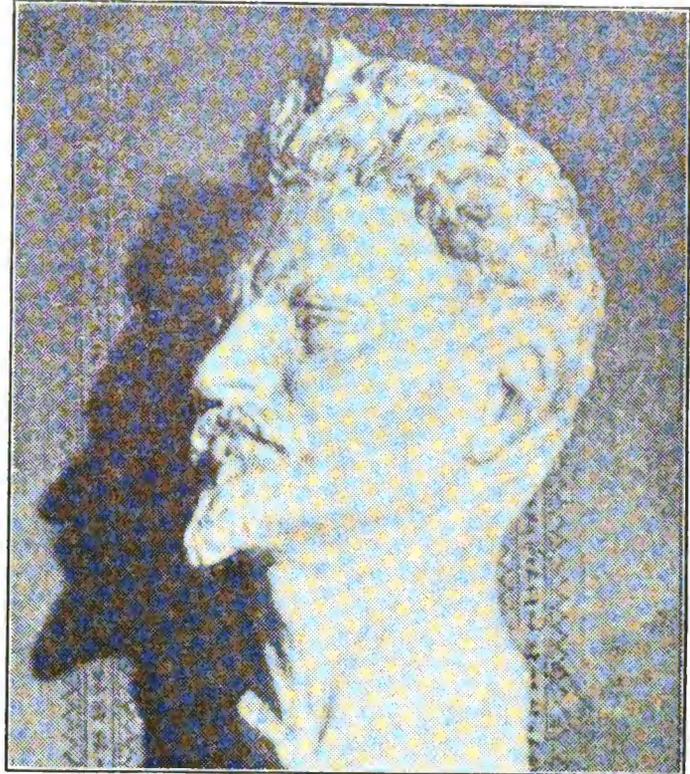
The destruction of the foundations of the capitalist countries, the destruction of their production

apparatus, in many cases went much further than can be satisfactorily ascertained. This is particularly true in the housing question. The entire resources of capital, in view of the tremendous profits during the war and after the war, were devoted to the production of new articles of personal or military use. The restoration of the fundamental production apparatus, however, was more and more neglected. This is particularly true of the building of houses in cities. The old houses were kept in poor repair and new houses were built in small numbers only. This is the cause of the immense housing famine all over the capitalist world. While at present, as a result of the crisis in which the most important capitalist countries are utilizing at the most one-half or one third of their production possibilities, the destruction of the production apparatus is not so evident as in the housing question, owing to the increase in the population—the disorganization of the economic life is making itself increasingly felt. In America, in England, in France, in Germany, thousands, if not millions, of new dwellings are needed. But the work required meets with insuperable difficulty because of the general impoverishment. Therefore capitalist Europe must draw in its belt, must clip its wings, and lower its standard, and will have to continue doing so for years to come.

Germany's Poverty

Within the limits of the general impoverishment of Europe, the various countries, as I have already said, have become impoverished to varying degrees. Let us take Germany as the country that among the powerful capitalist nations has suffered most from the war. I shall indicate the principal figures illustrative of the economic position of Germany before the war and now. The figures are only approximate; statistical data as to the national wealth and to the national income are a very ticklish proposition under the anarchic conditions of capitalism. A real study of income and wealth will not be possible until socialism has been introduced, when the numerical facts are expressed in units of human labor, in a really well organized and well functioning socialist system, from which we are still far removed. But even these inexact figures will be of value to us, for they will give us a fairly approximate conception of the alterations that have been going on in the economic situation of Germany and the other countries in the last six or seven years.

The national wealth of Germany on the eve of the war was estimated at 225 billion gold marks, and the maximum national income at 40 billion



LEON TROTSKY by Clare Sheridan

Mrs. Sheridan, the British sculptress, has given the F. S. R. permission to reproduce her famous bust of Trotsky. In our next issue we shall announce the terms under which our readers may obtain replicas of the bust.

gold marks.* Germany's wealth, as is well known, was rapidly increasing before the war. In 1896 its annual income was 22,000,000,000 marks. In the course of eighteen years (1896-1913), this income increased by 18,000,000,000, i. e., it grew at the rate of about 1,000,000,000 a year. In fact, these eighteen years were the period of powerful capitalistic expansion all over the world, particularly in Germany. At present Germany's national wealth is estimated at 100 billion gold marks, and the national income at 16 billion marks, i. e., at 40 per cent of the pre-war income (1913). Of course, Germany has lost a portion of its territory, but its main losses are due to the war expenditures and the plundering of Germany after the war. The German economist, Richard Calwer, estimates that in industry as well as in the national economy Germany is now producing much less than one-half the values produced before the war. Calwer's calculations therefore fully coincide with the figures I have indicated. Simultaneously, the indebtedness of Germany rose to 250,000,000,000 marks, i. e., it is two and a half times as great as the present national wealth of the country. In addition, an indemnity of 132,000,000,000 marks has been imposed upon Germany. If the English and French should decide to collect this sum immediately and

*Roughly speaking, four gold marks are the equivalent of one gold dollar.

in full, they would have to pocket all of Germany from Stinnes' coal mines to President Ebert's cuff buttons. There is paper money in Germany amounting to 80,000,000,000 marks. Of this sum, 5,000,000,000 at most are guaranteed by gold. The real value of the German mark therefore amounts to less than seven pfennigs.

To be sure, Germany was quite successful in the post-war period in the world market, owing to the fact that it was dumping goods at low prices. Even if these dumping prices yielded great profits to the German merchants and exporters, they mean ruin for the German population in the long run, for the low prices in the world market were brought about by low pay and undernourishment of the workers, by national subsidies in bread prices, by regulation of rents—and this resulted in a complete cessation of building activities, an extraordinary limitation of repairs, etc., etc. In this way, every German product thrown into the world market withdraws from the country a certain portion of the national wealth, for which Germany will obtain no equivalent.

In order to repair the German economy, the money standard would have to be stabilized, i. e., the issue of new paper values should cease and the number already issued be reduced. And the payment of debts would have to be renounced, i. e., state bankruptcy declared. But this measure in itself would involve an immense disturbance of equilibrium, for it means a transfer of ownership from the hands of one class into those of the other, and would therefore produce a bitter class struggle for the new distribution of the national wealth. For the present, Germany continues to grow poorer and poorer.

France's Situation

Let us take a victorious country: France. Let us compare the present situation of France with its situation in the years 1918-1919. We shall at once give the figures with which French bourgeois economists boast in their attempts to prove that capitalist economy has been restored. Let us take agriculture. Before the war, France raised annually 86,000,000 tons of wheat, 52,000,000 tons of oats, 132,000,000 tons of potatoes. In 1919, she raised 50,000,000 tons of wheat, and in the last harvest (1920) 63,000,000. In 1919, there were 77,000,000 tons of potatoes, in 1920, 103,000,000. Let us consider cattle. In 1913, there were 16,000,000 sheep; now there are 9,000,000; in 1913, there were 7,000,000 pigs; now 5,000,000—a tremendous diminution. Let us take coal, this most important product, the most important factor in industry. In 1913, France mined 41,000,000 tons of coal; in 1919, she mined 22,000,000; in 1920, 25,000,000; even if you include Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar basin, the coal mined in 1920 totals only 35,600,000 tons. This is an increase, to be sure, but this increase by no means attains the pre-war level. But how were even these modest advances obtained? In agriculture they were obtained chief-

ly by the persistent and painful efforts of the French peasants. But in the purely capitalist field the advances were attained chiefly by the plundering of Germany, from whom cows, crops, machines, locomotives, gold, and particularly coal, were taken away.

From the standpoint of general economy no advance is to be recorded, for no new values are being created; it is chiefly a regrouping of old values that is taking place. And we must add that Germany lost one and one-half times or twice as much as it gave to France.

France's Trade Balance

We therefore note that France, after having taken from Germany the most important metal and coal districts, has as yet by no means reached its own pre-war level. Let us consider France's own foreign trade. The balance of trade is the international standard of equilibrium of the various countries. A capitalist country considers itself firmly established when it exports more than it imports. The difference is paid to it in gold, and this gold balance is called an *active* balance. If a country is obliged to import more than it can export, the balance is called *passive*, and this country will be obliged to add, to the goods it exports, a portion of its gold reserve. Its gold reserve therefore shrinks, and the foundation of its money and credit system is gradually destroyed. Let us consider France in the last two years, 1919-1920—i. e., in the two years of "reparation" activity of the French bourgeoisie; we observe that in 1919 the passive balance of trade was 24,000,000,000 francs, and in 1920, 13,000,000,000 francs. Such figures surely never occurred to the French bourgeoisie before the war even in their most terrible nightmares. The unfavorable trade balance of these two years has been 37,000,000,000 francs. True, in the first third of 1921, France attained a trade balance with no passive surplus, i. e., imports reached the level of exports. On this occasion, a number of bourgeois economists began to toot their horns: France was restoring her trade balance. The powerful organ of the bourgeoisie, the *Temps*, wrote on May 18: "They are mistaken. The only reason we have not been obliged to pay any gold during these three months is in the fact that we have imported few raw materials. But this means that in the second half of the year we shall export fewer manufactured products, for we make them in general out of foreign raw materials, particularly American. Even if we have succeeded in bolstering up our balance of trade in these four months, the unfavorable balance will unquestionably grow again later."

Before the war France had less than 6,000,000,000 francs in bank notes; now she has more than 38,000,000,000. The paper I have quoted above says, with regard to the purchasing power of the franc, that in America, toward the end of March, 1921, when the crisis had already begun all over the world, prices were 23 per cent above the pre-

war level, i. e., less than one-fourth, while prices in France were 260 per cent above the pre-war level; this means a considerable decrease in the purchasing power of the franc.

The French Budget Difficulties

Let us now consider the budget. It may be divided into two parts: a normal and an extraordinary budget. The normal budget amounts to 23,000,000,000 francs—a figure unheard of before the war! What becomes of these enormous sums? Fifteen billion go to pay the interest on the debt; five billion to maintain the army; total 20 billion. That is all the French Government can squeeze out of the tax payer. As a matter of fact, the country actually got only 17,500,000,000 francs out of them. The "normal" national income was therefore not sufficient to cover the interest on the debt and the maintenance of the army. But in addition there are the extraordinary expenses: over 5,000,000,000 francs for the armies of occupation, 23,000,000,000 francs for various military reparations and rehabilitations. These expenses are charged to Germany's account. But it is perfectly clear that Germany will be increasingly incapable of paying them. Meanwhile, however, the French Government lives on new loans and new issues of paper money. One of the best known financial journalists of France, the editor of the most influential economic paper, *L'Information*, Léon Chavenon, pleads for a further printing of paper money, declaring: "We shall not free ourselves from this pressure except by an open declaration of bankruptcy." In other words, there are two possibilities: bankruptcy concealed by further emissions of paper, or an open bankruptcy.

That is the case with France, a victorious country, which occupies a favorable situation in demoralized Europe by reason of the fact that it has been able and still is able to restore its equilibrium at Germany's expense. The situation of Italy and Belgium is certainly not better than that of France.

Our Relief Consignments

Up to December 31, five ships left American shores bound for Soviet Russia containing food and other supplies. The following is a report of the foodstuffs and other material forwarded by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee to Soviet Russia aboard the five vessels. It must be noted that the Friends of Soviet Russia furnished nearly 97½ per cent of the funds for the purchase of these foodstuffs.

S. S. MARGUS—Sailed October 15, 1921.

2,040 cases Milk	
60 cases Chocolate	
44 cases Cocoa	
200 cases Cocoa	
8,056 sacks Wheat Flour	
6,200 sacks Corn Flour	
Total Weight	125,590 lbs.
Gross Value of Shipment	\$62,435.95
Ocean Freight Commission	96.06
Purchasing Commission	156.09
Marine Insurance Commission	97.81
Ocean Freight	9,605.73
Marine Insurance	1,009.76

\$73,401.40

S. S. ELZASIER—Sailed October 27, 1921.

1,800 sacks Corn Flour	
1,020 cases Condensed Milk	
100 tons Lard	
50 tons Lard	
52 cases Fat Backs	
55 cases Fat Backs)	
30 tons Oleomargarine	
112 bbls. Corned Beef	
550 bbls. & cases Cocoa	
1,600 sacks Corn Grits	
2,036 sacks Rolled Oats	
2,400 sacks Corn Meal	
470 cases Bacon	
2,802 sacks Beans	
Gross Weight of Shipment	1,342,695 lbs.
Value of Shipment	\$54,353.08
Purchasing Commission	135.88
Ocean Freight Commission	82.89
Marine Insurance Commission	77.54
Ocean Freight	7,753.83
Insurance	855.89

Gross Value of Shipment \$63,259.11

S. S. EASTPORT—Sailed November 20, 1921.

243 tons Pure Lard	
65 cases Rough Ribs	
85 boxes Smoked Jowl Butts	
2,450 cases Condensed Milk	
540 bags Cabellaro Beans	
3,200 bags Corn Grits	
Gross weight of shipment	910,858 lbs.
Value of Shipment	\$38,642.61
Purchasing Commission	96.50
Ocean Freight Commission	35.34
Marine Insurance	226.73
Ocean Freight	3,354.27
Insurance	401.02

Gross Value of Shipment \$42,556.57

S. S. GASCONIER—Sailed November 30, 1921.

5 boxes Ford Bodies	
5 boxes Trucks	
5 boxes Bodies	
Total Weight	50,600 lbs.
Value of Shipment	\$15,400.00
Handling Charges	163.80
Fr. & Insurance to Reval.	1,983.78

Gross Value of Shipment \$17,447.59

S. S. EASTERN COAST—Sailed December 23, 1921.

4,800 bags Corn Grits	
3,200 bags Rolled Oats	
2,500 bags Lima Beans	
1,091 bbls. Cocoa	
4,210 cases Condensed Milk	
210 cases Fat Backs	
1 case and	
2 parcels Ipecac Root	
210 bags Wheat Flour	
Gross Weight of Shipment	2,084,014 lbs.
Value of Shipment	\$61,152.29
Purchasing Commission	152.88
Ocean Freight Commission	76.55
Marine Insurance Commission	53.63
Ocean Freight	7,655.00
Insurance	822.48

Gross Value of Shipment \$69,912.83

Owing to the large number of articles that had to be inserted in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, we have had to omit the National Office Notes, which will again appear in the March 15 issue.

Japan and the Russian Far East

By MAX STRYPYANSKY

UNFOUNDED and good-natured optimism being one of the common failings of the human race, there is no wonder that the Washington Conference left many an otherwise sensible person deeply disappointed. In the absence of any other way to free the Russian Far East from the grip of Japanese imperialism, many who ought to have known better cherished hopes that the United States Government would induce the Japanese to keep their solemn promises and evacuate that important part of Asiatic Russia—especially in view of the “moral trusteeship” that the United States had assumed toward Russia.

As is well known, the matter was disposed of in less than an hour to the perfect satisfaction of Japan, who reasserts her promise to evacuate Eastern Siberia—as soon as she may see fit. The gentlemen from Tokio gave a similar promise to Korea in 1902—only to annex the country officially eight years later. One of the New York dailies (*The N. Y. Times*), which is rarely governed by delicacy towards Russian populations, commenting upon this promise as to the Russian Far East, calls attention to the similar attitude of England, who forty years ago gave precisely the same pledge as to the evacuation of Egypt.

The Latest Disciple of European Civilization

Within the short period of sixty years, Japan achieved the transition from a picturesque Asiatic feudalism to the modern methods of European capitalism, and acquired all the prominent virtues of white civilization: German militarism and “efficiency”, British colonial expansion, Russian Tsarist brutality toward the working class and the conquered nationalities; and, to top it off, Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy and diplomatic skill.

Apt pupils of their white teachers, they also adopted a kind of Monroe doctrine of their own: “Asia for the Asiatics”, which of course meant: “China and Siberia for Japan.”

The war afforded them a splendid opportunity to take a substantial step in the realization of their plans. As participants in the “war for democracy”, they succeeded not only in supplanting the Germans in their Chinese possessions, but also in putting their hand upon practically all of Northern China.

The Russian revolution and the subsequent weakening of Russia’s military power, finally gave them a chance to become the masters of Eastern Siberia.

On August 13, 1917, a Japanese Mission arrived “at a Pacific port” of the United States, and, according to the headlines of the *N. Y. Times* of the following day, the head of the Mission asserted that “Japan stands with us to make the world safe for liberty, justice and fair play.” And four

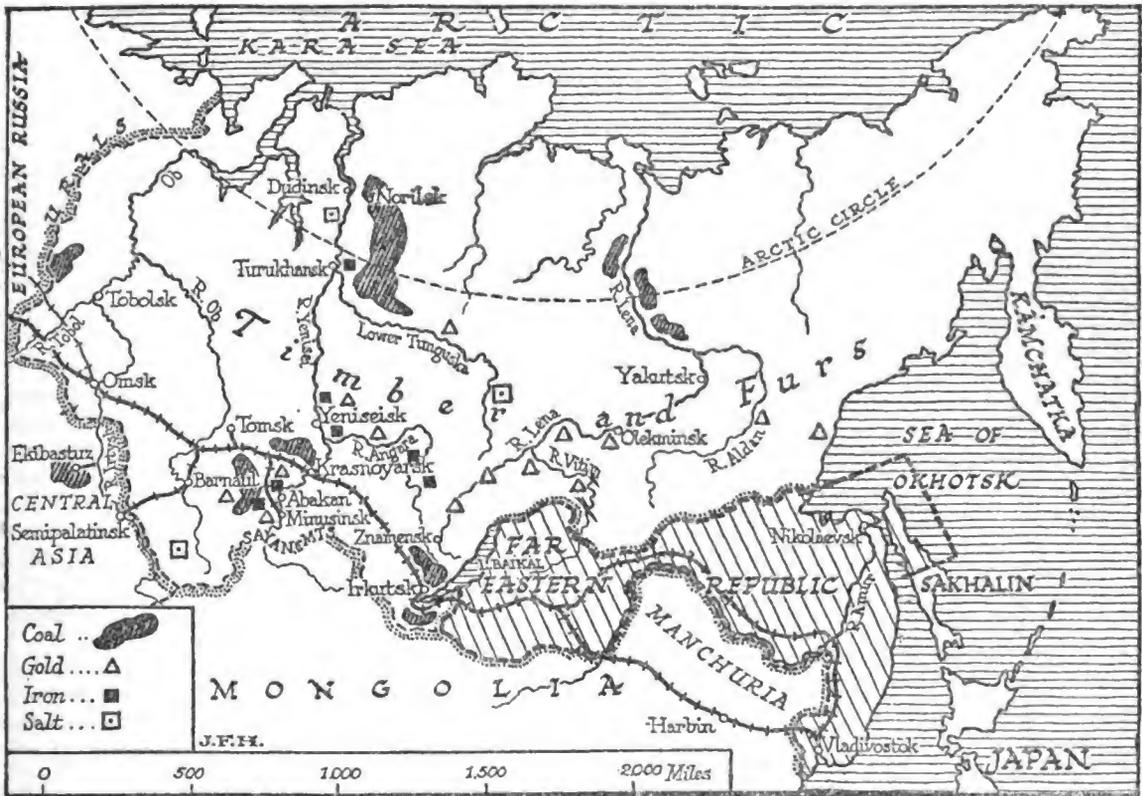
months later Japan began to put these lofty principles into effect, by sending its warships to Vladivostok—on December 30, 1917, six weeks after the successful November Revolution.

This absolutely unprovoked act was accompanied by a declaration of the Japanese Consul-General at Vladivostok to the effect that the “Japanese Government had no intention whatever of meddling in the question of the political structure of Russia.” And since that time the history of the Russian Far East was one uninterrupted chain of such “non-interferences” in Russian internal matters on the part of Japan.

The history of those four years, the acts of violence committed by the Japanese invaders and their Russian hirelings, the rise of Kolchak, his fall under the blows of the Red Army and the establishment of the independent democratic Far Eastern Republic; its struggles against the Japanese invaders and the “White” bandits in their employ, culminating in the establishment of the so-called “Pri-Amur Government” in Vladivostok and the territory of the Maritime Province—all this, richly illustrated by a great number of official documents (many of them secret) extending over this whole period—is the subject of two very interesting books issued in January and February, 1922, by the Special Delegation of the Far Eastern Republic to the United States. These books are entitled: *A Short Outline of the History of the Far Eastern Republic* (69 pp.) and *Japanese Intervention in the Russian Far East* (viii+165 pp.). I found them being sold at the Rand School Bookstore a few days ago, where a large number had been already disposed of.

From the November Revolution to the Fall of Kolchak

The period between December 30, 1917 and June 28, 1918 was not marked by any decisive events in the life of the Russian Far East. True, Japanese landing parties came ashore, assisted by British landing parties, but the authority of the local government was not yet challenged. On the borders of Siberian territory, however, in various places of Northern Manchuria, the Japanese were helping the organization of the Russian counter-revolutionary forces, headed by the Cossack chieftains (“Atamans”) Semionov and Kalmykov, whose chief activity consisted in plundering and killing the peaceful border population—under the pretext of “fighting Bolshevism”. Although never seriously menacing the Soviet power, they often caused disorder and trouble, with the clearly defined aim of giving the Japanese further pretexts for remaining there, “for the protection of their nationals”. The same policy was, by the way, extended later on by the Japanese to the territory of the Chinese



WHERE THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC IS

Note the shaded portion, which Japan wants, and some of which she has already taken. Note the "cork" in the neck of the bottle. Vladivostok is in the Maritime Province. Amur Province is between Amur River and the "cork". West of the "cork" are Transbaikalia (with Chita where the railroad forks) and Pribaikalia, a narrow strip along Lake Baikal.

Eastern Railroad in Manchuria, which belonged to the Russian "sphere of influence". There the Japanese supported bands of the notorious Chinese "Khunkhuses" (brigands), who, at their order, were continuously attacking the trains—thus affording the Japanese a pretext for imposing themselves as protectors of this territory.

But the Japanese were not the only ones at work. At the same time, the French military mission, still in Russia, was preparing a decisive blow against the Soviet Government; and it was assisted in this by the Czecho-Slovak politicians, who, for the promise of national independence, with the prospect of oppressing other nationalities, were ready to sell the Russian Revolution. Rumors were put in circulation that the Soviet Government intended to disarm the Czecho-Slovaks and deliver them to the Austro-German hangmen; clashes were artificially provoked by the commanding staff between the Czecho-Slovaks and the local Soviet authorities—and the consequence was the infamous revolt of the Czecho-Slovaks, the seizure of almost half of the Russian gold reserve, the Siberian death trains, the rise of Kolchak, and the loss of Siberia and a great part of Eastern and Southern Russia to the counter-revolution.

Emboldened by the success of their first blow

against the workers' government, the Allies proceeded forthwith to open intervention, and in its declaration of August 5, 1918, the United States officially invited the Japanese to participate in armed aggression against Russia, allegedly for the defence of the "westward moving Czecho-Slovaks" (westward, i. e., towards Moscow).

Assured of American non-interference with the Japanese designs, the Tokio Government started its double game of helping the Russian counter-revolution against the revolutionary elements in Siberia, and at the same time of weakening Kolchak's power—by imposing its own agents over the area of Eastern Siberia, the nearest object—and the most valuable—of Japanese ambitions for Russian territory. The Russian "patriots" Rozanov, Semionov, Kalmykov, were entrusted with the task of exterminating the rebellious population on the one hand, and of defying and weakening Kolchak on the other. For with all their hatred against the workers' revolution, the Japanese did not want the establishment of a strong reactionary government in Siberia, to defend the interests of Russian capitalists against the encroachments of their Japanese rivals.

The atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese against the native Russian population, which was revolting against the double yoke of Japanese and Tsarist

oppressors, find no parallel in the history of modern times—except perhaps the French and English exploits in the Sudan and the German extermination of the Herrero tribes. The total destruction of Ivanovka, the largest settlement in Eastern Siberia, where 280 women and children were burned alive, the crimes perpetrated by Ataman Kalmykov, who could with impunity rob and murder even the representative of the Swedish Red Cross, the torture chambers installed by Ataman Semionov and his assistant, Baron Ungern-Sternberg, in which hundreds of persons were slowly tormented to death—were characteristic for the sufferings endured by the population of Eastern Siberia at the hands of the chivalrous associate in the “war for democracy”, to whom the Washington Conference has now given *carte blanche* in the Russian Far East.

But the Allied dream of reestablishing the rule of the Tsar did not come true. In spite of the active help afforded Kolchak by the Allies in men and ammunition, he succumbed under the repeated blows of the Red Army and between November, 1919, and January, 1920, his rule collapsed on the entire territory of Siberia. His forcibly drafted soldiers mostly went over to the Red Army; the Czecho-Slovaks finally refused to fight; and the English, French and Italian troops were withdrawn from Russian territory. There remained only American and Japanese troops; but the American troops preserved strict neutrality, while the Japanese exerted every effort to uphold “Kolchak’s”, i. e., *their own* authority, exercised by their Semionovs, Kalmykovs and Rozanovs.

The Revolt in Vladivostok and Pribaikalia

Their efforts were, however, in vain. On January 31, 1920, General Rozanov was overthrown in Vladivostok, and in February the Amur province also was liberated. Semionov was driven out of Pribaikalia, the territory on the eastern shore of Lake Baikal, and a Provisional Zemstvo Government of Pribaikalia was established in Verkhne-Udinsk. The aim of this government was to expel Semionov from the province of Transbaikalia and thus unite with the Amur and Maritime Provinces, which had already overthrown the rule of the “White” generals and “Atamans” and installed provisional democratic governments. But here the Japanese gave open and active support to Semionov and the revolutionary forces were prevented from capturing Chita, the capital of Transbaikalia.

During the first weeks after the fall of Kolchak, Japan had apparently not yet embarked upon a definite policy with regard to Soviet Russia. But at the end of March, 1920, the Tokio Government openly avowed its aim of creating a buffer zone between Japan and Soviet Russia, by declaring that it would not permit the Red Army to pass further east than Pribaikalia. Japan’s solicitude for Eastern Siberia now became perfectly clear, as it need not be explained what a “buffer zone” really is—if the troops of only one party (the

Japanese in this case) are allowed to be stationed there.

But pretexts were necessary for keeping her troops in Siberia and Japan was not slow to find them.

There were first the Czecho-Slovaks, on whose account the whole intervention was originated by the United States. While foreign troops had been declared necessary to protect their westward movement (towards Moscow and the German front), their presence now became necessary to protect an eastward movement, to Vladivostok, where the Czecho-Slovaks were to embark for home. But unfortunately for the Japanese plans, the Czecho-Slovaks had everywhere in Siberia come to a friendly understanding with the revolutionary authorities, and their movement towards the Pacific coast was proceeding unhampered. With the Czechs gone, a valuable pretext for the Japanese stay was lost. Now the Japanese themselves, through Semionov, held up the Czecho-Slovak evacuation by creating disturbances and provoking bloodshed along the Chinese Eastern Railway, causing many deaths among the Czecho-Slovaks, Russians and Chinese. The Inter-Allied Technical Board, an organization without Bolshevik sympathies, openly accused the Japanese and their “Russian” hirelings of holding up the Czecho-Slovak evacuation which they were supposed to protect.

The Nikolayevsk Events

But this was not the only pretext. A more serious one, involving “national honor”, was created by the Japanese Military Command, in the form of the famous massacre of Nikolayevsk, of March 13-14, 1920. These events, vividly described in the aforementioned publications, show how the Japanese military authorities, by all kinds of provocations, atrocious murders of the truce-bearers, breaches of armistice agreements, and treacherous night attacks, provoked the terrible slaughter by which the entire Japanese garrison and civilian population (armed by the Japanese military authorities) were annihilated and the city destroyed.

There is not the slightest doubt that the whole tragic affair was skilfully arranged by the Japanese Military Command, which deliberately sacrificed hundreds of its own subjects for a suitable pretext to seize this region, and even Mr. Paul Miliukov, in his article in the *N. Y. Times*, of February 5, 1922, unequivocally puts the responsibility on Japan.

The Japanese provocation served its purpose. The government occupied all the Russian part of the island of Sakhalin and the mouth of the Amur, with the city of Nikolayevsk on the mainland opposite, during the course of 1920.

The Japanese Attack of April 4-5

In the meantime the American troops had been withdrawn. The Japanese, 70,000 men, remained as the only foreign military force on Siberian soil—for the “protection of the Czecho-Slovaks”, for

the "safety" of Manchuria (that part of Manchuria which was in the Russian "sphere of influence"), and for the "peace" of Korea.

The Japanese showed a rather conciliatory disposition. They negotiated with the Provisional Government of the Maritime Province; a special Russo-Japanese Adjustment Board was created and while the Russian delegates prepared to meet the other section of the delegation, the Japanese suddenly attacked the entire Maritime Province. This attack occurred on April 4-5, 1920. A veritable massacre took place in Vladivostok, Khabarovsk and Nikolsk. Thousands of persons were arrested; public buildings were destroyed and influential members of the government delivered into the hands of the Whites and burned alive in the furnace of a locomotive. Credit must be given to the Czecho-Slovaks who—finally aware of the ignominious role they had played for the last year and a half—took the side of the People's Government and sheltered its members in their headquarters.

In spite of this sudden and treacherous attack, the Japanese did not succeed in imposing upon Vladivostok an administration of their White hirelings. But they were strong enough to impose upon the Provisional Government the acceptance of an agreement (of April 29, 1920) which made it virtually a prisoner of the Japanese.

New Republic Proclaimed

Almost simultaneously with the Japanese attack of April 4-5, 1920, there assembled in Verkhne-Udinsk in the Pribaikal region, on the other end of the Far Eastern territory, a conference of representatives of the population of that province, which on April 6, 1920, proclaimed the formation of an independent Democratic Republic of the Russian Far East. The independence of the republic was immediately recognized by the Russian Soviet Government, and among the various provinces constituting the Russian Far East, the Amur province, on May 25, recognized Verkhne-Udinsk as the Central Government of the entire Far East.

But a united Far Eastern Republic was still far from being a fact. An important area which was to form part of the territory of the Far Eastern Republic, namely Transbaikalia, with Chita as the capital, was completely rendering impossible any connection between Pribaikalia on the one hand and the Amur and Maritime provinces on the other. This area was occupied by Semionov, i. e., by the Japanese, and the communication between the various provinces which were to constitute the united Far Eastern Republic was thus made extremely difficult, if not impossible.

With Semionov the Japanese, according to the declaration of General Oi (of June 26, 1920), "were collaborating with the purpose of upholding order in Transbaikalia." Which did not prevent the Japanese gentlemen in Washington from declaring that they had nothing to do with the amiable cutthroat whose exploits have filled the whole world with loathing.

Sakhalin Seized, Transbaikalia Evacuated

In July, 1920, Japan considered that the time was ripe for the seizure of the Russian part of the island of Sakhalin and of the mainland opposite. In order to weaken the impression which this seizure would make on the outer world—for it amounted to outright annexation, with the institution of a Japanese civil administration, seizure of the fisheries, oil wells and mines and practical disfranchisement and dispossession of the Russian population—the Tokio Government at the same time announced the evacuation of Transbaikalia, simultaneously preparing an attack on the Amur Province—as appears from the secret correspondence of the Japanese military authorities, published in the Far Eastern press. The troops so generously evacuated from Transbaikalia were to serve this purpose. But this attack did not come off. The Russian Red Army was inflicting blow after blow on the Polish imitators of Japan; the prestige of Russia was growing, and the United States did not view Japan's annexationist designs very favorably.

Among the secret documents mentioned was a telegram dealing with negotiations conducted with England concerning the Siberian question. These negotiations must have been at least as interesting as those conducted a year later with the French Government, but unfortunately only one short telegram became known of these dealings.

The Constituent Assembly in Chita

After the departure of the Japanese from Transbaikalia, the reign of Semionov was doomed. Alone he could not offer any resistance to the attacks of the entire insurgent population. He and his men were compelled to flee over the Manchurian border to what is courteously called Chinese territory. Chita, the capital, was occupied by the revolutionary forces on October 20, 1920, and immediately became the seat of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic.

Connection with all the provinces being finally established, representatives of all the local governments assembled in Chita on November 9, 1920. At this conference the independence of the Republic, as well as its democratic principles, were confirmed, and January 9, 1921, was fixed for elections, on the basis of universal suffrage. The Constituent Assembly resulting from these elections convened February 12, 1921. In its composition the Assembly consisted mostly of peasants with somewhat radical sympathies (220 deputies of the Revolutionary Toiling Peasantry) and unfortunately there were only 90 Communists representing the working class. In addition to this there were 30 delegates of the rich farmers, as well as smaller groups of Mensheviks, Social Revolutionists and outright representatives of the wealthy bourgeoisie. A democratic constitution was adopted and although the efforts to disestablish capitalism have been ridiculously unsuccessful, the working class and the toiling peasantry have de facto a predominating influence.

New Japanese Aggression

But the Japanese were not idle either. After the defeat of Semionov in Transbaikalia, they transferred all his troops as well as the soldiers of Kappel (the remnants of Kolchak's army) to the Maritime Province. This was the part of Siberia upon which the Japanese now mainly concentrated their attention; and Semionov's and Kappel's men were held there in readiness for a favorable moment for the overthrow of the democratic administration of the Maritime Province. As mentioned before, this administration was practically a prisoner of the Japanese and was not allowed to proceed against the marauding bands of Semionov.

And at the same time Japan started negotiations with France concerning the transfer of Wrangel's army to Vladivostok with which to undertake the subjugation of the entire territory of the Russian Far East. Japan was to take over the protectorate over the entire Far Eastern Republic and France was to receive valuable concessions. The documents referring to these negotiations were published in Washington by the Special Delegation of the Far Eastern Republic and their authenticity was of course indignantly denied by the French and Japanese delegates.

In March, 1921, Japan finally decided that the time had come to overthrow the democratic administration of Vladivostok and to institute a "loyal" (to Japan) Russian administration. But the White Guards (March 30-31, 1921) were not successful, the local militia repulsed their attacks. The Japanese kept "neutral", but did not allow the administration to take any steps against the insurgents, who were acting quite in the open. A second attempt was made on May 26, 1921, and this time the Whites succeeded, the Japanese now helping them by disarming the militia. Since that time the "Russian" Pri-Amur Government of Merkulov was established in Vladivostok, with all its accompanying orgies of persecutions, tortures, and murders.

Emboldened by this success, the Japanese devised a plan of a general offensive against the entire Far Eastern Republic which was to be attacked simultaneously from all sides.

Baron Ungern-Sternberg, a Baltic-German adventurer who was even more cruel than Semionov, was to attack from Mongolia. He had been installed by the Japanese as ruler of this territory, which is a part of the Chinese Republic. Another General, Sychev, was to attack the Amur province from Manchuria (also Chinese territory), and Semionov was to proceed towards Khabarovsk, one of the most important towns in the Maritime Province.

But the plan failed. The Siberians offered stubborn resistance and Ungern, who had advanced against both Soviet Siberian territory and the Far Eastern Republic, with the slogan of reestablishing the monarchy, was routed in July, 1921, his army dispersed, and he himself captured and executed. Sychev was also defeated and Semionov decided to adopt the attitude of watchful waiting.

Calling the Washington Conference

All the appeals of the Chita Government to Japan to withdraw her troops and take up normal political and economic relations remained unanswered.

This silence was not broken until President Harding called the Washington Conference. Only then the Japanese Government hurriedly decided to invite the Government of the Far Eastern Republic to the negotiations at Dairen in Manchuria.

The attitude of the Japanese during these negotiations was as sincere as in the foregoing dealings. They would not discuss the evacuation of the troops. Likewise, they refused to discuss the seizure of Sakhalin and Nikolayevsk. This was to be postponed until the establishment of a recognized All-Russian Government. But at the same time the Japanese were prepared to discuss the amendment of the Fisheries Convention concluded with the Tsar's government. They claimed for the Japanese the right to own land in the Russian Far East, in the name of "equal rights"—while as a matter of fact under the democratic Constitution as well as under the laws of the Tsar, the Russian peasants in the Far East could only lease (but not own) the land for certain periods. They wanted many other "equal" rights, which practically would have made them supreme masters of all the natural riches of the country.

And while the "negotiations" at Dairen as well as the sessions of the Washington Conference were still going on, they organized a new attack against the Far Eastern Republic by sending their Russian hirelings, the men of Semionov, Kappel, Denikin and Wrangel, to Khabarovsk, to occupy the city and the whole Maritime Province. True, their further advance westward has been checked for the time being by the heroic efforts of the People's Revolutionary Army—but there is no doubt that, emboldened by her victory in Washington, Japan will soon start a new campaign against the Far Eastern Republic.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 West 40th St.,

New York, N. Y.

Finland's "Complete Neutrality"

(Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, forwarded to the Finnish Government about December 22 a note dealing with the Finnish Government's answer to Chicherin's previous three notes on the Karelian question. The complete text of this recent note of Chicherin is communicated by the Russian Telegraph Agency as follows:)

THE Finnish Government, in its note of December 11 has finally answered my three notes of November 18 and 23, and of December 5. With regard to the contents of the last Finnish note, I must state in the name of the Russian Government that the latter cannot in any way consider it as an answer to the questions enumerated in my notes, and still less as an answer to the clearly, precisely, and unmistakably formulated proposals of my note of December 5, in which a definite and unambiguous answer was requested. Your present note is unfortunately evasive in its nature and must be regarded as an expression of dilatory tactics, and of your desire to limit yourself to formal pronouncements at a moment when energetic and resolute measures would be in place.

Your note of December 11 assures us that the Finnish Government has not for a moment ceased to observe "complete neutrality", which is said to be carried out by it in the most painstaking compliance with the treaty of peace. This note further maintains that the recruiting of volunteers and the organization of detachments on Finnish soil, with the object of conquering Eastern Karelia, have been prohibited, and that, after having declared the boundary closed, all measures have been taken to detect and prevent expeditions and ammunition from passing over the boundary. After this declaration, the Finnish Government again declares that the Russian Government has not furnished sufficient proofs to show that direct armed attacks on the Karelian Workers' Commune have been organized and prepared in Finland, not to mention the fact that a number of Finnish newspapers, such as *Italehti*, *Uusi Suomi*, *Suunta*, *Karjala*, etc., are ceaselessly printing appeals for direct violations of the treaty of peace and for an armed attack on Soviet Russia. In refutation of the Finnish Government's assurances, I can adduce a number of irrefutable proofs which show in the most unmistakable and striking manner both the emptiness of these assurances as well as the excellent foundations justifying the Russian Government in making its accusations. The Finnish Government assures us that no recruiting whatever has taken place on Finnish soil for the Eastern Karelian expedition, but we can prove that it is aware of the fact that recruiting centers exist and continue their activities in a number of places, in spite of the assurances of the note of December 11. I herewith enumerate several of these numerous places: In Helsingfors the "Jägarbyra" has established its recruiting office at Vilhelmsgatan, 4. In this office there is working not only the notorious member of the activist party, Mr. Kaila, but also the representative of the Finnish delegation in the Mixed Finnish-Russian Commission, P. Hynninen, who provides the office in question with the most complete material. Another recruiting office was organized by one of the leaders of the "Skyddskar", Major Lemberg, at Runebergsgatan, 47. Viborg is an important center for this recruiting. The office in that city was organized by a society founded by Karelians, "The Karelian Citizens' League", and is working with the material and moral support of that League. At Villmansstrand, in Viborg, there is a recruiting office in contact with this alliance, and with the "Skyddskar", which has the most active part in this work. It has been particularly proved that in the expeditions there are a great number of "Skyddskar" members, for instance, in the expeditions to Karelia by way of Lieksa, on November 28, when fifty persons went over, and on December 2, when sixty men went over. In other cases, the "Skyddskar" members accompany the recruiting volunteers up to the boundary and aid them in crossing. The authorities of the "Skyddskar" have sent very definite orders to their men on the organization of the Finnish expeditions by foreign, particularly German, officers, among

whom are a number that have obtained rights of Finnish citizenship (Ausfeldt and Könnecke).

The Finnish organizers have as one of their motives a violent hatred of Soviet Russia and organize attacks against the Karelian Workers' Commune with the desire of creating uprisings and inaugurating friendly relations with the Russian counter-revolutionists, although the latter are at bottom not only the enemies of autonomous Karelia, but also of an independent Finland. The Finnish Government has sympathetically treated such persons as the Finnish activists, and others, who are attacking the Russian Soviet Republic, and has particularly favored such elements by granting asylum to the instigators of the Kronstadt insurrection, Von Wilcken, Petruchenko, etc., and by giving permission to Savinkov, when he was expelled from Poland, to establish a home in Finland, where his address is Mariegatan, 5, Helsingfors. In the Rukajärvi district, a military unit is commanded by a former Russian officer, Nikolai Zhukovsky, who recently arrived in Finland with an expedition of 300 men. In a number of detachments operating on the soil of the Karelian Workers' Commune, there are refugees from Kronstadt who were hitherto believed interned in Finland. The expedition concentrated in a number of localities along the Finnish border, opposite Lieksa, whence an expedition of about 700 men penetrated into the Commune of Repola. Kuhmoniemi and Suomussalmi, the terminal points of the new Repola railway, as well as a number of other places, likewise served as gathering points. While these detachments before the last note of the Finnish Government, were occupying particularly the Northern districts in the Karelian Commune, the attacks since then have, on the contrary, been directed chiefly into the southern sections. There is no possibility of maintaining that these are persons that have escaped the vigilance of the Finnish border authorities; they are rather expeditions operating with the direct assistance of the latter as well as of the other Finnish authorities, and frequently include several hundred men, sometimes as many as a thousand, who cross the boundary ceaselessly. Their uniform, equipment and weapons are unquestionably of Finnish origin. They bear the stamp of the Finnish munitions factory at Riihimäki. But we also have data on the origin of these materials in the statements of the local inhabitants and the prisoners. The latter have enabled us to learn that these bandit gangs are armed and equipped right at the Finnish border. At Kajana there are weapons and foodstuffs, intended for the bandit gangs working in the Kemi district of the Karelian Workers' Commune. From Kemijärvi a quantity of this material was transported to Rukajärvi. The leaders of these bandit gangs, and particularly the "Skyddskar" members who participate in them, circulate newspapers among the Karelian country population, calling upon the latter to rise in rebellion, and these newspapers are printed in the printing office of the Finnish "Skyddskar" organ.

I believe that these proofs and many others will sufficiently indicate the true value of the "complete neutrality" which the Finnish Government is so scrupulously observing.

I might further definitely point out that not only well-known newspaper men and active politicians, not only "Skyddskar" members and officers, but also the employees of the Ministers themselves are actively working to organize attacks against the Russian Federation (Mandelin, Välikangas, Zilliacus). I may state that also a number of members of the Government, such as Messrs. Kaila and Kai Donner, have given expression to their active sympathy for the Karelian adventure.

The manner in which the Finnish Government explains these clearly hostile acts against the Russian Soviet Republic, such as in its address to the so-called "League of Nations", whatever that league may be, cannot conceal the fact that that Government has been acting under the pressure and influence of these activist elements. Already in September, at the Geneva conference, when the now burning events had not yet occurred on the soil of Finland's neighbor, Finland gave orders to its representative, Enckell, to attempt to arouse the interest of the League of Nations in the Karelian question.

Although I have not the slightest intention to intervene in Finland's internal affairs, I cannot refrain from observing that the Finnish Government in its entire policy on the subject of Eastern Karelia has been acting in open opposition to the desires of the great majority of the Finnish people and is eager to refrain from obtaining any indications of these desires. This gives the Russian Government the right to suppose that the policy of the Finnish Government, in the above-mentioned question also, cannot be regarded as representative of the views and wishes of the majority of the Finnish people, and that this policy is a new evidence of the gambling character of the Government's activity, which is supported in Finland by circles that have no responsibility before the people. Basing ourselves on evidence at our disposal, the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic considers that the Finnish Government is continuing to the same extent as hitherto, if not to a greater extent, its work in organizing attacks on portions of the Russian Soviet Republic, and has by no means given evidence of any intention of returning to the path of the desiderata expressed in the peace treaty. For this reason the Russian Government cannot make any alteration in the measures which in its note of December 5, it requested the Finnish Government to approve. Imbued with the desire for peace, the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic repeats again that it still resolutely demands that these measures be immediately carried out. In case the Finnish Government obstinately adheres to its position, particularly on the subject of carrying out these measures, the Russian Government declares that the Finnish Government must take upon its shoulders the full responsibility for the serious menace, created by the Finnish Government alone, against the peace with Russia.

SEA TRANSPORT

The following figures show the work of the Russian Maritime Fleet from January 1 to August 31, 1921:

	Cargoes shipped (in tons)	Numer of passengers carried
Black Sea	44,000	26,000
Sea of Azov	52,000	112,000
Baltic Sea	5,000	905,950
White Sea	25,000	8,444
Caspian Sea—		
Dry cargoes	229,000	290,770
Oil	2,277,000	—
Total	2,632,000	1,343,164

The Black Sea Fleet consists of 119 craft of all descriptions. In pre-war days it consisted of 553 steam craft and several hundred barges and sailing craft. The total cargo tonnage of the fleet is about 30,000 tons. Regular steamship routes have been opened in the Black Sea, since the middle of 1921 between Odessa and Batum, once a week; Odessa-Nikolayev-Kherson and Kherson-Nikolayev, twice a week; Odessa-Skadosk, Khorly-Eupatoria, Sevastopol-Odessa, all once a week; and Sevastopol-Rostov, once a fortnight.
—London Trade Delegation.

STUDY OF ORIENTAL MUSIC

Energetic work is being carried on in the autonomous Tartar Republic on collecting and studying the folk music of the various nationalities inhabiting the valley of the Volga. So far these studies have resulted in the publication of the following works: "The History of the Folk Music of the Nationalities in the Volga Valley", by Prof. Nikolsky, which has been published in Russia and is shortly to appear in the Tartar, Chuvash, and Mari languages; a book of Tartar music, collected and harmonized by Prokhorov; and another book with similar material collected and arranged for violin and piano by Kozlov.

The centre of these studies is the School of Oriental Music which encourages and supports all efforts in this direction. The school provides training for over 650 students, of whom more than half are Tartar, Chuvash, Mari, and Votjak, and possesses the status of a university college.

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Books Reviewed

"KUZBAS": An Opportunity for Engineers and Workers. Prospectus, "Kuzbas": Room 303, 110 West 40th St., New York. February, 1922. Paper, 32 pages.

This pamphlet is issued by a group of American workers sympathetic to the plans of the R. S. F. S. R., who are willing to go to the length of emigrating to Western Siberia and settling there for a long period in order to aid in the economic reconstruction of the country. The present pamphlet is chiefly a description of the geography, resources and opportunities of the *Kuznets Basin*. ("Kuzbas" is an abbreviation of these two words), not omitting references to the hardships that would necessarily be encountered by the American workers for at least a year or so after their arrival. We shall not attempt here to give a complete synopsis of its contents, but believe the statistical information will be of interest to those of our readers who get the book. Toward the end there is an interesting questionnaire to be filled out by those American workers who wish to comply with the invitation of their comrades to go to Russia. Probably no better support could be given by this magazine to the work of this new organization than by reprinting, as we do herewith, the appeal issued on January 15 at Moscow, to American workers, by the All-Russian Council of Labor Unions as communicated by *Rosta-Wien*, January 17, 1922:

"The working class of Soviet Russia, under the most difficult circumstances and in the midst of the greatest disorganization, is creating new forms of life. In this strenuous struggle it is the first problem before the working class to reconstruct big industry, which has been heavily damaged by the war and the blockade, as well as by the offensive of the Russian counter-revolutionists and foreign imperialists. Big industry is the bulwark of the proletarian revolution in its struggle against the capitalist world and the basis of the future Communist Republic.

"Our foreign comrades have not abandoned their Russian fellow workers. By opposing intervention they have contributed to the victories of Soviet Russia over their enemies and have created the possibility for the Russian workers to deal with economic problems. The growing movement of the proletariat in all countries is forcing the bourgeoisie to change their policy towards Soviet Russia and to end the blockade that has cut off the Russian industry from the necessary foreign technicians and equipment. The calamity caused by the lack of rain and the famine in Russia has met with the warmest sympathy of the workers in all countries, and the support of the famine stricken peasants of the south is increasing every day. All this is a real and tangible support of the Russian working class in their gigantic struggle against economic ruin.

"But this is not sufficient. The direct co-operation of foreign workers is required for the reconstruction of Big Industry. The combined efforts of foreign and Russian workers, shoulder to shoulder in one and the same factory or mine, is necessary to build the foundation for the only Workers' Republic of the world. A group of revolutionary American workers represented by S. I. Rutgers, H. S. Calvert, and others has offered its support in this matter to the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has accepted this support. The Council of Labor and Defense* of the Russian Soviet Republic has made an agreement with this group of American workers, according to which agreement they receive in their management the big steel works of Nadezhdinsk in the Ural, the Komarovo mines in the Kuznets coal basin (Siberia) and other auxiliary industries. By this agreement 6000 American workers are expected to arrive in Russia, in order to start, together with the Russian workers, the reconstruction of industry in Soviet Russia.

"The American workers will have to be prepared to come to a disorganized country and to start their work

under extremely difficult conditions. We are confident however that by our joint efforts we will overcome the difficulties of the first period and that we will bring to life one of the richest coal and iron deposits of the world.

"The American workers will bring their experience in organization and highly qualified production methods, the Russian workers will communicate to their American comrades their revolutionary enthusiasm and their perseverance in the revolutionary struggle.

"Workers of America! The All-Russian Central Committee of the Labor Unions greets your offer to enter our ranks and to create a well founded and mighty socialist economy in Russia. Our combined efforts will be of enormous value; in this way groups of the world proletariat that struggle separately for their freedom will get closer together and will set an example of proletarian solidarity. *Combine with us!* Help us surmount this difficult period! Keep in mind that you come to a totally disorganized country and that you do not plan a pleasure trip, but a great and difficult task. The perseverance of the Russian proletariat that has defended the achievements of its revolution for four years may inspire you in your efforts.

"The Russian workers will greet their new co-workers with enthusiasm, convinced that the American workers will demonstrate on our economic front their efficiency and experience. With combined forces we will build the proletarian commonwealth; in common labor we will forge the links of brotherhood between the Labor of America and Russia.

"The reconstruction of the Russian industry will guarantee the victory of the first Workers' Republic.

"The All-Russian Central Committee of Labor-Unions."

Reminiscences of Anton Chekhov, by Maxim Gorky, Alexander Kuprin and I. A. Bunin. New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1921. Boards, 110 pages.

The recollections of three of Chekhov's fellow authors and friends have been translated and published in this book. The essay by Gorky is the merest sketch, and the other two are not much more elaborate. However, a clear and charming picture of Chekhov as he was in the later years of his life emerges from them all.

Chekhov, like Tolstoy, had a passionate love for simple and fundamental things. He hated violence and insincerity in any form. "Why," he said to a young author, "write about a man getting into a submarine and going to the North Pole to reconcile himself to the world while at that moment his beloved with a hysterical shriek throws herself from the belfry? Such things do not happen in reality. One must write about simple things: how Peter Semionovich married Maria Ivanovna. That is all."

And when his visitors would try to impress him by talking of philosophy and other learned subjects, Chekhov would either talk simply to them about simple things in which they were interested and in that way force them to be human and interesting, or he would poke sly fun at them. Gorky tells about a lady who once called on Chekhov. She was plump, handsome and well-dressed and she began to talk à la Chekhov: "Life is so boring, Anton Pavlovich. Everything is so gray; people, the sea, even the flowers seem to me gray. . . And I have no desires. . . my soul is in pain . . . it is like a disease." "It is a disease," said Chekhov with conviction, "it is a disease; in Latin it is called *morbus imitatus*."

When Richard Wagner was dying in Venice, he recited his creed: "I believe in Bach, Mozart and Beethoven." Chekhov would have said: "I believe in Maupassant, Flaubert and Tolstoy." He loved literature profoundly, and had a high opinion of the most modern writers. "All write superbly now," he said, "there are no bad writers. Do you know to whom that is due? To Maupassant. He, as an artist in language, put the standard before an author

*For a description of this body, see SOVIET RUSSIA for February 15 (No. 3).

so high that it is no longer possible to write as of old. You try to read some of our classics, say Pissemsky, Grigorovich or Ostrovsky, and you will see what commonplace stuff it is. Take on the other hand our decadents. They are only pretending to be sick and crazy, they are all burly peasants. But so far as writing goes—they are masters."

Although he was a melancholy and reserved man, Chekhov had a very keen sense of humor. Often he would joke with his friends as they gathered about the tea table in his charming bungalow at Yalta, overlooking the sea. He would improvise stories in which the characters were his friends, and was particularly fond of arranging weddings which sometimes ended with the young husband the following morning, sitting at the tea table, saying as it were by the way, in an unconcerned tone: "Do you know, my dear, after tea we'll get ready to go to a solicitor's. Why should you bother about your money?"

But the wretched social conditions in Russia and the consequent degradation of the life about him cast a permanent shadow over his life. He tried to be optimistic about the future, believing that there were forces at work in Russia which would ultimately save it. The Russian-Japanese war was looming on the horizon at the time he died (1904). One wonders what attitude Chekhov would have taken to the stirring events of 1905 and 1917.

M. H.

BABETTE DEUTSCH and AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY:
Modern Russian Poetry, an Anthology Chosen and Translated. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921. Cloth, 179 pp.

ПОЭЗИЯ БОЛЬШЕВИСТСКИХ ДНЕЙ. — Книгоиздательство „Мысль“. — The Poetry of the Bolshevik Days. "Mysl" Publishing House. Berlin, 1921. Paper, 128 pp.

The poems in the collection made by Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky vary in period from the classic work of Pushkin (1799-1837) to the extremely modern productions of Oryeshin, Marienhof, and Shishova, and in length from the single line, *Oh, cover thy pale feet*, of Valery Bryusov (born 1877), to *The Scythians*, of Alexander Blok (1880-1921), which occupies three pages of the book. The names are unfortunately mostly strangers to American readers, but it is to be hoped that some of them at least may soon be familiar to their ears. Two that our readers should mark for the present are the reactionary Tyutchev (1803-1873) and the radical Nikolai Nekrassov (1821-1877). Tyutchev is enjoyed by the moderns because "they found in his mentality and sensibility, as well as in his technique, elements foreign to classic normalcy, and akin to their own anguished metaphysics and aesthetics." Nekrassov's work is marked by a "strong social and civic preoccupation. He declared that this interest interfered with his poetry. As a matter of fact, his 'Muse of Vengeance and Wrath' was an uncertain creature. He threw untransmuted into his poetry the raw stuff of satire and feuilleton, of parody and pamphlet. At his best he can move the reader with his stinging pity and his passionate self-scorn. He is perhaps chiefly remembered by his epic: *Who Lives Happily in Russia?*, which holds in its vast frame the very essence of the misery and the thwarted vigor of the Russian peasant." In another column of this issue we are reprinting the translation that appears in this volume of one of the sections of *Who Lives Happily in Russia?*, the famous *Salt Song*. The March 15 issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will print among other things a brilliant study of Nekrassov's work and social significance, written on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth (1921) by A. V. Lunacharsky, People's Commissar for Education of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

The other book, *The Poetry of the Bolshevik Days*, is a collection of the more successful poems written by the younger poets of Russia (including a number whose work appears also in the *Anthology* of Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky) since the days in 1917 when the

revolution was being prepared by which the Bolsheviki attained power. The collection is headed by the complete text of the Russian original of Alexander Blok's *The Twelve*, of which only a small portion is printed in the pages of the *Anthology*.
J. W. H.

ПАВ. БУДАЕВ: Красный Союз Рабочих и Служащих Пищевой Промышленности в Советской России. (Краткий исторический очерк). — Paul Budayev: The Red Labor Union of Food Workers in Soviet Russia (Short Historical Outline). Moscow, 1921, 64 pages. 3000 copies printed.

This little book is an historical account of the rise, development and activities of the All-Russian Foodworkers' Union, from 1906 to 1920. The author, Paul Budayev, is the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Foodworkers' Union. He is apparently well fitted for the job, for he has produced a book that is scientific in treatment, chronological in arrangement, and authoritative in selection.

This brief history presents a panoramic view of the organization and structure of the Trade Union Movement in Soviet Russia; of the efficiency with which all of Russia's foodworkers have organized; and the role of support given by them in strengthening and stabilizing Soviet institutions in Russia.

The subject matter is arranged for convenience, as follows:

1. The Rise and Development of the Foodworkers' Trade Union Movement from 1906 to 1914.
2. Rise of the All-Russian Union and the First Conference.
3. The first All-Russian Convention.
4. The Second All-Russian Convention and its cooperation with the Food Division of the Supreme Council of National Economy.
5. The Conclusion tells of the activities, the numerical strength, and the official organ (*The Voice of the Foodworker*) of the Union. Finally, there are two supplements, in the form of international appeals (the first by radio) issued by the presidium of each of the two conventions, to the European, American, Asiatic and Australian workers, for participation in the Foodworkers' International Red Labor Union.

The growth of membership is shown in the following table:

Year	No. of Workers
1917 (November)	110,000
1918 (January)	190,000
1920 (March)	222,000
1920 (December)	263,000

The number of trades and their relative representation, embraced in the All-Russian Foodworkers' Union, are of considerable interest also.

Trades	No. of Delegates	%
Bakers	48	35.42
Confectioners	21	15.60
Flour-Millers	20	14.96
Delicatessen	10	7.48
Brewers	6	4.56
Fish	5	3.92
Dairy, Meat, Yeast	10	7.48
Clerks	4	2.12
Technical	2	1.62
Indefinite	10	7.48
Total	136	100.00

Interesting statistics are also given for the political distribution (party affiliation) of the 136 delegates to the first All-Russian Convention of Foodworkers (January, 1919).

J. R. M.

Relief Contributions, February 1-14

The following is a complete list of all contributions received at the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York, during the first half of last month. "F. S. R." stands for "Friends of Soviet Russia"; "S. T. A. S. R." for "Society of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia". Each contribution is accompanied by the official number appearing on the contributor's receipt.

Receipt No.	Contributors	Amount	Receipt No.	Contributors	Amount	Receipt No.	Contributors	Amount
3381	G. J. Alcott, Bridgewater, Mass.	10.00	3430	K. Hamalainen, List 4869, Grand Rapids, Mich.	8.25	3526	Al. Orpaten, Jamestown, Colo.	1.00
3382	B. Francis, Portland, Maine	5.00	3451	M. L. Brondige, Pontiac, Mich.	10.00	3527	C. Stockton, Jamestown, Colo.	1.00
3383	R. & C. Butler, Cleveland, O.	2.00	3452	M. E. Depew, Pontiac, Mich.	5.00	3528	A. Hemstead, Jamestown, Colo.	1.00
3384	Peter H. Wiertz, N. Y. City	1.00	3453	W. Simonson, Larchmont, N. Y.	5.00	3529	I. S. Bayer, Jamestown, Colo.	1.00
3385	C. H. Dickman, Missoula, Mont.	1.00	3454	August Kollman, N. Y. C.	2.50	3530	C. Barryman, Jamestown, Colo.	2.00
3386	P. Johnston & D. Nickelson, Humphrey Channel, B. C., Can.	2.79	3455	F. S. R. Br., Mason City, Iowa	8.50	3531	Howard Tower, Jamestown, Colo.	1.00
3387	H. S. Reis, Berlin, Germany	1.32	3456	F. S. R. Br., San Francisco, Cal.	440.00	3532	L. G. Shipley, Jamestown, Colo.	1.00
3388	Nat Kaplan, New York City	3.00	3457	F. S. R. Br., St. Paul, Minn.	125.00	3533	Laura Mills, Boulder, Colo.	1.00
3389	B. A. Knapp, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	3458	Hoquiam I. W. W., Hoquiam, Wash.	50.00	3534	J. W. Jameson, Boulder, Colo.	1.00
3390	J. C. Wright, S. Bellingham, Wash.	5.00	3459	J. Tangborn, Schleswig, Iowa	12.00	3535	R. W. Joalyn, Boulder, Colo.	5.00
3391	S. Flaumenhaft, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	3460	Ennice Gray, Carmel, Calif.	6.00	3536	W.L. Armstrong, Boulder, Colo.	5.00
3392	L. J. Anderson, Boston, Mass. Cancelled—See 3537		3461	Gen. Labor Coun., Tacoma, Wash.	21.65	3537	Rev. L. J. Anderson, Boston, Mass. Canadian 888	87.16
3393	N. Wascowitz, Bronx, N. Y.	1.00	3462	Lists 10305, 10306, 10307 thru A. M. Hiras, N. Y. C.	6.00	3538	L. S. Lowe, Tucson, Ariz.	1.00
3394	N. I. Kisbor, New York City	5.00	3463	O. M. Clark, Hempstead, N. Y.	10.00	3539	F. S. R. Br., Yonkers, N. Y.	250.00
3395	Alex Vink, New York City	2.00	3464	F. S. R. Br., San Diego, Calif.	100.00	3540	Coll. B. Carmen, Louisville, Ky.	10.00
3396	C. Hope, S. S. Chestersun	2.00	3465	F. S. R. Br., Schenectady, N. Y.	100.00	3541	Fed. of Labor, Springfield, Ill.	10.00
3397	A. Schneider, S. S. Chestersun	1.00	3466	Kath. G. Biddle, Phila., Pa.	100.00	3542	Coll. L. Pirka, Zeigler, Ill.	6.00
3398	S. Schneider, S. S. Chestersun	1.00	3467	F. S. R. Br., Cleveland, Ohio	250.00	3543	I. Serier, Kennewick, Wash.	5.00
3399	Peder Nielsen, S. S. Chestersun	2.00	3468	Miners of No. 1 & 2, Belleville, Ill.	35.00	3544	Hector C. Brancote, N. Y. C.	5.00
3400	T. E. Williams, S. S. Chestersun	1.00	3469	C. Gilbert, Randolph Center, Vt.	30.00	3545	G. Lipinski, Jersey City, N. J.	5.00
3401	Coll. by Ed. G. Nix, Secy, Huntington, Ind.	5.00	3470	F. S. R. Br., Buffalo, N. Y.	5.00	3546	E. N. Barber, Kent, Ohio	3.00
3402	J. L. Mathuson, Los Angeles, Cal.	3.00	3471	List 14215 thru O. Schriver, Dayton, Fla.	28.00	3547	R. V. Gracha, S. S. Chestersun	1.00
3403	B. Semuel, Erie, Pa.	2.00	3472	U. M. W. No. 1957, Waterman, Pa.	25.00	3548	A. A. Mencke, Cleveland, O.	5.00
3404	Mr. & Mrs. Lenz, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	2.00	3473	Coll. by L. Noll, Ransom, Kans.	21.00	3549	F. S. R. Br., Flint, Mich.	80.00
3405	A. T. W. of A., Passaic, N. J.	26.31	3474	F. S. R. Br., Butte, Mont.	25.00	3550	Dr. D. L. Bazell, Pittsburg, Pa.	10.00
3406	List No. 13969, thru Andrew J. MacDonald, Flat River, Mo.	14.25	3475	F. S. R. Br., Lowell, Mass.	20.00	3551	Carroll Martin, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
3407	Coll. by Mrs. Eda Kowkly & Mrs. L. Angrwitz, Detroit, Mich.	13.50	3476	James Jordan, Winfield, Kans.	20.00	3552	Chas. Sykes, Glendrive, Mont.	3.50
3408	Coll. by Carl Fahb, Bklyn, N. Y.	2.50	3477	H. Blugerman, Toronto, Can.	10.00	3553	F. S. R. Br., Baltimore, Md.	246.32
3409	I. A. of M., Rock City Lodge No. 154, Nashville, Tenn.	2.50	3478	Coll. by J. I. Greenapun, Little Rock, S. C.	10.00	3554	F. S. R. Br., Woonsocket, R. I.	98.00
3410	Harold Coy, Tucson, Ariz.	1.50	3479	R. E. Read, Billings, Mont.	10.00	3555	Combined Holland & Belgian Soc., Dorchester, Mass.	118.38
3411	F. S. R. Br. Hudson Co., N. J.	100.00	3480	Axel Hanson & Family, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00	3556	Peoples Hall A., Toivola, Mich.	51.31
3412	M. C. Salter, Kalamazoo, Mich.	1.00	3481	W. S. & D. B. F., No. 133, Dayton, O.	10.00	3557	J. Smith, Manchester, N. H., on List 7189	27.90
3413	P. Zemoz, Youngstown, Ohio	1.00	3482	E. G. Whitney, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	3558	Coll. by Chas. D. Hirst, Sallenville, O.	17.50
3414	List No. 7188, J. Sivoknuk, Manchester, N. H. (Buttons \$5.)	62.50	3483	J. P. Haven, Casimalia, Calif.	5.00	3559	The Class Room Republics of W. H. Potter of Lincoln High School, Los Angeles, Calif.	11.18
3415	F. S. R. Br. Lists No. 2744, 2745, 2757, 2758, 2771, Elis., N. J.	200.00	3484	A. E. Harrington, Fairhope, Ala.	5.00	3560	R. C. Holbrook, New Kamilcho, Wash.	1.00
3416	B. of Painters, D. & P., Local, Brooklyn, N. Y.	100.00	3485	F. Hitzelberger, St. Joseph, Mo.	5.00	3561	F. W. Andrews, New Kamilcho, Wash.	.50
3417	J. T. Malone & Family, Warm Springs, Mont.	5.00	3486	F. W. Fischer, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	3562	F. J. Kennedy, Lawrence, Mass.	4.00
3418	Chas. Harm, Coalinga, Calif.	5.00	3487	Coll. by J. Sans, Buffalo, N. Y.	3.00	3563	George Dresch, Mercer, Pa.	2.00
3419	J. Willemsen, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00	3488	M. H. Chapin, Rutland, Vt.	2.00	3564	Robt. E. Weaver, Reading, Pa.	2.00
3420	G. A. Rindt & C. W. Pentacost, Danville, Ill.	5.00	3489	H. E. Sawdon, St. Elmo, Tenn.	1.00	3565	F. S. R. Br., Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00
3421	Children's Club, Erie, Pa.	2.00	3490	F. S. R. Br., Cleveland, Ohio	401.03	3566	F. S. R. Br., Boston, Mass.	300.00
3422	F. S. R. Br., Chicago, Ill.	1,700.00	3491	F. S. R. Br., Pittsburgh, Pa.	86.12	3567	F. Y. R. Br., Lawrence, Mass.	175.00
3423	F. S. R. Br., Boston, Mass.	400.00	3492	Coll. by A. Derman, Bolnfield, B. C., Canada	24.63	3568	U. M. W. 2059, Dillonville, O.	129.00
3424	Coll. by W. F. Liebenberg, Nucla, Colo.	55.50	3493	Fin. Relief Com., Park City, U.	8.75	3569	F. S. R. Br., Stelton, N. J.	100.00
3425	Women's Sewing Club, Jackson-ville, O.	74.75	3494	Coll. J. Pera, Ferndale, Wash.	8.75	3570	T. M. Nagle, Wesleyville, Pa.	50.00
3426	Fin. Wkra. Club, Bessemer, Mich.	32.88	3495	F. S. R. Br., Salt Lake City, U.	5.00	3571	Am. Lith. Workers Lit. Soc., Kenosha, Wis.	18.00
3427	Coll. by H. Hultstrom, Norwood, Mass.	6.75	3496	H. P. Daugherty, N. Y. City	5.00	3572	U. S. Natl. Bank, San Diego, Cal.	1,000.00
3428	V. Krautsieder, New Baden, Ill.	3.15	3497	Chas. Ahlfors, Chest, Mass.	5.00	3573	Fin. Co-oper. Trad. A., Bklyn	200.00
3429	F. S. R. Br. Rochester, N. Y.	150.00	3498	R. White Ham., Canada (Can. \$1)	.93	3574	Benj. Fine, Cleveland, Ohio	10.00
3430	L. Crokaerts, Downey P. O., Cal.	10.00	3499	C. Kuhariek, List 2698, Cleveland, Ohio	9.70	3575	Belg. Group, New Bedford, Mass.	5.00
3431	F. S. R. Br. Los Angeles, Cal.	3,000.00	3500	J. C. Lockerman, Cleveland, O.	5.00	3576	M. J. Plouker, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
3432	List No. 13393 thru Mrs. Ida Hoffman, New Haven, Conn.	71.50	3501	James Kabela, Limou, Colo.	.50	3577	F. S. R. Br., Gary, Ind.	125.00
3433	Lith. Chorus, Moline, Ill.	23.20	3502	Mrs. L. V. Bliss, Boulder, Colo.	5.00	3578	B. M. Lauck, Supply, Okla.	5.00
3434	A. L. D. S. D., Moline, Ill.	6.25	3503	Mrs. T. M. Read, Boulder, Colo.	2.00	3579	P. R. Matkowski, Mason City, Ia	5.00
3435	L. M. P. S., Moline, Ill.	15.00	3504	Max Naak, Boulder, Colo.	1.00	3580	Dr. S. Schiro, Fresno, Calif.	5.00
3436	Lith. Workers, Moline, Ill.	25.00	3505	C. R. Streamer, Boulder, Colo.	1.00	3581	F. S. R. Br., Newbury, Mich.	21.06
3437	F. S. R. Branch, Moline, Ill.	93.55	3506	R. A. Shonz, Boulder, Colo.	10.00	3582	Slovenic Nat. Benefit Soc., Russelton, Pa.	42.15
3438	F. S. R. Br., Gardner, Mass.	50.00	3507	A. Smerscheck, Boulder, Colo.	5.00	3583	S. S. Osasto, Mass, Mich.	37.75
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The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will print the remaining contributions for February (15th to 28th inclusive) and will state the total for the entire month.

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“WE STARVE!”

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The next two months will be the most crucial. Reports coming from Russia paint pitiful pictures. Here—the dying are eating their dead, there—mothers are drowning their children to silence their heart-rending cries for bread. The Russian steppes are literally covered with skeletons, the wasted bodies the prey of wolves. How many more shall die before YOU act?

WILL YOU SIGN THE ROLL CALL?

Immense cargoes of food MUST be shipped AT ONCE to save the starving. If the powers of the world would grant Soviet Russia credit and re-establish trade with her, she could help herself in this awful crisis. Until credit is extended YOU MUST HELP. Those who help now will have aided Soviet Russia in her DIRECT NEED.

SIGN THE ROLL CALL! GIVE!!

The food your money will buy will carry with it the ROLL CALL BOOK in which YOUR name MUST appear. Your signature in this book will mark a permanent record of your true friendship for Soviet Russia.

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APR 1922

Radek on Genoa

SOVIET RUSSIA

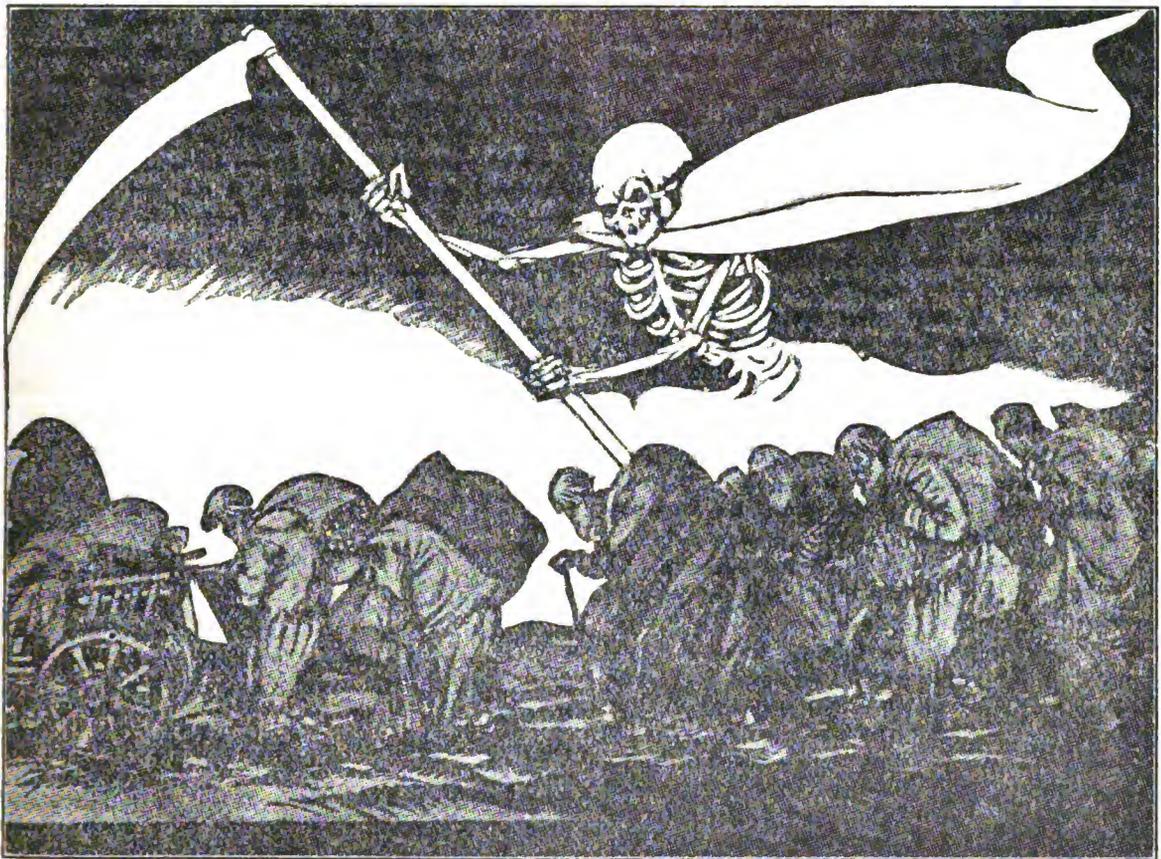
Semi-Monthly Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia

Fifteen Cents

March 15, 1922

Vol. VI, No. 5

Fleeing Before Death



This poster by Deni represents a scene that was common along the Volga during the early days of the Famine last Summer. Great hosts of peasants flocked westward in search of food, until it became necessary to send out special emissaries to persuade them to stick to their lands. It is in order to maintain these masses at their post that we are sending food and tractors to Russia.

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Soviet Russia and Genoa

By KARL RADEK

(The Genoa Conference, originally called for March 8, would by this time have begun its deliberations if it had not been postponed, perhaps indefinitely, at the request of the powers who had expressed the desire to hold such a Conference. Radek's article correctly states the Soviet Government's position with regard to the Conference, which will be read with interest whether the Conference comes off or not.)

THE Conference of Prime Ministers at Cannes decided to call an international conference for March, to take up the question of reconstructing world economy. Soviet Russia has been officially invited to this conference. Neither France nor the United States of America, whose representative, Colonel Harvey, was present at the Cannes Conference, made any protest against this decision.

The decision signifies a great shift in the international situation. The opinion of the greatest authorities among the economists of the bourgeois world has now been approved officially by the Supreme Council of the Entente: there is no possibility of reconstructing world economy without the participation of Russia. But the decision means more: it is a recognition that the Entente, which was hoping that famine might overthrow the Soviet power, has become convinced of the futility of its hopes, and that the Soviet power is the only possible authority in Russia. The chief political paper of France, the *Temps*, is forced to declare: "In spite of the crimes of the Soviet Government, it is the only power that is now in a position to guide the national policy of Russia. The Soviet power defends the national independence against hostile attacks and against foreign intrigues; it speaks in the name of the Russian people." This admission of the leading organ of the intervention policy is a confession of the impotence of that policy. It does not mean that the Entente will make no further efforts to overthrow us by armed force, but it does mean that the Entente has now grasped the fact that all such plans in the past have been fruitless, and desires to conclude peace with us.

This decision of the Entente is the result of three years of struggle, of a year of watchful waiting, arms in hand, of eager hope for convulsions from within; it is the most important event of present world politics. It means that in spite of the incredibly sluggish pace of world revolution, it has been impossible to destroy Soviet Russia, that the breach we cut in the system of capitalist nations in 1917 remains unhealed. A relation of unstable equilibrium now ensues. Soviet Russia has not been able, owing to the slow progress of world revolution, to continue its important steps in the path of socialistic reconstruction. The country was even forced to retrace its steps, to make greater concessions to international capital than would have been necessary even in a petty bourgeois Russia, if the proletariat had been victorious in only one industrial nation. But the capitalist governments are not able to give battle to Soviet Russia.

They are obliged to tolerate this land of the peasants' and workers' authority, and to establish a *modus vivendi* with it.

Recognition for the Soviet Government

In the telegram in which the English Government makes known to the Soviet Government the decision to invite its representatives to the International Conference, it is stated that the conditions for a recognition of the Soviet Government will be discussed at this conference, if the Soviet Government should desire it. This formulation is merely a subterfuge. The invitation of Soviet Russia to the International Conference, at which the conditions for reconstructing world economy are to be drawn up, is of itself a recognition of the Soviet authority, if under certain circumstances it will assume the obligations which the capitalist powers consider necessary in order to draw Russia into the active system of international economy. There is no isolated question of recognizing the Soviet power, and no isolated question of economic relations. The question of the loan conditions and the conditions for indemnities to be paid by Soviet Russia to guarantee the loan and the payment of interest and sinking fund, what else is this but the question of recognizing the Soviet power? The Soviet power has not applied for a certificate of morality from the Government of Lloyd George, Briand, or Harding; we feel no desire to have our virtue acknowledged by governments that are oppressing the masses of their workers. What we need is real, business-like relations with them, and these relations will force the capitalist governments to drop their persecution of Soviet Russia. The French Government has not hitherto desired to resume relations with us; assuming that they would defeat us, they called the Russian gold "stolen gold"; the Russian factories and mines were called "expropriated" factories and mines. The moment the capitalists of all lands understand that they cannot defeat us by force of arms, and are ready to enter into business relations with us, they will find themselves obliged to recognize our Government and to regard all things they may obtain from us as rightfully acquired, and not as stolen.

Conditions for Recognizing the Soviet Power.

The Soviet power can speak with absolute clearness as to the conditions for its recognition; the more clearly these conditions are placed before the eyes of the world, the more probable will it become that the March Conference will not be a fruitless shipwreck.

The formulation of these conditions will mean calling the attention of the entire capitalist world with absolute clearness to the actual conditions of affairs in Russia. The Entente has touched upon the question of recognizing the old debts. This question has rather a legal than a material significance, at any rate the material significance in the first few years will be slight. For the present, Soviet Russia has no means of paying the old debts. And any Government that might take its seat in the Kremlin would be obliged to declare: "You cannot take bread from a stone." A White Government could not make gold from paper, would not be able to squeeze grain and raw materials out of the starving peasants to the extent necessary for the payment of the old debts. The formulation in the last few weeks of the question as to what debts we are ready to recognize is merely an attempt to force us to recognize all sorts of debts that may now exist anywhere on earth—this attempt is simply a tactical move. It is supremely unimportant to set up a classification of debts, but one thing is important: Will the Entente place credits at Russia's disposal in order to guarantee the rehabilitation of Russian economy? Even if the Soviet Government should be ready to-day to recognize Russian national debts to the extent of one hundred billion gold rubles—no man on earth knows the precise figure of Russia's debt—the Entente would not obtain the slightest advantage from this recognition, for it would remain a scrap of paper. Does anyone now really believe that Germany will still be paying debts twenty years from now? The Entente does not know whether it will not itself be obliged in a year to cancel the obligations of the Entente Governments to one another. There is probably not a single sensible man in all the Entente nations who would now venture to say what will be the alignment of forces in world politics ten years from now and what will be the conditions under which the obligations are to be discharged that have been assumed by one nation or the other. The recognition of the debts is supposed to give to one nation or the other a certain privilege in concessions, in order to guarantee the loans which are now being placed at Russia's disposal for the rehabilitation of its economic life. The principal task of the Conference will consist in determining the proportions of the loans, the organizations advancing them, and the conditions under which they are raised. Everything else will be mere diplomatic side play.

Soviet Russia and the Capitalist Powers.

The return of Soviet Russia to the world's economic life, its readmission to the present group of nations, involves a number of questions of general and special nature. The general questions in the first place are questions of the internal policy of Soviet Russia. May capital go on actually operating on its territory under the workers' dictatorship? At first the Entente proposed conditions. It wanted to dictate to Soviet Russia altera-

tions in its system of government. Soviet Russia declared it would not tolerate such meddling. The fact that the Entente no longer speaks of these conditions shows that it is ready to admit that 150 million Russians are not in the position of Negroes of the Congo or of a now defenseless China. It shows that the Entente is beginning to understand that although the Russian Government and the working class at the present moment may find it necessary to admit foreign capital, the Entente will nevertheless be obliged to fix the legal forms and the institutions required to raise the productive forces of Russia, as soon as the use of foreign capital may cease to be a matter of newspaper discussions and become an actual fact. Capitalism existed during the feudal period, during the period of enlightened despotism, in the democratic republic and in the oligarchic republic. Capitalism is capable of adapting itself to conditions; it will be obliged to reckon with the conditions existing in Russia and it will reckon with these conditions if the political conditions are impregnable, but at the same time guarantee some profit to capitalism. On the other hand, the new economic policy and the legal norms of Soviet Russia are not rigid forms. In Russia there will be no pure capitalism and no pure communism; there will be no pure capitalism so long as the Soviet power of the workers and peasants exists; there will be no pure communism, unless the international working class is victorious, and unless it can bring real advantage to the peasants and thus prove to the peasantry the value of the communist system.

Another general question in our relations with the capitalist powers is concerned with those enterprises that transcend the powers of a capitalist group, and for which their united action is necessary. As soon as such steps are actually taken, the Soviet Government will of course not oppose them. The essence of the question is this: What are the conditions, and what is the character of the enterprises to be formed? Do these conditions threaten the independence of Russia, do they mean an enslavement of Russia? All negotiations on consortiums have thus far been of purely academic character. In the first place, all such magnificent enterprises require billions in funds. Without America no international consortium is possible. But is America now ready to engage in such tremendous affairs as would be involved in an international consortium, and is America ready to go into the question of reconstructing Europe at all? On March 31 of last year America's long time loans amounted to \$16,000,000,000. Her short time loans were \$7,500,000,000. The interest on the American national debt is now more than a billion dollars a year. In 1914 the entire national debt of America was not as high as one billion dollars. The whole American budget was one billion dollars. It follows that America is now paying more interest per year on its national debt than was the entire amount of its national debt before the war, or the entire American budget before the war. In

view of this state of affairs, the most important question for America is that of new taxes. The central thought of the speech delivered by Harding after his inauguration was that of limiting expenses. This necessity of limiting expenses was one of the most important moving forces in summoning the Conference at Washington. In America it is now difficult to obtain credit for the erection of new houses. Even first-class cities raise loans with difficulty. America does not know how to obtain the interest on the loans advanced by it, and it is meanwhile reimbursed by payments out of the American taxes. The finances of France and England are in a very sad state. It is clear that the Entente Governments are hardly capable of raising great national loans. But in every case of attracting private capital, each such attempt at once raises the question of the rate of exchange on the money to be raised by this consortium. The English consortium idea has already given rise to passionate accusations against England, as it plans for a loan in English money, in order thus to push France and Germany off the field, for English money is now much higher than French. It is very amusing merely to read in the *Paris Temps* the statement that France will never be ready to take part in financial operations having the object of placing the Russian people under guardianship or inflicting harm upon it. The Soviet Government is even less ready to accept such arrangements.

Entente Tactics

No one will accuse the Soviet Government of being blind to the facts of international policy and of failing to grasp that the Entente is interested in an accelerated convocation of the International Conference for solving debated questions in the field of reconstructing Russian economy. We are well able to evaluate the energy applied by the Entente in attempting to get Comrade Lenin, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, to attend the International Conference, accompanied by their declaration that if he should come all the Premiers would be present and the matter might be disposed of quickly. If we were disposed to jest we should call attention to the fact that the Allied gentlemen and their press have hitherto represented Lenin as the autocrat of all Russia, and that this would make the attendance of all the Premiers not a sufficiently dignified measure. It would be necessary to arrange to have the Presidents of the United States and France attend, as well as the King of England, in order to furnish an equivalent for the autocratic Lenin, but the facts are just the opposite. The demand that Lenin participate is a tactical measure, the object of which is quite clear. The Entente assumes that the Soviet Delegation will have to consult Moscow before taking any decisions; but it also assumes that Lenin can take decisions independently. When Briand and Lloyd George make agreements with certain banking groups, they may do as they please, for these banks hold in their hand the press and

the parliamentary groups. But things are different in the country that is actually governed by a Workers' and Peasants' Democracy. There the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars is an executive organ, and important decisions require not only that the voice of the Central Executive Committee be heard, but also, in particularly important questions, that the Congress of Soviets be convoked. Let the Entente not be deceived by the fact that there was no opposition in the public session of the Congress of Soviets in the discussion of the recognition of debts. Passionate debates on this subject took place in the Communist faction as well as in the Non-Partisan faction, and we can show the Entente the minutes of numerous Provincial Congresses—and even local Soviet Congresses—in which a considerable portion of the peasantry protested emphatically against burdening the masses of the people with an acknowledgment of the debts. All these things the Soviet Government must consider during the projected negotiations.

The International Conference must take place as soon as possible, but it must be very carefully prepared. If the negotiating countries are not to run the risk of having the Conference fail, the delegates of all the countries must be pretty well informed as to what is to be the subject of the negotiations, and must prepare the public opinion of their countries accordingly. The Versailles negotiations—that tower of Babylon—produced results of such nature that the Entente, hardly awakening from the Versailles experience, is already obliged to ask for new conferences in the matter of a reconstruction of world economy. The lessons of Versailles will be the more considered, since Russia is not in the situation of a disarmed nation, as Germany was when the Versailles Conference was held.

The next issue of **SOVIET RUSSIA**

will be dated April 1st.

It will contain several features that have had to be omitted in this issue for lack of space. Among them are the "National Office Notes" and the "Books Reviewed".

New articles will include the following:

THE RUSSIAN STATE BANK, by A. L. Sheinman, who is in charge of this new institution, being the remarks made by him in a recent interview at Berlin.

WRANGEL SOLDIERS AT BAKU (showing how these men, to make up for past offenses, volunteered to rehabilitate one of the shattered industries of their country).

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (How the organized workers of Russia react toward the altered economic situation).

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Captain Hibben and Secretary Hoover

AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

In connection with the correspondence between Captain Paxton Hibben and Mr. Herbert Hoover published below, the following quotation from Captain Hibben's remarks at the meeting organized by the Friends of Soviet Russia, held at the Lexington Opera House, New York, on February 26, is revealing. From these remarks it would appear that Captain Hibben has been prevailed upon to resign the position he held with the Near East Relief. Captain Hibben said:

I WANT to make it clear to this meeting that I am no longer in any way connected with the Near East Relief, for which organization I have been handling publicity for over two years. I say this for the sake of the Near East Relief, for whom it is a source of considerable embarrassment that I should have spoken as frankly as I have, recently, about Mr. Herbert Hoover's work in Russia. For the Near East Relief has applied to Mr. Hoover for a portion of the \$20,000,000 appropriated by the Congress for relief in Russia, since the Near East Relief operates in a territory which was formerly a part of the old Russian Empire, namely, the Socialist Soviet Republics of Georgia and Armenia. And I think that the Near East Relief is in fact entitled to have a share in that appropriation, for it is undeniable that many thousands of children are starving to-day in Soviet Armenia quite as much as millions of children are starving in the Volga valley. And I, for one, have never been able to see any distinction between one hungry child over there and another hungry child over there—which is why, in my own time, I have been speaking ever since my return from Russia for the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations which are trying to save the starving of the Volga valley. They enlist my sympathy just as much as the little Armenian children.

"But Mr. Vickrey, of the Near East Relief, felt that while I was so openly defending the smaller organizations which are seeking to help the starving of Russia, and in the course of that defense seemingly running counter to Mr. Hoover, it might prejudice the claim of the Near East Relief upon a part of that \$20,000,000 of which Mr. Hoover holds the disposition. And so he preferred to have me sever my connection with the Near East Relief, so that he could write and tell Mr. Hoover that I was no longer connected with that organization.

"I have gladly acceded to Mr. Vickrey's desire. For I want to see the children in Transcaucasia live, too; and if the Near East Relief cannot keep them all from starving—and it cannot—I want the American Relief Administration to do so. If it will help matters to have me out of the Near East Relief, then I am glad to get out, even though my going save no more than the life of a single child."

L
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary

Washington January 26, 1922

My dear Mr. Hibben:

I understand that you have recently criticized the work of the American Relief Administration in Russia in public

and that you have likewise taken occasion to make very disagreeable statements in regard to me personally. If this report is correct I should be glad if you would write me the same statements which you have made in public.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) HERBERT HOOVER.

II

January 29, 1922

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very much for your frank letter of January 26 raising directly with me the matter of what I may have been reported to have said in respect of the American Relief Administration's work for the starving of Russia. It is quite like you to write me at once about this matter, and I appreciate it profoundly. I am very glad indeed of the opportunity to make my position towards the relief of the famine sufferers in Russia quite clear to you, as I thought I had done in my talk with you on October 27, last, just after my return from Russia.

First, permit me to clear up one matter, as I note that you address me in care of the Near East Relief. Please accept my assurance that nothing I have said or shall say about the Russian situation in any way whatever reflects or claims to reflect the opinions of anyone connected with the Near East Relief. My views on Russia are my own.

Second, let me say as categorically as I can that I have never dreamed of making any "very disagreeable statement" whatever in regard to you, personally, either in public or in private. Indeed, my whole feeling towards you is and has always been one which would prompt me to make very agreeable statements in regard to you personally—and I have done so, in public, in private and in print. Writing in *Holland's Magazine* a year ago, in an article afterwards reproduced in over 200 newspapers throughout the country I said, in regard to your relief program in Central Europe:

"We had rather those whom we helped chafed under the necessity for receiving aid, and were constantly planning their own economic regeneration and real, not ostensible, independence. When we find this spirit in a people there is no limit to our generosity, because we feel that in what we do there can be no possible imputation of interested motives.

"Herbert Hoover has understood this from the start, and because he has understood it he could and he can today go before the American people with a figure of financial aid required that may seem fantastic, ask it in the name of humanity—and get it. Every cent of it. The people of the United States know that Hoover represents no interest, financial, commercial or sectarian. They know, too, that he is interested not in the least in merely helping the helpless, but in helping people to help themselves. That is what we, as Americans, want to see done, and so we are ready to put any amount in the hands of Herbert Hoover or any other man or responsible organization regarding relief work in this light, and to say: 'Go ahead—the greatest good for the greatest number. It is the American idea; eventually, every man standing on his own feet.'"

On August 15 last, Mr. A. A. Johnson, Chairman of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief, wrote you from Tiflis:

"I may add that should you desire it, the three original members of the Commission, myself, Captain

Hibben, and Mr. Connes, are ready to remain in Russia under your orders and to continue the work that you may care to have done, or to return to Russia for that purpose after our report is presented to you."

That was true then, and is still true.

Writing in *Leslie's Weekly* as recently as December 10, last, on the present situation in Russia, I expressed the same sentiment in regard to you that I had expressed a year before in *Holland's Magazine*:

"And that is why it is a mighty good thing that Herbert Hoover decided to send food and aid into Russia, and Americans as relief workers to feed the children and care for the sick and help out, generally, with big hearts and ready hands. For, after all, we in the United States do not really want to starve millions of women and children to death on account of anybody's political opinions."

That is my position, certainly, and for that reason I offered on my return from Russia to speak without compensation of any kind at meetings organized by any honest committee whatever seeking funds to aid the starving of Russia, and have so spoken for the Friends, for the Russian Famine Fund, the American Medical Aid for Russia, the Friends of Soviet Russia, and the Russian Red Cross. I expect to continue to aid in every way that I can in my own personal time any or all of these organizations desiring help to raise funds.

Now under these circumstances, and with the view of your attitude towards relief work which I have set forth in the first quotation given above, I have been much worried of late by reports in the press that various persons speaking, it is claimed, either for the American Relief Administration or for the United States Government, prominent among them Admiral Niblack, have spread abroad the impression that for one reason or another there is no further use in committees appealing to the generosity of the American people for funds to aid the starving of Russia.

One of the reasons given is that the \$36,000,000 rendered available for famine relief and seed grain through the A. R. A. will take care of the need in Russia. This, of course, is not true, as no one knows better than you do; and I have not hesitated to deny this statement at every possible opportunity. The grotesque assumption that approximately \$1.50 per person for food and for seed among those affected by the famine in Russia will suffice to keep them until mid-August is in keeping with much of the mischievous propaganda about conditions in Russia which, unfortunately, seems to find credence in Washington. So far as I know, you have never been quoted as saying anything so at variance with the facts, and certainly I have never dreamed of stating that you had.

The other reason commonly given for discouraging general appeals to the public for aid to the starving of Russia is the allegation that the transportation system and the ports of Russia are so badly out of repair that they cannot handle any food or other supplies additional to those of which the American Relief Administration disposes. It was this phase of the matter which I took up in detail at a luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor, on January 21. I have written Mr. McDonald requesting that he return me the advance copy of what I planned to say, with which I supplied him, or secure for me a stenographic transcript of what I did say at this meeting, which I shall be very glad to forward to you. Either or both of these documents will speak for themselves. It will be clear at once that I certainly did not in any way criticize you personally—indeed, that I specifically said that "I impugn the motives of no man." It will be equally clear, I hope, that I in no sense criticized the work of the American Relief Administration in Russia, which I regard as very fine work so far as it goes; but that I did express a regret, which I feel very profoundly, that the aid extended to a starving Russia by the United States does not and never has contemplated a sufficient aid of that unhappy people to prevent a vast harvest of death before the next crop can be got in. I disagreed with Governor Goodrich as to the tonnage the railways

of Russia could handle, the difference between his figures and mine being a matter of 2,000 tons daily, only 25 per cent. of his total and 20 per cent. of mine, which difference I am persuaded could easily be made up by employing other ports of entry and routes than those whose use is projected now. I mentioned specifically the ports of Sebastopol, Nikolaiev, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Feodosia, Kerch, Taganrog, Odessa and Batum (via Baku and the Caspian to Astrakhan), as possibilities for the landing of supplies sent in through the Black Sea, in addition to the obvious ports of Novorossisk and Rostov-on-Don. I pointed out that 10,000 tons of grain daily would feed 17,500,000 persons 14 ounces daily and stated that I saw no reason why this number of starving or even of hungry should not be fed, so long as the American people, either by the money appropriated by Congress or by additional funds raised by private subscriptions were willing to feed as many of the suffering of Russia as possible. When Governor Goodrich replied that it would take 100 days to distribute the supplies which the American Relief Administration had already purchased to send to Russia, over the lines now being used, I pointed out that there would still be over 100 days more before the harvests could be in, and asked what it was planned to do then.

No one knows better than you that money for charity cannot be raised in large quantities in a few days. Should the American Relief Administration employ every possible route for sending grain into Russia and thus distribute more than 10,000 tons per day, there is certain to come a moment when further supplies can be sent in if they are available—not only food, but clothing, medical supplies, farming implements, tractors and other articles necessary for the saving of the people of Russia from more famine and death next winter. If appeals are made for such articles now, they will be available when the immediate transportation crisis in Russia is over, when the Don and the Volga are open, and the amount of tonnage that can be handled greatly increased. But if we wait until the transportation needs of the A. R. A. are satisfied to make appeal for these things for the starving and destitute of Russia, they will not be ready; and no power on earth can get them ready on a few days' notice.

With this in mind I asked very plainly at the meeting in question whether there was any good reason, outside of that of transport which I do not, for the reasons I have just stated, consider a sound one, why as many appeals as can be launched should not be made to the American people for all the funds requisite to save every possible man, woman and child in Russia from starvation; and I pointed out that any restriction of the relief being extended to the Russian people to a single semi-official agency operating with public funds could not fail to place that single agency in a position where it would be possible to use relief as a means of political pressure in dealing with the Russian Government or moral pressure in dealing with the Russian people. I did not say, and I have never said that our government contemplates any such use of the relief funds appropriated by the Congress. But I did say that in my opinion no such use of relief funds as political or moral pressure upon Russia can be tolerated without the express approval of the American people, whose funds they are.

I speak with the more vehemence on this subject, because, while correspondent of the Associated Press in Greece in 1916 and 1917, I saw a food blockade of Greece used to coerce the Greeks from their neutrality through the slow starvation of the Greek people, by the governments of France, Great Britain and Italy, in which governments there were men as high-minded, individually, as any in our own government. It is useless for people to say that things of this sort cannot be done in a civilized world; they have been done, and I have seen them done. As an American, I do not want to see my own government even tempted to pursue such a course; and plainly the time to speak of it is before, not afterwards.

Moreover, various persons of standing have come to me with the fear that such a thing may be or become the purpose of the United States. The thing was being

whispered about. It seemed to me that the one way to stop rumors of this sort, to allay the uneasiness of many persons, would be to bring the whole matter into open discussion. It would furnish you, or someone in your name, the opportunity to say publicly that there seems to be need for all the aid that can be gathered in the United States for the starving and destitute people of Russia, in addition to the amount appropriated by the Congress; and that such relief agencies as, for example, the Friends, are performing a valuable service in Russia and should receive support. Such a public statement would put an end to all doubts and all whispers.

In an editorial on August 13, *The Times* said: "Mr. Hoover . . . asks only the opportunity to learn through trained observers what the need is, and then to give solely and fairly as that need suggests."

You have learned what the need is and you know that it is far greater than all that the \$36,000,000 now being spent by the A. R. A. for relief purposes can cope with. Will you not assist those who want to see 100 per cent. relief of the Russian people—who want to see no child that can be saved die—by publicly stating that there is need for relief additional to that now going to Russia through the A. R. A.?

One further word. When I returned from Russia I had in mind very deeply what you had said on March 25, last: "Nothing is more important to the whole commercial world than the recovery of productivity in Russia," and it was with this in mind that I drafted the recommendations of the report which our Commission submitted to you on October 27. Talking with you that day, I urged as strongly as I could your leadership in the formation of a new American policy of aiding the economic regeneration of Russia by open trade, by credits based on the natural resources of Russia and by the sending to Russia of a Commission of technical experts to establish the economic needs of the country, in co-operation with the Soviet authorities. It seemed to me that the man who had had the courage to regain the friendship of our late enemies in the European war by coming to the aid of their starving was the man to lead in this great, new enterprise to cure not Russia alone, but the whole world, of its ills of commercial and industrial stagnation, unemployment and unrest.

I shall not pretend to you, Sir, that I was not disappointed to hear you say that you felt that the American people would not countenance such a policy—that you were convinced that they would want to limit their aid of Russia to a mere temporary aid of the starving. I told you frankly, then, that I did not agree with you in this. I feel that the man whom I described—and described accurately, I am sure—in *Holland's Magazine*, could swing the whole American people to the will to save Russia to the world. I know of no one else who could.

At the same luncheon at which I spoke, Mr. Otto H. Kahn said of our policy toward Russia that "the world had had enough of a policy of timidity and fear, that it needed to cry out a policy of mercy and faith." I believe this, Sir. And I am only sorry that you do not.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) PAXTON HIBBEN.

III.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Office of the Secretary
Washington

February 3, 1922.

Dear Mr. Hibben:

I am glad to have you say that you have made no criticism of the American Relief Administration. However, I do not suppose you mean that I should consider it a compliment for you to express intense fear that I shall commit murder. Nothing but experience will prove Russia's transportation capacity. As the Soviet authorities have asked us to slow our sea shipments down by one-half it does not look very good and we may still have food in the ports at next harvest with millions dead. I

have, however, sent an expert staff to see what improvements we can make.

Your last paragraph reminds me of similar statements made over a period of a year because I insisted that some one else should undertake the burden of Russian relief. Then when I did undertake it most unwillingly the same people, including the persons connected with committees with which you are associated, have been unceasing in criticism because I do not do more, or, don't do it in their way. Yet I have put together \$47,500,000 against less than \$2,000,000 from all the rest of the world.

So it goes—but it's no encouragement to interest one's self in Russia when there are other burdens equally important and of less perverseness.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) HERBERT HOOVER.

IV.

February 9, 1922.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you for your courteous letter of February 3. I believe that I can add very little to what is said in the editorial in to-day's *New York Globe*, of which I attach copy.

Very sincerely yours,
PAXTON HIBBEN.

V.

(From *N. Y. Globe*, February 9, 1922)
TAKING FOOD FROM THE STARVING

The natural consequence of the silly attack upon various bodies which are collecting funds and food for Russians in the famine areas will be to add to the millions of impotent and innocent victims. Bureaucrats scattered throughout the Department of Justice, the Department of State, and the Department of Commerce, for purposes of publicity are carrying on a private war with the Bolshevist government. As individuals these press agents are entitled to their opinions, but it is an offense against humanity for them to attempt, as was done this morning, to stop the sending of food to the starving.

Impartial information concerning the state of affairs in Russia is not scarce. Besides official investigations, many of the leading papers of this country and of England have sent correspondents into the country to make direct reports. Their testimony has been unanimous. Millions of peasant farmers with their women and children are in the stricken area. Lloyd George referred to the Russian famine as one of the great catastrophes of civilization. The need is so obviously terrible that the conscience of the civilized world was aroused. Congress acted, and many voluntary associations of citizens, men and women, most of whom loathed the Bolshevist government as 'completely as in other years they had despised the czaristic régime, began to raise funds for the relief of those about to die.

It is conceivable that some of the Bolshevist partisans in this country may have said foolish or prejudiced things. But what difference does that make? The anti-Bolshevist partisans are not less mad. The vast majority of the men and women concerned in Russian relief are thinking about the hunger of women, of little children, of simple farmers who are wasting to death, and not about Bolshevist politics. The attack made upon these organizations is consequently as infamous as it is absurd. The President of the United States has been conspicuous among those who were unwilling to sit idly by while millions of Russians went down to death because of the lack of food. The bureaucratic propagandists who liberate innuendoes and inspire slanders against these relief organizations might as logically attack the President.

The Washington propaganda has grown to menacing proportions. The State Department, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Justice are all infected with it. Messrs. Hughes and Hoover and Daugherty will do well to clean their houses before public irritation reaches too high a point. The American people will not

long endure a presumptuous bureaucracy which for its own wretched purposes, is willing to let millions of innocent people die.

VI.

MEMORANDUM OF THE NEED IN RUSSIA

Figures furnished by those who are actually operating the railways in question:

Novorossisk	2,700 tons daily
3 trains, 50 cars each, 1,000 poods (36,000 lbs.) per car.	
Rostov or Taganrog	2,000 tons daily
Nikolaiev	}4,300 tons daily*
Berdyansk	
Mariupol	
Feodosia	
Kerch	
Odessa	
Batum	1,000 tons daily*
for shipment to Baku and thence via the Caspian Sea to Astrakhan.	
TOTAL	10,000 tons daily through ice-free southern ports.

So soon as the Don is open, the Don could be used from its mouth to Kalech-Donskaya, and thence by rail to Tsaritain. Over this route, 8,000 tons could be handled daily.

It is important to consider that a large supply of grain should be ready at Rostov and Astrakhan for shipment by boat so soon as navigation is open. This stock can be accumulated now at both points, the latter being reached by shipments into Batum and through Baku and via the Caspian Sea to Astrakhan.

If the ports can handle from the Black Sea 10,000 tons daily now, and in order to employ to a maximum advantage the rivers so soon as they are ice-free a surplus must be accumulated for later river traffic, then more than 10,000 tons of grain must be sent to the Black Sea, daily, now.

Given \$30,000,000 to spend for grain, with the grain costing approximately \$39.86 per ton to buy and ship, the total that can be purchased and shipped for the sum available would be approximately 750,000 tons. Even at only 10,000 tons per day, the entire shipment would be delivered in Russia in 75 days or by the middle of April.

By the middle of April, or even before, the Don and the Volga will be open for shipping, and approximately thrice the amount of tonnage can be handled that is now being handled. But the supplies must be got to the Don port of Rostov and the Volga port of Astrakhan (via Batum and Baku) before that date, if full advantage is to be taken of this fact.

No harvest is to be expected before mid-July and no general distribution of harvests, especially spring grain, before mid-August. From February 1 to July 15 is 165 days, or 90 days more than the period within which the entire A. R. A. shipments of grain to Russia should have been completed. To August 15, it would be 121 days beyond the time when the A. R. A. shipments of grain to Russia should have been completed. What, if anything, is to be shipped into Russia during this crucial period, and by whom?

It must be recalled that the entire \$30,000,000 fund for the purchase of grain is not for the purchase of food. \$10,000,000 contributed by the Soviet Government is primarily for seed grain. The remaining \$20,000,000 would, therefore, if all spent on the purchase of grain for food, without overhead or other expenses save the cost of freight from the United States to Russia at approximately \$12.00 per ton, purchase only about 500,000 tons of food grain. And this amount would feed only about 7,000,000 people from February 1 to July 15, and 5,831,000 to August 15, at 14 oz. per day per person.

*Estimated.

Now, the N. Y. Tribune of January 19 published a report received from the A. R. A., 42 Broadway, in which it is said that "The administration is planning to provide daily meals for 2,000,000 by March 1." This figure may be taken as reasonable. A London dispatch to the Universal Service, of January 30, credits Mr. Walter L. Brown with stating that the A. R. A. will be feeding 8,000,000 people in Russia before the end of February. This is a fantastic figure, and may be taken as approximately the maximum that the A. R. A. can hope to feed at any time. Even accepting this figure, however, the need in Russia is by no means satisfied. With all the money at its disposal spent on grain and getting the grain to Russia, the A. R. A. could feed 8,000,000 people only to about the middle of July—and of course all of its funds are not spent on grain and getting the grain to Russia.

Every estimate of those who are starving in Russia gives a higher figure than 8,000,000. The N. Y. Tribune of January 6 says: "American relief workers who originally cautiously placed the number of probable deaths in the famine area this winter at 2,000,000, now say that 5,000,000 is a low estimate and many say that 10,000,000 or even more may be swallowed up by the famine." The Globe of January 7 says, editorially: "The American Government will be largely responsible for saving between 5,000,000 and 10,000,000 Russian children and adults who would otherwise have died before the next harvest." The Morning World of December 10 says, editorially: "Latest reports from the American officials state that of the 30,000,000 persons affected by the famine, 15,000,000 are in imminent danger of the worst effects of starvation." The Times of December 26 says, editorially: "With fifteen million people suffering in the famine areas, even twice fifteen million bushels of corn will not go far." President Kalinin is quoted in a Times dispatch from Copenhagen, January 7, as saying: "27,000,000 starving in Russia." Col. Haskell, in an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow of January 6, says: "We cannot hope to fill their stomachs, but we can keep from 5,000,000 to 10,000,000 from starving." The N. Y. Evening Post says, editorially, on December 2: "Some 15,000,000 are starving, and 40,000,000 are affected."

Even if the A. R. A. were able to feed 8,000,000 from March 1 on until its stock were exhausted, about the middle of July, to feed 2,000,000, or 10,000,000, which seems to be a fair estimate of the need, would require 145,000 tons additional grain, costing \$5,800,000 to purchase and get to Russia, in addition to the money appropriated by Congress. Even to feed these 8,000,000 and no others the difference of time between mid-July and mid-August, when harvests may be expected, would require \$5,200,000 more than is now available through the A. R. A., while to feed 10,000,000, instead of 8,000,000, the full time to mid-August would require \$12,300,000 more than the funds at the disposal of the A. R. A.

How is this vast sum to be raised unless every single agency now seeking to collect money for the starving of Russia is aided and encouraged in every possible way?

PAXTON HIBBEN.

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How the Soviet Government Works

V. LOCAL SOVIET CONGRESSES

(This article is one of a series on institutions of the Soviet Government which we are reprinting from "Russian Information and Review", published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London. The series began in the January issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.)

THE area over which the machinery of Russia's local government has to be distributed is so vast that, with existing methods of communication, it would be hopeless to expect a fully representative body to remain in permanent session without losing that touch with the electorate which is considered essential in the Soviet system. The smallest unit for local government purposes above the town or village is the *volost*, or rural district, often equal in size to half an English county; the *uyezd* or county, composed of several *volosts*, is frequently as large as two or three English counties while there are *gubernias*, or provinces, as large as England.

Consequently, even before the November revolution of 1917, it was recognized that the most workable method was to hold frequent congresses of all the Soviets in the given area, which should lay down the general lines of policy to be followed for the future, and solve any important problems which the executive committees considered beyond their competence. The executive committees—provincial, county, and rural district—were small bodies of from ten to twenty-five members, elected by the congresses, and, unlike the Central Executive Committee, which was elected by the All-Russian Congress, were limited to purely executive functions, without the right of legislation.

The November Revolution did not alter the essence of this system, and tended rather to reduce it to a logical form, in which local practice could be utilized for the benefit of the country at large, and local variations and departures from the general rule be brought down to a minimum. The Soviet Constitution of July, 1918, summed up the results of twelve months' working of the system of Soviet congresses, and the three and a half years which have elapsed since that date have introduced changes of technical rather than of sweeping importance. In this the local apparatus, as the first four articles of this series have shown, fell behind the central apparatus of the State; but this was the natural consequence of the condition of ceaseless war—particularly of civil war—which demanded before all else a constant reviewing and bringing up to date of the central authority. The revolutionary impetus of the masses in the districts, which had improvised the Soviets as their own peculiar form of organization before ever it became a form of the State, was left largely to itself for long after that change had taken place. The result was that the history of Russian local government during the three years following the constitution of 1918 is a story of very gradual elimination of local differences by a process of practical

testing and comparison, and of very gradual approximation to a common rule.

A quite typical example of this may be cited. The Constitution of July, 1918, laid down that provincial congresses were to consist of delegates from the rural district congresses, in the proportion of one delegate for 10,000 inhabitants, and from town Soviets on the basis of one delegate for 2,000 electors; the whole not to exceed three hundred delegates. Statistics compiled by the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs (Russia's "Local Government Board"), however, reveal the following picture:

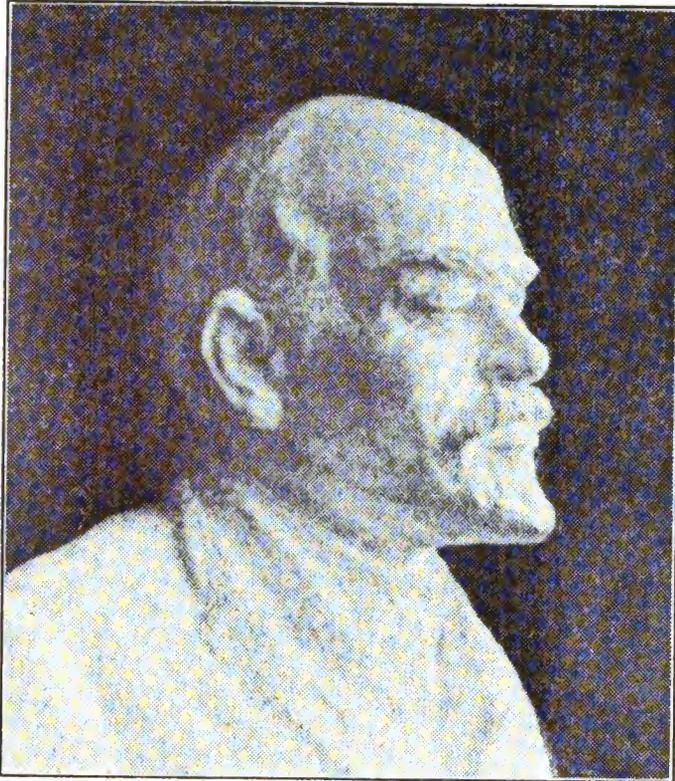
	Up to 100 Delegates	101 to 300 Delegates	300 to 500 Delegates	Over 500 Delegates
1918.....	3	23	5	2
1919.....	3	29	2	1
1920.....	2	44	1	—
1921..... (1st half)	—	19	—	—

Thus practice showed that the maximum fixed by rule of thumb, as it were, July, 1918, was comparatively slowly understood by all local administrative workers as binding, and not until the first half of 1921 were no exceptions recorded.

(A) Rural District Congresses

These are composed of delegates from all the village Soviets in the district, in the proportion of one delegate for every 100 inhabitants represented in the Soviet. It was originally intended that these congresses should meet every month, thereby approximating to the practice of county councils in other countries; but experience showed that the rural districts, which were largely artificial creations of the old régime, had not yet developed the feeling of local homogeneity necessary for such a scheme. By 1919 the People's Commissar for Home Affairs reported that congresses were taking place on an average once in three months; and now that twelve months of peace have shown the urgency of practical work rather than discussion, the All-Russian Congress of December, 1921, definitely enacted that congresses would in future take place at intervals of twelve months, conferences of chairmen and secretaries of the village Soviets being held for consultative purposes as frequently as possible.

The highest authority in a rural district between congresses is the executive committee, elected by the congress, and composed of three members in districts with less than 5,000 inhabitants, but in no case exceeding seven members. Only three de-



NIKOLAI LENIN

From a photograph of Mrs. Sheridan's bust of Russia's most famous statesman. The F. S. R. has received Mrs. Sheridan's permission to manufacture duplicates of this bust for its members and contributors, under conditions to be described in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

partments, as a rule, exist in connection with a rural district executive—administration, war, and land.

(B) County Congresses

The Constitution of July, 1918, betrays all the signs of the old separation of town and county which had been only very roughly bridged over by the amalgamation of the two All-Russian Congresses (workers' and peasants') which was mentioned in the last article. In the case in point, it laid down that the county congresses were to be composed of delegates from village Soviets only, in the proportion of one delegate for every 1,000 inhabitants, towns with a population of under 10,000 inhabitants being treated as villages, while others (and this category often included the county town itself) were not represented in the congress at all. As time went on, however, this distinction rapidly disappeared, the double influences of the revolution and the revolutionary war melting away and effacing the differences which originally had led to the organization of separate town and country Soviets. The Seventh All-Russian Congress, in December, 1919, corrected this state of affairs by enacting that county congresses should be composed of delegates from *all* the Soviets in the given area, towns delegating on a basis of electorate, villages

on a basis of population. The same congress recognized that the original period for the meeting of county congresses—three months—was too short for practical purposes, and extended it to six; which the Ninth Congress last December further extended to twelve.

A few of the most important statistics relative to these congresses are valuable for the light they throw on the various criticisms which have been directed against the Soviet system and those who administered it after the November revolution. It has been alleged, for example, that county congresses were not allowed to meet; that the majority of the rural population were not represented in them; or that they were dominated by one political party. Between January, 1918, and June, 1921, some 4,000 county congresses were held, in connection with 1,651 (forty per cent.) of which the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs is in possession of detailed statistics. In these 1,651 alone, 190,077 delegates took part; which makes it probable that in all, during these three and a half years, about 450,000 peasants (as they were for the most part) were introduced to the elements of local government on a scale larger than that of their own hamlet or village. Figures such as these are more eloquent than any reasoning when we inquire into the attachment of the Russian laboring masses to the Soviet system.

The overwhelming peasant character of these congresses may be shown by reference to the statistics for 1920 and the first six months of 1921, which show that the delegates to the county congresses of those years were distributed among the following categories:

	1920 Per cent.	1921 Per cent.
Workers	16.2	14.5
Peasants	65.4	63.1
Office employees	13.6	16.2
Other occupations	4.8	6.2

The same lesson is to be drawn from a study of the constituencies represented. In 1920 30,000 delegates (77.5 per cent.) were elected by rural district congresses, and only 6,600 by towns, factory settlements, trade unions, etc. For the first half of 1921 the corresponding figures were 15,500 and 3,800.

As for the assertion of a political dictatorship over the will of the peasantry, the following table will show that it was only in the most critical period of the revolution—between the middle of 1918, which saw the beginning of the civil war, and the last months of 1919, which saw the end of Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich — that the

Communists and their sympathizers outnumbered the other parties and groups. The fact that the executive committees elected by the county congresses played the most decisive part in gathering Russia's gigantic Red Army, composed, as to 80 per cent. of its numbers, of peasants, shows that psychologically as well as numerically the non-party peasants were the allies and not the servants of a political faction.

	Communists Per cent.	Independents Per cent.	Others Per cent.
Jan.-June, 1918	48.4	32.1	19.5
July-Dec., 1918	72.8	18.3	8.9
Jan.-June, 1919	61.3	33.8	4.9
July-Dec., 1919	49.4	45.6	5.0
Jan.-Dec., 1920	43.0	56.3	0.7
Jan.-June, 1921	41.5	58.3	0.2

(C) *Provincial Congresses*

These assemblies, composed of delegates from towns on the basis of electorate (1:2,000) and from rural district congresses on the basis of population (1: 10,000)—or from county congresses on the same basis, if these be held immediately before the provincial congress—are distinguished by much the same features as were noticed in the case of the county congresses. During the first two years of the revolution, they were held, roughly, once in six months; later this period began to be extended, until it was fixed by the Ninth Congress at twelve months. Affecting, as they do, the administration of vast areas, the efficient government of which is of primary importance from the economic or military point of view, where smaller territorial units can be left more safely as a field of experience for purely local initiative, the provincial congresses show a more even balance between town and country representatives, and consequently between workers' and peasants' representation; the most capable administrators naturally being produced by the large industrial centres, which we find taking part in Soviet congresses for the first time at this stage of the administrative ladder.

The following table shows the distribution of delegates according to principal constituencies represented:

	1920	1921
County Congresses	4,252	1,980
Rural District Congresses....	278	106
Town and Factory Soviets...	11,053	409

The following table applies to the same congresses, the delegates being distributed according to occupations:

	1920 Per cent.	1921 Per cent.
Workers	33.3	31.2
Peasants	36.7	35.9
Office employees	17.7	23.0
Other occupations	12.3	9.9

It may be noticed that here, as in the case of the county congresses, the percentage of Soviet employees amongst the delegates has increased since the coming of peace. It is natural, of course, that the demobilization of the army, the return of several millions of men to more normal pursuits, and the possibility of developing the local administrative apparatus more extensively and usefully than could be the case in the years when the war was the first public concern, should bring about an increase in the number of active local workers who are engaged in purely administrative occupations. Of the same order is the fact that the percentage of communists delegated to provincial congresses has steadily decreased from 90.3 in July-December, 1918, to 74.7 in January-June, 1921; while the percentage of independents has just as steadily increased from 5.7 to 25.1.

This, together with the circumstance that between the November revolution and June, 1921, over 50,000 delegates had taken part in provincial congresses, once again serves to emphasize the fact that the Soviet system, besides being a form of local government on which the Russian Republic has been able to exist amidst difficulties which no other less flexible form would have enabled it to outlive, is in addition a gigantic political school, an unprecedented training ground in public affairs, for the Russian working and peasant masses, who have thus for the first time been admitted to the fulfilment of other functions besides those of endless toil and unbroken subjection.

NOTE TO ESTHONIA

Moscow, February 2 (*Rosta, Wien*). — The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has transmitted a note to the plenipotentiary representative of Esthonia in Russia in which it refers to a great number of cases of speculation and smuggling in which members of the Esthonian Representation in Moscow were involved. The members of the Esthonian Diplomatic Mission and of the Option Commission have violated the stipulations of international law and used their diplomatic pouches and diplomatic mail for smuggling into Esthonia valuables and objects of art which had been acquired by them in illegal fashion. Moreover, they have also introduced contraband articles such as alcohol, saccharine, etc. In this note are mentioned the names of these smuggler-diplomats who were acting under the immediate direction of the Acting Finance Minister of Esthonia, Rosenberg. Protesting against this misuse of diplomatic mail, which causes great harm to the Russian Soviet Republic, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs requests the punishment of the persons mentioned who had participated in these smuggling affairs.

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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“THERE is no danger that too much will be done for the famine sufferers in Russia,” says *The New York Times* in an editorial in its issue of March 6, which continues: “But a public that is still able, and possibly still inclined, to relieve suffering should not forget the Russians in Constantinople. There are not many of them—only 34,000—men, women and children, almost all civilians. Most of them fled from Southern Russia at the collapse of the Wrangel movement.”

In the class war that ensued in Russia after the assumption of power by the Bolsheviki, owing to the stubborn resistance of the classes that had been removed from power, much misery resulted on both sides. Long before the effects of the drought became apparent last Summer, cruel warfare had been waged by each class against its opponents. It would be idle and silly to attempt to calculate which side—the proletariat or the capitalists and their supporters—underwent more cruel punishment at the hands of its adversary. It is impossible to express quantitatively a situation of this sort. But our readers should remember that the opponents of a government in power are likely to fare badly when they come in contact with the executive organs and institutions of that government. Such an understanding of the situation is perfectly compatible with a full human sympathy with the trials and tribulations of counter-revolutionists who are leading a wretched life in various centers outside of Russia. It is not difficult to see that princes, archdukes, and high government officials of the Tsarism must be having a hard time of it in countries where they are not firmly rooted in a lower class that obeys their every wish, condones their moral lapses, and regards their most extravagant foibles with the affectionate eye of the family retainer, to whom

“the King can do no wrong”. In Tolstoy’s *Anna Karénina* there is a gay fellow, a handsome man about town, who wins the affections of all, although he is a man of no particular moral worth, and even in his moments of generosity is kind to one friend only to confer discomfort and humiliation upon another. Stepan Oblonsky sails through life, in spite of impediments in the shape of a wife, seven children, and an official position, with the non-chalance of a privileged libertine, always redolent of wine and cigars, always drifting from dinner to entertainment or ball, from dance-hall to boudoir, from actresses to gypsies. At every step he is supported and encouraged by those who serve him through the power of his pin-money or the prestige of his family name or his winning ways. We can imagine Stepan Oblonsky now at Constantinople. He has no money in his pockets to spend. He is soured with failure and disappointment. He cannot even go to the country to sell the trees in his forests to German speculators, when his cash runs low, for the forests belong to the government now. Oblonsky is one of the great army of bureaucrats who have never learnt to do any useful work. They can flourish only in the favorable soil of a country that does not question their right to live without working. They must be miserable at Constantinople. And many of the gay ladies of Russian high society must be subjected to cruel experiences. We have read that at Constantinople many have turned prostitutes, but we believe this report was coupled with a declaration to the effect that they had done so in order to escape “nationalization” at home. We agree with *The Times*: the lot of the exile is hard. Admiral Tirpitz’s daughter is forced by an unkind fate to dance on Paris stages as Madame Sakharov, and to have her photograph printed in the rotogravure section of the *Sunday Times*. Fifteen year old daughters of high Vienna functionaries sell themselves in the streets of their native capital to the well-salaried and well-fed members of foreign investigation commissions. The fate of the disestablished and untrained scion of obsolete privilege is terribly severe, whether at home or abroad.

• • •

BUT are not some of these exiles trained men and women? *The Times* tells us that some of them are very intelligent and capable, and that “in this terribly complicated world intellect is not so plentiful that we can stand by and let these people die.” We agree again with *The Times*. There is unfortunately a type of refined and cultured intellectual that has been prepared only for domination and enjoyment, and it is probable that this type, in many ways the most amiable and delicate flower of the civilization from which it springs, is doomed to extinction when that system of civilization is disestablished or overthrown. Exiles from several shattered monarchies in Europe are expiring in many lands, rudely swept by the heavy hand of History from the board that had for centuries

been spread for them only. Humanly this is one of the greatest tragedies of the individual: to be suddenly regarded as an outcast, after having once been the salt of the earth. Every great convulsion of history has segregated such unhappy masters for destruction. Who does not recall the German noblemen who worked as bartenders in America when industrial progress or the follies of youth had made them ineligible to participate in their ancestral amusements? Who does not remember the contempt bestowed by Shakespeare on the petty noblemen of his day, who has not grasped the fact that the jaunts of the separatist liege-lord are a thing of the past, and that England has been united under a powerful monarchy, or the hard but delicate irony of Cervantes when he regards the remnants of the crusading class engaged in knight-errantry in the wrong century?

But there are some Russian exiles who belong to a different intellectual class, whose prestige lies in the fact that they can do things that very much need to be done. As *The Times* suggests, such men are very necessary, but less so anywhere else than in Russia. In the highly industrial countries there is already an oversupply of them; witness the low pay and corresponding poor treatment of engineering graduates in this country, not to mention the army of intellectual proletarians in each country of western Europe. There are jobs for such men in Russia, if, like the Wrangel soldiers who helped put Baku back on its feet (an article on this subject will appear in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA), they are really ready to put their shoulders to the wheel. But they prefer to remain in Constantinople, speculating on the possibility that the Soviet Government may be overthrown and that they may return to the fleshpots with all their privileges uncurtailed. Who is it that is wasting the intellectual resources of these men, if not *The New York Times* and other papers of the kind, who propose that charity be extended to them in order that they may not need to return to work in their native country?

NO doubt with the progress of time the Russian intellectual will again begin to feel that his place is with the Government that the Russian workers and peasants established four years ago. Many technical workers in America have already begun to work for reconstruction in Russia. Our readers are doubtless aware of all that has been done in this connection by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia. For years the members of this Society, in classes spread all over the United States and Canada, have been perfecting themselves in their trades in order to be able to place their skill and training at the disposal of Russia. For years they have been prevented from carrying out this desire by an American Government hostile to the established Government of Russia, to the extent of refusing to permit the presence in America of a Russian representative to issue passports to Russians desiring to return home. But at last a means

has been found to forward to Russia the groups of technical men who have been working so long to realize their ambition. Early this year, actual detachments of workers were organized and sent by steamer to Soviet Russia. On February 22, a Shoemakers' Co-operative Group, fully supplied with all necessary machines, as well as with the food they would require for the first six months of their stay, sailed from New York for Russia. On March 10, a large number of men, some of them accompanied by their families, left New York on the steamer *Estonia*, of the Baltic-American Line. The organizations departing on that day were: An Agricultural Co-operative Group, equipped with machines, tractors, seeds, provisions, etc., consisting of 60 men; the Winnipeg Agricultural Commune, a similar farming organization, from Canada; a Mechanics' Group destined for the "Amo" Factory, Moscow, consisting of 50 men trained for manufacturing and assembling automobile parts; a group of trained engineers to be assigned to work in the Immigration Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy. A few days before their departure, the groups about to sail were the guests of a Russian mass-meeting in New York, and heard the messages of goodwill and encouragement which the Russian colony addressed to them. There is quite a difference between the two classes of émigrés, those at Constantinople eager to stay away from Russia, and those in America eager to return to work.

WE hope Mr. Hoover's difficulties in getting his food supplies into Russia as described by him in a Washington despatch to *The New York Times* of March 7 will not impel him to deliver any of them to the 34,000 counter-revolutionists at Constantinople, instead of to the millions starving on the Volga. Those who read the interesting correspondence printed in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, between Mr. Hoover and Captain Paxton Hibben, will find that there is a difference of opinion between these two gentlemen as to the carrying capacity of the Russian railroads. Captain Hibben tells us, in the item entitled *Memorandum of the Need in Russia* (page 144), that 10,000 tons daily can be forwarded from Black Sea ports into Russia, and that there are reasons for shipping more than 10,000 tons daily to these ports at present. We do not like to set ourselves up as judges between Captain Hibben and Mr. Hoover, but we do not overlook the fact that Captain Hibben has expressed himself very favorably on the Russian Soviet Government, while Mr. Hoover seems decidedly less interested in its survival, and this naturally imparts a bias to our opinion of their opinions.

We regret that our present issue is one of twenty-four pages only. With the next issue, SOVIET RUSSIA will return to its usual size of thirty-two pages.

Nikolai Nekrasov

By A. LUNACHARSKY

THOUGH the cursed Tsarism was destined to molder until 1917, then to collapse ignominiously amid the scandalous affairs of the charlatan Rasputin, serfdom was already approaching its death in the days of Nekrasov.

The basic factor which condemned serfdom to perdition was the development of capitalism in Russia. Slave labor was getting less profitable for the exploiter than hired labor. Not only did the newly created industrial capital demand free play for its development, but even the more economically advanced landholders realized that the small independent peasant would prove to be better material for exploitation than the peasant-slave.

However, the great upturn which was then in preparation, the change from crude feudalism to capitalism, then still encased in the narrow feudal framework, was reflected not only in the economic field, but also in the minds of the various classes of Russia.

Side by side with those persons who were convinced that the system of serfdom was superannuated and unprofitable, side by side with these landed proprietors and capitalists, side by side with those government circles which recognized that serfdom had begun to be an obstacle on the path of the railroad development and the military efficiency of Russia, and at the same time, threatened to call forth a number of peasant uprisings, side by side with the economically advanced sections of the peasantry, the large and small land sharks, who were already anticipating the prospect of converting liberty into ringing coin, and had soberly beheld in it the condition for an economic prosperity, there developed, painful, triumphant, and touching elements of a romantic nature.

Of course, this romantic spirit must not be confused with the official patriotic ecstasy from which sprouted forth the cheap adoration for the Tsar Liberator,* but doubtless, among the nobility themselves, in the process of the decay of serfdom, there became more and more powerful the painful consciousness of the monstrosity of the very fact of slavery, and particularly the flagrant abuse of it which was apparent at every step.

The "repentant nobles" are a particularly striking illustration of this feeling. Already Radishchev,† from the depths of a firmly established serfdom, sounds the sharp revolutionary note which later was to embrace Ryleyev and Pestel and to a certain degree was transmitted to Herzen and to Nekrasov himself. Side by side with this goes the entire galaxy of great literary men, reaching its apex in Turgeniev, and finally, the lachrymose repentance in the form of a certain profound obeisance in the presence of the exploited and flayed muzhik and his immemorial

wisdom, and then, in this muzhik-worship, there often expressed itself strongly the fear the nobility felt before the capitalist civilization that was overwhelming it. The muzhik-adoring repentant noble in his turn culminates in the magnificent figure of Tolstoy. A mere enumeration of these noblemen, frequently great landholders, will show that the Russian feudal lords actually felt very keenly the injustice of their position. This development was facilitated, of course, by the fact that they too felt themselves to be serfs. The Russian system of serfdom subordinated the stableman to the landlord almost on the same terms as the master of the horse was subordinate to the Tsar. The nobles who were living abroad, and reading the uncensored books, sons of a class already more than mature, and for that reason all the more refined, keenly felt how helpless they were under the autocrat, and this could not but make them pay some attention to their autocratic position over the rightless peasantry. The members of the most pronounced opposition, and sometimes even the revolutionists from above, could not but feel the indissoluble unity between autocracy and the system of serfdom. And even the nerves of the Frenchified, delicately trained, aristocratically developed persons could not bear the proximity of the thick long tail of the landed nobility, which certainly was much heavier than its insignificant head, and consisted largely of brutes and scoundrels.

Of another type were the romantic *déclassés*.* At the same time when the landholders, even the more left elements among them, even those of the Hertzgen type, with a few exceptions, were afraid of an outright appeal to the elementary revolt of the peasants, and did not know how to cope with the dreadful monster of autocracy — the *déclassés* who had emerged directly from the people, with healthy, sound peasant blood, were in favor of taking the enemy directly by the throat.

It would be improper to connect the *déclassés* with the bourgeoisie, if this should mean that the first manifestations of the "bourgeois revolution" had brought forth the phalanx of typical figures of the sixties and seventies. The bourgeoisie at that time, more than at any other, was ready to conciliate with the autocracy. It would be improper to group the *déclassés* with the petty bourgeoisie, if this should mean that they were conscious defenders of the industrial and land shark sections of the cities and villages. The only cases where this ideology penetrated the general ideology of the leading groups among the *déclassés* are of insignificant importance. It would be improper,

*Lunacharsky here employs the word "raznochiniets" a term which under the Tsarist caste system embraced a variety of non-privileged social groups (salaried employees, clerks, etc.). It was also applied (as e. g. here) to the impecunious intellectuals and "bohemians", as distinguished from the educated offspring of the nobility.

*Alexander II was so called because it was pretended that he freed the serfs in 1861.

†Russian liberal of the 18 century; exiled by Catherine II.

finally, to speak of the déclassés as of an intelligentsia functioning *between* the classes, colliding by its immediate interests with the autocracy and naturally seeking its support in the masses.

All such attempts at classification are inaccurate. Of course, the déclassés were destined to bring forth an intelligentsia which to a certain extent later on split up because of affiliation with this class or that. But in the déclassé intellectual of the Russia of that day, who lived on Chernyshevsky and took his nourishment from Dobrolybov, the ideological side, by the very conditions of his life, more than counterbalanced his economic, class, or group interests. He felt himself to be the actual advance guard of the masses of the people. He did not yet fully appreciate the inertia of the conditions in which the masses lived. In his own consciousness he held himself to be an indissoluble part of the working masses of the people, and chiefly of the peasantry. He, who had issued forth from the people, a child of a "toiling family", had attained the position of a critically thinking personality, and this meant that he, a citizen equipped with

consciousness, the foam on the surface of the dark mass, manifestly considered himself as an organ of this dark mass, and felt himself obliged to render his duty to this mass, transforming his critical intellect into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses.

A keen anguish stirred in the heart of such a man when he looked back over the sea of suffering and humiliation of his immediate relatives and brothers. A keen hope possessed his spirit, for, feeling his kinship with this elemental force, he considered it quite possible and quite natural to lead it, invincible and all-destroying, in the overthrow of the fortress of serfdom and autocracy.

All things seemed possible, and the thought of the déclassé therefore did not dwell for long on the liberating but individualistic optimism of



NIKOLAI ALEKSANDROVICH NEKRASOV

Born November 22, 1821—Died December 28, 1877.

Pisarev.* The déclassé found Pisarev useful in order to establish himself more firmly on his feet. But even Pisarev was already calling upon the intellectuals to advance, to take up the task of "clothing the naked, feeding the hungry." How should the naked be clothed and the hungry fed? How build up the people after it has cast off all its chains in the great struggle?

How make it more just, more happy, more radiant?

Where to find the colors in which to depict for oneself, and for those whom one is teaching, this future happiness? Of course in the Western European intellectuals, expressive of the desires of the masses of their day, i. e., in the last of the

*A radical critic of the sixties.

utopian Socialists, Owen, Victor Considérant, and in the young Marx.

Of course I do not mean to declare that all the Russian déclassés were, so to speak, the youthful socialistic advance guard of the people. The leaders of the déclassé group were such, but rarely did the leaders have such a great influence on the entire social group as in the period of the *Sovremennik* and *Otechestvennyie Zapiski*.*

The difficulty of course was in the fact that the peasants, frequently swallowing their tears of shame and rage after being flogged in the stables, after their women had been taken as concubines into the lordly estates, after their sons were forced into the army, were ideologically and economically as yet so weak an organization that any hope of support from them was illusory, while the incipient proletariat could not yet play any serious political role whatever.

That is why this first blossoming of the Russian Revolution, this first drive by a handful of thinkers and fighters issuing forth from the people, necessarily was transmuted into an impotent call to the masses of the people, and later into a tragic duel between the Narodnaya Volya† and the autocrat.

Nekrasov and his poetic work very strikingly reflected this significant condition.

Nekrasov was a noble. As a noble, he was placed by fate, as it were, in the position of representing in himself all the contradictions of the nobility. His mother, a flaxen-haired and blue-eyed Polish noblewoman, who told fairy tales and recounted stories of "knights, monks, and kings", a tender fragrant blossom of the culture of nobility, exhaling an atmosphere of the West, herself a serf with regard to her brute of a husband, bitterly but meekly condemning the hell with which she was surrounded. The father was the Satan in this hell. He was a landholder, officer, police magistrate, card player, roué, a conceited ass. These two types were purposely selected, one might say, in order to plant in the heart of Nekrasov when a child the tragedy of the gulf between the highest human culture of the nobility and the lowest peasant tyranny.

And Nekrasov when young had the occasion to see much of the people, the people of the villages. He witnessed an uninterrupted succession of horrible pictures of a people suffering under the blows of the ruler, shot through nevertheless with the joy of life of which the people might have been capable, with the poetry of the peasant toiling in the heart of the great Volga nature, the peasant holiday, the peasant songs, not only the sad songs, but also the songs of merriment, the salt of peasant humor, the wonderful white and blond heads of the charming village blossoms—the children—all this Nekrasov absorbed. In many of his works there pierces forth a great joy of life, through the tears, through the anguish, through the rage, like

*Progressive periodicals of the sixties.

†The terroristic organization of the late seventies and the early eighties.

the light of the sun through the tattered clouds. Nekrasov so much desired this joy that he clenched his fists with all the greater pain when he remembered how this joy was maimed, tormented, and flogged around him.

Such is Nekrasov the "noble". But in addition, Nekrasov is also a déclassé. He is a déclassé because very early in life he goes to Petersburg, is deprived of aid from his father, and becomes poor, poor to the point of seeking his night's lodging in cellars or on benches, under the open sky, to the point of hunger and petty theft, in order not to die of starvation. And it is not remarkable that his first sketches should concern themselves precisely with the proletariat and the semi-proletariat: *The Streets of Petersburg*, *The Physiology of Petersburg*. He is a déclassé for the reason that he begins very early to earn a living, and that not by literature, but by literary hack work, by writing anything people may order, at the lowest rate. He is a déclassé by the very force of his nature. Not only the nobles, but his close déclassé friends already begin to marvel how Nekrasov could have fallen into this group. Immensely calculating, economical, an organizer, such is Nekrasov, in his role in literature. He is a déclassé by his connections: Bielinsky, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, those are his closest friends and mental associates, his comrades in arms. But the little Chernyshevskys, the little Dobrolyubovs, are his readers, his worshippers.

(To be concluded in next issue)

SOVIET GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

The student of Russian institutions cannot afford to be without two pamphlets that contain full texts of important laws of the Soviet Government. These are:

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Special terms for quantities.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304,

110 W. 40th St.,

New York, N. Y.

The Changed World Situation

By LEON TROTSKY

In the present third instalment of Trotsky's book, "Die Neue Etappe", particular attention is paid to the impoverishment of England and the transfer of world power in commerce from Europe to America, as well as the changes wrought in world economy by the war. The next instalment will treat the crisis resulting from the war and the social transformations, including the creation of a new middle class.

Great Britain's Lot

Let us now turn to the richest and most powerful country of Europe—Great Britain. During the war we were accustomed to say England was becoming wealthy on the war, that the British bourgeoisie had driven Europe into the war and were now raking in the profits. This was correct, but only up to a certain point. England did get rich during the first period of the war, but began to give up her substance during the second. The impoverishment of Europe, and particularly, Central Europe, disturbed the trade relations between England and the rest of Europe. In the long run this would hit and did hit England's finances. In addition, England found herself obliged to pay immense bills during the war. Now England is in a condition of decline, and it is a decline that is increasing in speed. This fact may be illustrated by figures from trade and industry, such as I shall mention later. The fact itself is not open to doubt, and is expressed in a number of open and entirely official declarations by well-known English bankers and industrial men. In the months of March, April and May, 1921, English newspapers published reports of the annual meetings of stock corporations, banks, etc. These annual meetings, in which the managers make their reports and outline the general business situation of the country, or of a specific branch of industry, always afford exceptionally instructive material. I have collected a whole portfolio of such reports. All say the same thing: The national income of England, i. e., the total income of all its citizens and of the Government itself is considerably less than before the war.

England is impoverished. The productivity of labor has gone down. Its foreign trade in 1920 was at least one-third less than the figures for the last year before the war, and in a number of important industries it was even less than that. The change has been particularly violent in the coal industry, the most important portion of English economy, or rather, the basis on which England's entire world economic system is built; for the coal monopoly is the foundation of the power, the might and the growth of all the other branches of English industry. Not a trace remains of this coal monopoly. Here are the chief figures as to the situation of English business. In 1913, England's coal industry mined 287,000,000 tons of coal; in 1920, there were only 233,000,000, i. e., twenty per cent. less. In 1913, 10,400,000 tons of pig iron were produced; in 1920, somewhat over 8,000,000

tons, i. e., twenty per cent. less. The export of coal in 1913 amounted to 73,000,000 tons; in 1920, only 25,000,000 tons, or one-third the previous figure. But the decline of the coal industry and of coal exports in 1921 was appalling. In January, 19,000,000 tons of coal were mined; in February, 17,000,000; in March, 16,000,000. Then came the great general strike and the mining of coal came near the zero mark. Exports in the first five months of 1921 were only one-sixth of the exports during the same period in 1913. Expressed in prices, the total exports in May, 1921, were only one-third of the exports in May, 1920. The national debt of England on August 1, 1914, was £71,000,000. On June 4, 1921, it was £770,900,000, i. e., eleven times as high. The budget has gone up threefold.

The Pound No Longer "Sovereign"

The decline of English business has found its clear expression in the quotations of the English pound. The pound sterling has always been the dominating element in the world's money market. The moneys of all other countries were expressed in pounds. A pound was called a *sovereign*, a ruler. Now the pound has lost its dominating place. This place is now occupied by the dollar, the present ruler of the money market. The pound has lost twenty-four per cent. of its nominal value as expressed in dollars.

That is the plight of England, the richest country of Europe, the country that suffered least from military operations and which, during the first period of the war, even grew wealthy.

The data we have given are sufficient to characterize the general situation of Europe. Of the countries participating in the war, you have, at one extreme, Austria, the most afflicted (if you disregard Russia), at the other extreme, you have England. Between them lie: Germany, Italy, Belgium, France. The Balkan countries are completely ruined and have relapsed into a condition of economic and cultural barbarism. As to the neutrals, they unquestionably grew richer during the first period, but as they are incapable of playing an independent economic role, and are obliged at present to live side by side with the great nations in a condition of complete economic dependence on the latter, the decadence of the principal countries of Europe has also involved the greatest economic difficulties for the neutrals, who are now just as wretched and demoralized as compared with the level they had reached during the first period of the war. In this way, Europe's income.

i. e., the total sum of goods created by the entire European population, has decreased by at least one-third, as compared with the pre-war period. But of far greater importance, as I have said, is the decrease in the economic apparatus. The peasant finds no artificial fertilizer, no agricultural machines and implements; in his pursuit of high coal prices, the mine operator has not repaired his plant; the locomotive park deteriorated, the right of way was not repaired, etc., etc. All this led to a weakening, to a demoralizing, to a rendering unreliable of the fundamental tissue of economy. How shall we estimate and consider these things? Capitalist statistics do not go that far. Such a complete inventory, not of a single industry alone, but of a whole nation, or of a whole Europe, would of course show that not only the war period, but also the post-war period was defrayed at the expense of the fundamental production capital of Europe, and is still being so defrayed. This means, for instance, that Germany, instead of putting 50,000 workers to improving her mines, is getting them to mining coal that must be given to France. On the other hand, France, exerting every effort to export as much as possible, in order to decrease her unfavorable trade balance, is not able to repair her plants to a sufficient degree. And this applies to all the countries of Europe, for Europe as a whole has a deficit, an unfavorable trade balance to show. The undermining of the foundations of European industry will be more perceptible tomorrow than today or yesterday. The great worm of history is eating out the very bottom of European economy.

America's Economic Ripening

An entirely different picture is unfolded when we enter the other (Western) hemisphere. America has evolved in precisely the opposite direction. It has become marvelously rich. Its participation in the war was chiefly that of a purveyor. Of course America also had to bear war burdens, but these burdens were slight as compared with the war profits and slighter still as compared with all the advantages that the war brought to the economic development of America. Not only did the United States obtain in belligerent Europe an almost boundless market for its goods, a market that bought everything at the most exaggerated prices—but the United States got rid of its chief competitors on the world market for a number of years, Germany and England, who were both working chiefly for war consumption. Almost up to the war the United States exported chiefly (two-thirds of their exports) agricultural implements and raw materials. During the war the export of the United States increased ceaselessly and feverishly. It is sufficient to state that the exports in the six years 1915-1920 exceeded the imports by \$18,000,000,000. And besides, the character of the exports changed radically. The exports of the United States are now 60 per cent. industrial products and only 40 per cent. agricultural and live

stock products, as well as raw materials: cotton, etc.

In order to indicate the present role of the United States in world economy, permit me to mention a few figures. In the United States there lives 6 per cent. of the total population of the earth; 7 per cent. of the total land area of the earth is in the United States; of the gold production of the world, the United States supply 20 per cent.; of the world's shipping tonnage, the United States have 30 per cent., while before the war they had at most 5 per cent. They produce 40 per cent. of the steel and iron, 40 per cent. of the tin, 40 per cent. of the silver, 50 per cent. of the zinc, 45 per cent. of the coal, 60 per cent. of the aluminum, likewise of the copper and cotton, 66-70 per cent. of the oil, 75 per cent. of the maize, and 85 per cent. of the automobiles of the world. In all the world there are now 10,000,000 automobiles, of which America has 8,500,000, with all the rest of the world owning 1,500,000. There is one automobile for every 12 Americans.

The primacy in the coal market has been lost by England and definitely acquired by the United States. Just as important is the predominance of the United States in the field of oil, which plays an increasingly important role in industry. But not only in industry and world commerce, but also on the money market, the same transformation has been accomplished. The most important money operator of pre-war times was England, with France as second. The whole world was in their debt, including America. But the only country that now owes nothing to anyone but is everyone's creditor is the United States. Europe, i. e., the European nations, cities, and corporations, owe the United States \$18,000,000,000 in gold. But that is only a beginning. Every day this debt increases \$10,000,000 through non-payment of the interest and the granting of new credits. As I have already said, the dollar has thus become the "sovereign" of the financial market of the world. Formerly the dollar could introduce itself by saying: "I am worth about one-fifth of a pound sterling." As for the latter, it needed no recommendation. It existed as a pound sterling—no explanation was necessary. This situation has now radically altered. It is now the pound sterling that must present its certificate like any other unit of currency, and this certificate states that a pound sterling is not at all a pound sterling but so and so many dollars (just about one-fourth less than in the old course of exchange). Almost one-half of the gold supply of the world, the basis of the money system, has now been concentrated in the United States.

This is the situation of the United States after the war. How did it come about? It is a result of the war market of Europe, which was limitless and paid any price that was asked. In the English colonies, in Asia and Africa, likewise in South America, there were no competitors; they had almost disappeared, and the United States had a free field. In this way the last seven years have seen a complete transformation of the world's division

of labor. Europe in the course of four years became a bonfire which was consuming not only its income but also its fundamental capital, while the American bourgeoisie was warming its hands over the blaze. The productive capacity of America has increased enormously, but the market has gone, for Europe was down and out and could no longer buy the American goods. The situation was about the following: Europe first spent all its energies helping America to climb to the highest rung, and then pulled away the ladder from under it.

The Other Countries.—The Crisis

Japan was also utilizing the war period, and its capitalism also made enormous progress, of course not at all equal to that made by the United States. Certain branches of Japanese industry forged ahead at lightning speed. While Japan turned out to be capable of rapidly developing certain branches of its industry in the absence of competitors, it is not always able, now that many competitors have again returned to the fray, to defend the positions it acquired. The total number of Japanese working men and working women (female labor is extremely numerous in Japan) is 2,370,000, of which 270,000 (about 12 per cent) are organized into trade unions.

In the colonial and semi-colonial regions of East India and China, capitalism has taken enormous strides in the last seven years. Before the war, Asia furnished 56,000,000 tons of coal; in 1920 it furnished 76,000,000 tons of coal, 36 per cent more.

At present the whole world is passing through a severe crisis, which began in the Spring of 1920 in Japan and America, i. e., precisely in those countries that had hitherto been going up instead of down.

The extremely moderate English economic journal *The Economist* rather amusingly tells how this crisis began. It is a funny story, according to which the American worker had become rich and began to buy silk shirts, which are the chief output of the Japanese textile industry. In a short time the Japanese textile industry expanded enormously; but as the purchasing power of the workers is rather limited after all, and began going down as soon as American industry had to be put back on a peace basis, a sharp crisis immediately ensued in the Japanese silk industry, which later extended to the other industrial branches, embraced America, reached its arms over the great pond, and attained a severity that is unparalleled in the history of capitalism. According to which story, the whole business began with a trifle, a silk shirt, and ended with a very big thing indeed: prices collapsed and tumbled tremendously, factories were shut down, workers thrown into the street. *In America there are now at least five million unemployed. Many say six million.*

The incident of the silk shirt has about the same importance in history as the story of the wings of a bird which started the avalanche on its course.

Of course the avalanche must already have been about to fall. But the incident is of interest also because of the fact that it calls attention to the unquestionable improvement in the material situation of at least certain classes of workers for several years. Of the 8,500,000 automobiles in America a pretty fair number belongs to skilled workers, but already now, and particularly in the near future, the American workers are to have other things on their minds than automobiles and silk shirts.

The result is a crisis in Europe and a crisis in America. But these crises are not of the same kind. Europe has become poor, America is rich. The production apparatus of America is comparatively intact. The factories are of the first order; their equipment is perfect. Of course the quality of the products went down during the war, the railroads were disorganized, for the capitalists were chiefly interested in getting goods to the ports on the eastern coast, but on the whole America retained its economic apparatus and even improved it.

Europe's purchasing power has gone down. It can offer nothing as an equivalent for American goods. The center of gravity of world economy moved to America at one bound, a portion to Japan. While Europe is now suffering from anæmia, the United States is suffering just as much, but from overfeeding. This tremendous disparity between the economic condition of Europe and of America—a condition that is ruinous for both—finds a particularly crass expression in marine transportation. In this field, as in many others, England occupied the first place before the war, holding more than fifty per cent. of the world's tonnage. In its effort to secure world domination in this field, the United States extended its merchant marine at the same rate as it developed its commerce during the war. Its tonnage went up from three or four million to fifteen million tons, and has almost reached England's figure.

During these years the world's tonnage rose about one-fifth. Meanwhile, industry and world commerce have gone down. There is nothing more to export. Europe's anæmia and America's congestion are both brakes of equal power on the transportation activities across the Atlantic.

Prosperity and Crisis

The bourgeois and reformist political economists, who have an ideological interest in embellishing the condition of capitalism, tell us: "The present crisis of itself proves nothing at all. On the contrary, it is a very normal phenomenon. After the war we observed an industrial advance, and now there is a crisis; we must infer that capitalism is still alive and continuing its evolution." As a matter of fact, it is true that capitalism lives by crises and waves of prosperity, as man lives by inhalation and exhalation. First there is an industrial expansion, then a jam, a crisis, then a halt in the crisis, an improvement, another advance, another jam, etc.

The cycles of crisis and expansion, with all their

subsidiary and transition factors, constitute the typical history of industrial development. Each cycle embraces eight, nine, ten, or eleven years. An inspection of the last 138 years will show that this era may be divided into about 16 cycles. Each cycle therefore averages about nine years in length. By virtue of its internal contradiction capitalism does not develop in a straight line, but as a zigzag, by ups and downs. This circumstance now enables the apologists of capitalism to take the following stand: "Since we observe after the war a succession of expansion and crisis, everything in the capitalist world is in the best of order." But the truth is not in accordance with this statement. The fact that capitalism has been continuing its zigzag of fluctuation since the war, simply means that capitalism is not dead, that we are not yet dealing with a corpse. So long as capitalism shall not have been shattered by the proletarian revolution, it will continue to live in cycles, to have ups and downs. Crises and periods of prosperity were characteristic of capitalism already at its birth and will follow it to the grave. But in order that we may be able to determine the maturity of capitalism, and its general condition, to know whether it is developing, has passed its culmination, or is going downhill, we must analyze the nature of the cycles, precisely as we may judge the condition of the human constitution by its mode of breathing, even or spasmodic, deep or superficial. The nature of the problem may be presented as follows: If we consider the evolution of capitalism, the increase in coal mining, the production of textiles, iron, pig iron, the expansion of foreign trade, in the last 138 years, and present this evolution in the form of a curve; if we express in the fluctuations of this curve the actual course of the economic development, it will become apparent that the curve is an upward one, not continuously upward, but in a zigzag line—in ups and downs, corresponding to the periods of prosperity and crisis. We may thus trace two movements in the curve of economic development: one a fundamental one, expressive of its general improvement, and the other of different nature: these are the repeated periodic vibrations corresponding to the sixteen cycles in the course of these 138 years. In this period capitalism lived, inhaled and exhaled, but variously at various times.

From the standpoint of the fundamental motion, i. e., from the standpoint of evolution or stagnation of capitalism, we might cut up the entire epoch of the 138 years—as an hypothesis merely, and without advancing any claim to final correctness—into five periods. From 1783 to 1851 the evolution of capitalism proceeded very slowly, the curve rising at a very small angle. After the revolution of 1848, which extended the framework of the European market, there is an apex. From 1851 to 1873 the curve of evolution rises steeply. In 1873 the conflict between the extended productive forces and the frame of the market brings about a collapse. A period of depression ensues, lasting until

1894. Cyclical variations occur also in this period, but the curve remains approximately horizontal. In 1894 a new era of capitalist prosperity begins, and the curve continues rising rapidly almost to the opening of the war. Finally, there is the fifth period, beginning in 1914, of the destruction of capitalist economy.

How shall we reconcile the fundamental direction of the curve with its cyclical variation? This is a very simple matter: In periods when capitalism is developing rapidly, crises are of short and not very profound character, while in periods of prosperity they last long and extend far below the surface. In depression periods of capitalism the crises last long while advances are short, superficial, speculative. In periods of stagnation the fluctuations move up and down from the same dead level.

All of which simply means that we must know how to diagnose from its mode of breathing and its pulse the general condition of the capitalist organism.

Prosperity After the War

Immediately after the war there ensued an indefinite economic condition. But with the Spring of 1919 an advance was recorded: The stock exchanges were reinvigorated, prices began to leap like the column of mercury when placed in boiling water, speculative business developed at a mad rate. And how about industry? In Central, Eastern and Southern Europe the depression did not end, as figures will show. In France, chiefly owing to the plundering of Germany, a certain improvement was noted. In England there was in part a stagnation, a depression, except for the merchant marine whose tonnage increased although the actual trade was decreasing. On the whole therefore the advance in Europe is half fictitious and speculative in character and indicates not a further development, but rather a further decay of business.

In the United States, after the war, the war industries were reduced and the peace footing re-introduced. An improvement was noted in the coal, oil, automobile, and shipbuilding industries.

Year	Coal in millions of tons	Oil	Automobiles	Shipbuilding tons
1918	615	356	1,153,000	3,033,000
1919	494	378	1,974,000	4,075,000
1920	580	442	2,350,000	2,746,000

Comrade Varga in his valuable pamphlet rightly says: "The fact that the improvement after the war was speculative in character is most clearly seen by the example of Germany. While prices in the eighteen months immediately following the war rose sevenfold, Germany's industry went down. It was selling out: the remnants of goods left on the internal market were injected into the foreign market at fabulously low prices."

Prices rose most in Germany, where industry continued going down. They rose least in the United States, where industry is expanding. France and England occupy positions on the scale lying between Germany and the United States.

How shall we explain these facts and what is at the bottom of expansion itself? First, there are the economic causes: After the war, international relations were again resumed, if only in a restricted measure, and everywhere there was a demand for goods of all sorts. In the second place, there are the political and financial reasons: The European governments were afraid of the crisis that necessarily would ensue after the war and had taken all measures to maintain in the period of demobilization the artificial advance that had been created by the war. The governments put much paper money into circulation, raised new loans, regulated profits, wages and food prices, subsidized the wages of demobilized workers out of the national wealth, and created an artificial economic prosperity within the country. Thus fictitious capital continues to grow in this period, particularly in those countries where industry is going downhill.

The fictitious advance after the war had great political consequences, however; we may say without exaggeration that this advance has saved the bourgeoisie. If the workers dismissed from the armies had at once encountered unemployment and a scale of living lower even than that before the war, the consequences for the bourgeoisie might have been disastrous. Professor Edwin Cannan, an Englishman, wrote the following in the *New Year Review of the Manchester Guardian* on this subject: "The impatience of men who have returned from the battlefield is very dangerous," and explained the successful surmounting of the worst post-war period (1919) very properly by the fact that the government and the bourgeoisie were uniting their forces to push back the crisis, to postpone it, by producing an artificial prosperity at the cost of a further destruction of Europe's fundamental capital. "If the economic situation in 1919 had been that of 1920," Cannan writes, "Western Europe might have been seized by chaos." The fever that had been characteristic of the war

was extended for a year and a half, and the crisis ensued only after the masses of workers and peasants who had returned to their homes had already been more or less provided for.

(To be continued in next issue)

RUSO-FRENCH RELATIONS

M. I. Skobelev, formerly minister in the Provisional Government of Kerensky, is to-day the Paris representative of the Russian Trade Delegation in London. It is said that the Paris press has known for some time that he was acting in this capacity. But only lately—in view of the change that has taken place in the French policy towards Russia—the reporters of the French bourgeois papers have begun to visit M. I. Skobelev. A short time ago *L'Information* published a detailed report of an interview with Skobelev. The semi-official *Petit Parisien* followed the example of this organ of the industrial and financial spheres.

M. I. Skobelev told his interviewer that he had made important purchases in France. At present negotiations are going on concerning the purchase of tractors and motor trucks. He also sold oil products to various French firms and hopes also to sell timber and furs. However, Skobelev pointed out that the French authorities are making it hard to get visas and that this circumstance, together with the unofficial character of Skobelev's office, is putting great difficulties in the way of opening commercial relations between Russia and France. Concerning the German-Russian relations that created such a stir in the French press, Skobelev said that in view of the regrettable attitude of France Russia was quite naturally attempting to approach Germany. In raising objections against this the French are illogical, to say the least. Skobelev declared: "I believe that sooner or later you will recognize the necessity of coming to an understanding with us. As far as we are concerned, we can afford to wait for years. We are now maintaining relations with almost all governments; our situation will improve, while yours, will become more difficult."

—Rosta Wien.

Financial Statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia

(The following statement and certificate have been prepared for publication by the Auditor of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia.)

Statement "A"

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
National Office, New York, N. Y., 201 West 13th St., N. Y.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
From date of Organization, Aug. 9, 1921 to Jan. 31, 1922.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from Local F. S. R. Conferences and Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received. Receipts Nos. 1 to 2596 for income received to December 31, 1921 have been previously reported in detail, a total of\$317,810.92
Receipt Nos. 2597 to 3379 for income received

during January are reported in detail in our official organ "Soviet Russia" dated February 15, 1922, a total of..... 53,287.34

Total received and acknowledged.....\$371,098.26
The above income was deposited in a bank account, and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to 183.13

Making a TOTAL INCOME of.....\$371,281.39
From which must be DEDUCTED the following items:

(1) Remittances received as contributions which the bank refused to honor (Receipt Nos. 1 and 214)	\$274.25	
(2) Remittance addressed "Soviet Russia" received by us in error (Receipt No. 1900)	17.94	
(3) Checks temporarily returned by bank to be signed (Receipt Nos. 2820 and 3076)	19.00	
(4) Exchange and discount on checks received	7.86	
(5) Expenses incurred and charged to National Office by Locals....	189.93	
(6) Lawyer's fees and bail premium for Local workers arrested for making appeals	425.00	933.98

Leaving the INCOME RECEIVED by National Office.. **\$370,347.41**
HOW THE FUNDS WERE COLLECTED:

In order to assist Locals and Workers' organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and supplied buttons for sale and contribution lists for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for this purpose is explained in Statement "B" below. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. But it is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred those expenses themselves. But because this money was spent to help Locals and Workers' Organizations raise the money which they sent to the National Office it is deducted from the amount which they sent in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after deducting all expenses paid by Locals and all publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office. Thus: Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office..... **\$ 22,509.16**

Leaving INCOME received by National Office less cost of collecting funds and clothes.... **\$347,838.25**
EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent \$2.53 for each \$100 of funds remaining after deducting the cost of appealing for funds and clothes. They amount to

8,768.74

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of Soviet Russia of..... **\$339,069.51**
 Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:
 Food shipment, direct **\$ 2,185.73**
 American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for F. S. R. for food and equipment **308,200.00**
 Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I. L. G. W. U. **2,288.94**
 Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, & cartage charges on old clothes contributed **1,539.83**

Federated, International and Russian Conference expenses	749.93	
Bail, Legal fees and relief for delegate from Workers' International Famine Relief Committee detained on Ellis Island	1,251.25	316,215.68

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of		\$ 22,853.83
Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent FOR RELIEF but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or FOR EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:		
Cash in Bank	\$ 18,267.36	
Petty Cash on hand	998.80	
Advances to Sections, Locals, and Speakers	972.17	
Office Furniture and Equipment, (Cost)	862.75	
Deposits for Electricity, Gas and Lease	145.00	
Books purchased for Sale, less Sales	1,607.75	22,853.83

Statement "B"

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES
 FROM DATE OF ORGANIZATION, AUGUST 9, 1921 TO JANUARY 31, 1922.

*Wages:		
Speakers and Organizers	\$ 3,182.43	
Publicity	400.00	
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers	6,285.73	
Postages	1,755.47	
Official Organ "Soviet Russia"—subsidy	500.00	
Bulletins and Financial Reports printed and distributed.....	1,210.42	
Advertisements	930.00	
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed.....	2,214.59	
Posters, window cards, etc.	313.50	
Motion Picture & Stereopticon Equipment.....	2,660.95	
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc.	742.81	
Organization supplies, Hats, buttons, etc.	1,180.89	
Racial and Language Sections preliminary expenses.....	625.00	
Printing pamphlets and cards for Sale.....	886.62	
	22,888.41	
Less sale of pamphlets and cards.....	379.25	
Total	\$22,509.16	

Statement "C"

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES
 FROM DATE OF ORGANIZATION, AUGUST 9, 1921 TO JANUARY 31, 1922.

*Wages:		
Secretary	\$ 1,120.00	
Office Staff	4,148.39	
Office Rent	501.00	
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light, and heat	678.82	
Office Furniture Rent	20.00	
Office Supplies, etc.	604.93	
Printing and Stationery	1,077.07	
Telegrams	276.78	
Telephone	38.55	
Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc.	75.95	
Auditor's Charges	227.25	
Total	\$ 8,768.74	

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE
 I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the period from the date of organization, August 9, 1921 to January 31, 1922, a period of nearly six months.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B", and "C" are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period, January 31, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
 Chartered Accountant.

2764 Creston Avenue, New York, N. Y.
 March 1, 1922.

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Relief Contributions, February 15-28

The following is a complete list of all contributions received at the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York, during the second half of last month. "F. S. R." stands for "Friends of Soviet Russia"; "S. T. A. S. R." for "Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia". Each contribution is accompanied by the official number appearing on the contributor's receipt.

Rec. No.	Name	Amount	Rec. No.	Name	Amount	Rec. No.	Name	Amount
3689	F. A. Tingley, Danville, Ill.	1.00		St. Louis, Mo.	100.00	3844	E. Israelite, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
3690	F. S. R. Branch, Superior, Wis.	100.00	3767	Bldg. Tr. Council, St. Louis, Mo.	50.00	3845	V. Piatnizky, Torrance, Cal.	5.00
3691	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	46.06	3768	Carp. Union 185, St. Louis, Mo.	50.00	3846	Chas. Abhin, Spokane, Wash.	5.00
3692	Dr. B.J. Ellis, Waterville, Wash.	21.85	3769	Carp. Dist. Council, St. Louis, Mo.	50.00	3847	M. Gardner, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
3693	List 14661, Mrs. B. Argiewicz & Eda Konkly, Detroit, Mich.	31.75	3770	Carp. Local 47, St. Louis, Mo.	25.00	3848	C. Chirardini, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
3694	Soc. for Technical Aid, N. Y. C.	600.00	3771	Int. Molders U. No. 59, Maplewood, Mo.	10.00	3849	A. Rosenbaum, San Pedro, Cal.	5.00
3695	Doug. B. Sterrett, Pelican, La.	5.00	3772	Metal Trad. Coun. St. Louis, Mo.	10.00	3850	August Lauri, San Pedro, Cal.	5.00
3696	I. L. Pickard, Richmond, Cal.	2.00	3773	Coll. by Joint Adv. Bd. of Cigarmakers, Tampa, Fla.	77.94	3851	Coll. by L.W. Longmire, Mineral, Wash.	5.00
3697	Louis Baker, Monroe, Utah	1.00	3774	Silk Ribbon Workers, N. Y. C.	49.50	3852	C. Verhulst, Collinville, Ill.	5.00
3698	Jew. Mothers All., Oakland, Cal.	100.00	3775	F. S. R. Br., Chisholm, Minn.	10.50	3853	J. W. Trepp, Glenwood, Minn.	3.00
3699	Finnish Workers, Bessemer, Pa.	62.00	3776	Louise Christiansen, Melba, L. I.	7.15	3854	L. E. Smith, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00
3700	Circle of Light, Buffalo, N. Y.	10.00	3777	F. S. R. Br., Morgantown, W. Va.	3.50	3855	Class Room Republics of W. H. Potter of Lincoln High School, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00
3701	J. Svan & Family, Cleveland, O.	5.00	3778	H. Kevert, Long Is. City, N. Y.	15.00	3856	W. B. Lloyd, Jr., Winnetka, Ill.	8.00
3702	W. J. Sticht, Gloversville, N. Y.	5.00	3779	M. Nikitaidis, Paulsboro, N. J.	3.00	3857	Isaac Abrams, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.00
3703	Wells meeting, Mt. Vernon, Wash.	115.34	3780	M. C. Salter, Kalamazoo, Mich.	5.00	3858	Peter Lipnicki, Madison, Wisc.	2.00
3704	Warren, Ohio, Workers, Niles, O.	62.10	3781	Workers Co-operative Restaurant, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,000.00	3859	Frank Hartzka, Ont., Canada	5.25
3705	Alex Balta & Friend, San Leandro, Cal.	4.00	3782	F. S. R. Br., San Francisco, Cal.	250.00	3860	F. S. R. Br., Detroit, Mich.	1,260.00
3706	Russian Section F. S. R., N.Y.C.	500.00	3783	F. S. R. Br., Minneapolis, Minn.	211.00	3861	U. M. W. of A. 992, Zeigler, Ill.	500.00
3707	F. S. R. Branch, Kenosha, Wis.	165.00	3784	F. S. R. Br., Mansfield, Ohio	125.00	3862	F. S. R. Branch, San Diego, Cal.	100.00
3708	F. S. R. Branch, Cortland, N. Y.	85.85	3785	F. S. R. Branch, Butte, Mont.	30.00	3863	Endicott Comm., Endicott, N.Y.	171.00
3709	W.H. Hutchinson, Enderley, Can.	1.00	3786	E. H. Stuart, Bradhead, Wis.	5.00	3864	Max Siobodniuk, Lewiston, Me.	23.00
3710	N. Y. C. Worker, Enderley, Can.	2.00	3787	L. R. McIntire, Mansfield, Ohio	5.00	3865	Nicholas Zhuck, Youngstown, O.	10.00
3711	J.C. Lucas, Enderley, B.C., Can.	.35	3788	Grace Rotzel, Fairhope, Ala.	5.00	3866	Mrs. M. Berger, Lakewood, Ohio	5.00
3712	Hm. Ju. Enderley, B. C., Can.	.50	3789	R. Barker, Roxboro, Phila., Pa.	5.00	3867	Coll. by N. Hrinain, Puraglove, W. Va.	5.00
3713	J. Burnham, Enderley, Van.	.25	3790	R. J. Hill, Denver, Colo.	4.00	3868	A.M.W. Pennypacker, Phila. Pa.	1.00
3714	O. M. Speers, Enderley, Can.	.50	3791	R. D. Morgan, Boscawen, N. H.	2.00	3869	Coll. by A. Shtandlov, Milford, Mass.	21.00
3715	E. A. Sparron, Enderley, Can.	.25	3792	C. D. Lively, Boscawen, N. H.	1.50	3870	S. & D.B.F. Br. 31, Lincoln, Ill.	88.16
3716	John Ollah, Enderley, B.C., Can.	.50	3793	E. W. Lively, Boscawen, N. H.	1.50	3871	Coll. A. E. Johnson, Warren, Pa.	16.20
3717	Mrs. R. Harrap, Enderley, Can.	.50	3794	F. S. R. Br., Ironwood, Mich.	366.48	3872	F. S. R. Branch, Utica, N. Y.	15.80
3718	L. J. Crocter, Enderley, Can.	1.00	3795	South Slavic Workers, Meadowlands, Pa.	80.10	3873	Rev. E. Baker, La Crosse, Wash.	10.00
3719	J. H. Hawkins, Enderley, Can.	1.00	3796	From Comrades, E. Moline, Ill.	61.79	3874	Simon M. Janulla, Moline, Ill.	5.00
3720	W. Tompkinson, Enderley, Can.	.50	3797	S. S. Osato, Michigan	7.45	3875	F. S. R. Branch, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.70
3721	A. J. Bannister, Grindrod, Can.	.70	3798	H. J. Wright, Detroit, Mich.	1.00	3876	G. O. Werth, Bendon, Ore.	.50
3722	C. Handcock, Grindrod, Can.	.75	3799	Dr. P. E. Gold, Cathand, Texas	.25	3877	Russian Sec. F. S. R., N. Y. C.	50.00
3723	J. A. Pearson, Grindrod, Can.	.50	3800	Ben Dorfman, N. Y. C.	2.50	3878	Aug. Mackl, Enaville, Idaho	19.60
3724	Rev. L. J. Anderson, Dorchester, Mass.	184.72	3801	R. B. Wilmerton, Phila., Pa.	5.00	3879	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	750.25
3725	Rev. Harold Ohlson, Woodville, Wis.	37.00	3802	C. Wray, Oak Park, Ill.	1.00	3880	F.S.R. Branch, Worcester, Mass.	120.75
3726	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	3803	Paul Norlander, Glenwood, Minn.	3.00	3881	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00
3727	Verein Pioneer, List 95, Hoboken, N. J.	25.00	3804	E. A. Lincoln, Arlington, Mass.	2.00	3882	F. S. R. Branch, Portland, Ore.	150.00
3728	Coll. by Joe Monck, N. Y. C.	6.25	3805	Wm. Opp, New Phila., Ohio	1.00	3883	Grutli Verein, Canton, Ohio	70.00
3729	A. L. W. L. Assn. Branch 89, Amsterdam, N. Y.	131.00	3806	Paul Norlander, Glenwood, Minn.	1.00	3884	Grutli Frauenverein, Canton, O.	26.00
3730	Russian Educ. Club, Lynn, Mass.	60.00	3807	Andrew Hanson, Glenwood, Minn.	1.00	3885	F. S. R. Br., Milwaukee, Wis.	89.00
3731	W. B. of C. & J. of A., Local 1417, Tonopah, Nev.	50.00	3808	Ole Hanson, Glenwood, Minn.	1.00	3886	Geo. Kvaternik, Sumter, S. C.	26.00
3732	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	2,324.50	3809	F. S. R. Branch, Phila., Pa.	500.20	3887	F. S. R. Branch, Akron, Ohio	87.25
3733	D. L. Shipman, Tonopah, Nev.	5.49	3810	Circolo Educativo Operaio, Phila., Pa.	249.80	3888	E. Hegstrom, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
3734	Hungarian Sec. W. P., N. Y. C.	423.21	3811	B. R. C. of A. Golden Gate Lodge No. 799, Richmond, Calif.	46.30	3889	John Sturman, Detroit, Mich.	10.00
3735	Columbia Lodge No. 26, J. of A. of M., Astoria, Ore.	25.00	3812	Mr. & Mrs. Yohat, Salineville, O.	2.00	3890	C. C. Regelman, El Reno, Okla.	10.00
3736	G. W. North, Jr., Hamerch, Pa.	10.00	3813	Prof. E. Hayes, Wellaley, Mass.	100.00	3891	Armistead Rust, Boston, Mass.	10.00
3737	B. Pederson, Warren, Ore.	9.00	3814	Simon Heratin, N. Y. C.	25.00	3892	Ann W. Rust, Boston, Mass.	10.00
3738	Eva H. Wachtell, Portland, Ore.	5.00	3815	J. Joear, Minneapolis, Minn.	10.00	3893	Amy M. Rust, Boston, Mass.	5.00
3739	V. P. Ginkus, Worcester, Mass.	5.00	3816	E. A. Hankey, Akron, Ohio	5.00	3894	S. Brouwers, Zealand, Mich.	5.00
3740	Wm. Blemler, Sandusky, Ohio	1.00	3817	Workers Study Class, Bay City, Mich.	15.00	3895	F. Leonard, Yucca, Aria.	5.00
3741	U. M. W. of A. No. 2702, Gunn, Wyo.	92.55	3818	D. J. Bank, Denver, Colo.	5.00	3896	N. Keller, Mex. City, Mex. D.F.	5.00
3742	What Cheer Local 2664, U.M.W. of A., Bay City, Mich.	33.75	3819	M. A. Andrew, Berkeley, Cal.	2.50	3897	Mr. & Mrs. Carr, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
3743	F. S. R. Br., Mason City, Iowa	27.77	3820	V. Robinson, Cloverdale, Cal.	5.00	3898	Ed. G. Jones, Hoff., Ore.	5.00
3744	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	25.50	3821	Debs Branch, Local Wash. Co. S. P., Hagerstown, Md.	5.00	3899	Ottilia Schriver, Orlando, Fla.	5.00
3745	Geo. Hollertz, Brockton, Mass.	5.00	3822	Wm. H. Hammock, Hagerstown, Md.	2.00	3900	Friendship Lodge 5, Petaluma, Cal.	5.00
3746	Coll. by R. Hofmann, N. Y. C.	6.25	3823	R. B. Hostetter, Hagerstown, Md.	1.00	3901	F. J. Ahol, Fall River Mills, Cal.	5.00
3747	Lorraine Dennhardt, N. Y. C.	5.00	3824	A.J.A. Wagner, Hagerstown, Md.	1.00	3902	W. Moore, Seattle, Wash.	4.00
3748	Frank Roth, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00	3825	L. Kallioniemi, Glen Gardner, N. J.	3.00	3903	F. S. R. Br., San Francisco, Cal.	875.00
3749	Al. Brannimer, Cleveland, O.	1.00	3826	F. S. R. Hudson Co., Hoboken, N. J.	150.00	3904	F. Robinson Circle, Joliet, Ill.	400.00
3750	George Median, Yukon, Pa.	2.00	3827	Nathaniel, N. Y. C.	3.00	3905	B. Ulrich, Milwaukee, Wisc.	25.00
3751	H. Getcoat, Cambridge, Mass.	1.00	3828	Dance Coll. by G. V. Summer, McMurray, Wash.	24.05	3906	Scand. Br. S. P., Mason, Wisc.	12.00
3752	R. Wirt, Danbury, Ohio	1.00	3829	F. S. R. Br., Cleveland, Ohio	293.87	3907	Belg. Group, New Bedford, Mass.	5.00
3753	Dr. T. M. MacLachlan, No. San Diego, Cal.	25.00	3830	F. S. R. Branch, Hanna, Wyo.	156.10	3908	Oscar W. Nelson, Aitkin, Minn.	2.00
3754	F. A. Adams, Chicago, Ill.	7.00	3831	F. S. R. Branch, Spokane, Wash.	151.20	3909	W.E.H. Porter, Hansboro, N. D.	1.00
3755	Coll. at Finnish Meeting, Duluth, Minn.	18.23	3832	F. S. R. Branch, San Jose, Cal.	79.06	3910	Chas. Palmster, Stoneboro, Pa.	2.50
3756	C. Sewokunk, Manchester, N.H.	2.20	3833	F. S. R. Branch, Portland, Ore.	300.00	3911	O. B. U., Petersburg, Alaska.	2.50
3757	George Maich, Lists 14716-7-8-9-1420, Ambridge, Pa.	71.00	3834	Coll. H. Kantrow, Astoria, L. I.	10.00	3912	Fin. Socialist Br., Zim, Minn.	19.50
3758	Reading Circle, Boston, Mass.	25.00	3835	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	250.00	3913	F. S. R. Branch, Lorain, Ohio	18.15
3759	Issued by mistake, Cancelled \$50		3836	F. S. R. Br., Minneapolis, Minn.	214.00	3914	C. Imhoff, North Bend, Ore.	2.00
3760	F.S.R. Branch, Columbus, Ohio	44.30	3837	U. M. W. of A. & O'Fallon Coal Co., Belleville, Ill.	27.50	3915	L. A. Loomis, North Bend, Ore.	2.00
3761	I. A. of M., 284, Oakland, Cal.	20.00	3838	J. G. Bendrick, Tacoma, Wash.	25.00	3916	S. MacDonald, North Bend, Ore.	5.00
3762	F. H. Hareman, Cincinnati, O.	5.00	3839	T. Sanklis, Tacoma, Wash.	2.00	3917	C. A. Imhoff, North Bend, Ore.	5.00
3763	E. McDonald, St. Helena Is. S.C.	5.00	3840	J. Bontetteb, Alberta, Can.	10.00	3918	H. Imhoff, North Bend, Ore.	2.00
3764	Azel Nuvai, E. Weymouth, Mass.	3.00	3841	Coll. A. Block, Winnier, Can.	9.00	3919	Albert Beyar, North Bend, Ore.	1.00
3765	Ben Schmitt, Lacombe, Ore.	3.00	3842	F. S. R. Branch, Mason City, Ia.	6.00	3920	C. E. Brown, North Bend, Ore.	2.00
3766	Cabinet Makers' Union No. 1596		3843	C. Serlev & G. H. Serley, Lewiston, Idaho	5.00	3921	Orto Johnson, North Bend, Ore.	1.00
						3922	J.R. Robinson, North Bend, Ore.	1.00
						3923	I. Blomquist, North Bend, Ore.	1.00
						3924	Carl Golden, North Bend, Ore.	1.00
						3925	E. R. Hodson, North Bend, Ore.	1.00
						3926	F. Alvergreen, North Bend, Ore.	8.00
						3927	F. W. Shanton, North Bend, Ore.	1.00

Rec. No.	Name	Amount
3928	Marion Clark, North Bend, Ore.	1.00
3929	Joha Hill, North Bend, Oregon	2.00
3930	F. S. R. Br., Nashville, Tenn.	5.00
3931	Mrs. M.E. David, San Fran., Cal.	2.50
3932	A. C. Johnson, Savannah, Ga.	1.25
3933	F.S.R. Br., Washington, D. C.	575.00
3934	F.S.R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	500.00
3935	Society of Russian Origin of Boston, Mass.	150.00
3936	F. S. R. Branch, Cincinnati, O.	75.00
3937	F. S. R. Br., Los Angeles, Cal.	2,500.00
3938	F. S. R. Br., Minneapolis, Minn.	37.00
3939	Allied Slavonic Singing Society Bratsvo, Pittsburg, Pa.	25.00
3940	List 14462, Mrs. E. Konkly & Mrs. B. Argiewics, Detroit, Mich.	22.00
3941	Dr. P. W. Kanief, List 942, Chicago, Ill.	21.00
3942	Coll. by Louis Kontarick, Samoa, Cal.	11.00
3943	Dr. Fogg, Lockeford, Cal.	10.00
3944	Joe Butkus, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
3945	Frank Pliksa, Detroit, Mich.	5.00
3946	W. E. Beck, Cleveland, Ohio	3.10
3947	H. Zaretsky, Chicago, Ill.	18.50
3948	J. Johansen, Ft. Stanton, N.M.	6.45
3949	Leon Leighton, Turlock, Cal.	1.35
3950	J. P. Douglass, Tonasket, Wash.	1.00
3951	Joe Menadi, Oregon City, Ore.	2.00
3952	A. Pitt, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
3953	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	4.90
3954	Russian Section, F.S.R., N.Y.C.	164.00
3955	Lithuan. Section, F.S.R., N.Y.C.	2,098.24
3956	Nick Stess, Cloquet, Minn. 2 gold rings	
3957	F. S. R. Branch, Paterson, N. J.	1,000.00
3958	F. S. R. Br., San Diego, Cal.	500.00
3959	Ellen McMurtrie, Phila., Pa.	268.00
3960	F. S. R. Branch, Brockton, Mass.	200.00
3961	T. Hamilton, Indianapolis, Ind.	50.00
3962	Ed. & C. Peters, Detroit, Mich.	50.00
3963	F. S. R. Branch, Lansing, Mich.	30.00
3964	G. F. Young, Washington, D. C.	25.00
3965	H. B. Cooper, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone	16.00
3966	Circles of Light, Buffalo, N. Y.	11.00
3967	Coll. at Meeting, Rock Is., Ill.	10.00
3968	T. L. Chase, Taft, Calif.	10.00
3969	I. Laskov, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00
3970	J. H. Job, Reelsville, Ind.	9.00
3971	Coll. J. Rouse, Rockford, Ill.	7.00
3972	Union Employees, Mo. Pac. R. R. St. Louis, Mo.	7.00
3973	Dr. Geo. Lang, University, Ala.	5.00
3974	G. N. Lindsay, Evanston, Ill.	5.00
3975	M. D. Curry, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
3976	A. Lielt, Milo, Maine	5.00
3977	M.A. Rothmund, Rochester, N.Y.	5.00
3978	Geo. Swayze, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
3979	Wm. Gnatke, Rochester, N. Y.	1.25
3980	Rich. Buerker, Rochester, N. Y.	1.25
3981	Chas. Eisenberg, Roch., N. Y.	.50
3982	J. E. Hanger, Hicksville, N. Y.	3.00
3983	Grace Reid Kent, N. Y. C.	3.00
3984	S. Aloune, Superior, Wis.	3.00
3985	C. N. Falconer, Mexico C., Mex.	5.50
3986	E. A. Seltmann, Nekoma, Kan.	10.00
3987	U. Moes, Yukum, Tex.	10.00
3988	Thorstem Lien, Sturgis, S. Dak.	8.00
3989	N. Shea, New York City	5.00
3990	Mrs. Carlson, Belvidere, Cal.	5.00
3991	Mary Garber, Frankford, Pa.	3.00
3992	J. C. Meyer, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
3993	Aug. Anderson, Astoria, Ore.	2.00
3994	Mr. & Mrs. R. Yohat, Salineville, Ohio	2.00
3995	Paul Nickel, La Gloria, Cuba	1.00
3996	F. S. R. Branch, Columbus, O.	5.70
3997	Finnish Comrades, Ont., Can.	84.71
3998	What Cheer Loc. 2664 U. M. W. of A., Bay City, Mich.	33.75
3999	F. S. R. Br., Great Falls, Mont.	16.25
4000	Ladies Sewing Circle of Farmers Co-op. Assn., Marengo, Wisc.	14.35
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4004	T. Schultz, Columbia, S. Dak. Lavalier	5.00
4005	Johan Aaltonen, Monessen, Pa.	5.00
4006	P. Viadeko, New York City	15.00
4007	M. Tallila, List 9450, Nopeming, Minn.	35.00
4008	J. Greenwood, Prosper, Texas.	5.00
4009	Noble M. Irish, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
4010	Lillian W. Hendrick, N. Y. C.	10.00
4011	Ukrain. Wkra. Educ. Soc., NYC	103.30
4012	Anonymous, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00
4013	Ch. Anderson, Livingston, Mont.	1.00
4014	Union of Russian Citizens, NYC	26.50
4015	A. Munkens, Newark, N. J.	1.00
4016	A. Grafendorf, New York City	1.00
4017	Royal F. King, Yellin, Wash.	1.00
4018	Anonymous, Santa Paula, Cal.	2.00

Rec. No.	Name	Amount
4019	Tom, New York City	6.10
4020	Sam Levitt, N. Y. City	3.00
4021	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	12.50
4022	F. S. R. Branch, Buffalo, N. Y.	12.50
4023	Val. Melts, So. Holland, Ill.	6.50
4024	F. S. R. Br., Newbury, Mich.	3.10
4025	F. S. R. Br., Wolf Point, Mont.	1.50
4026	A. Weigersma, Wolf Pt., Mont.	2.00
4027	P. Brosznicz, Midvale, Ohio	5.00
4028	Fred Meier, New York City	10.00
4029	David T. Rose, Stockton, Cal.	5.00
4030	Mr. Harvey, Stockton, Cal.	5.00
4031	E. A. Lincoln, Arlington, Mass.	2.00
4032	R. B. Hayes, Redding, Cal.	1.00
4033	G. F. Wall, Ogdensburg, N. Y.	1.00
4034	F. H. Gaylor, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	1.00
4035	A. J. Wright, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	1.00
4036	H. Greenberg, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	1.00
4037	S. T. A. S. R. Central Bureau, N. Y. City	400.00
4038	F. S. R. Br., Binghamton, N. Y.	100.00
4039	F. S. R. Branch, St. Louis, Mo.	70.00
4040	Dr. A. J. Rosanoff, L. I., N. Y.	25.00
4041	Coll. Willat Prod. Co., San Francisco, Cal.	20.00
4042	E. S. Cardoso, Richmond, Va.	10.00

Rec. No.	Name	Amount
4043	Issac Bloomfield, Phila., Pa.	5.00
4044	Elia. MacDonald, So. Carolina	5.00
4045	L. Paulding, Des Moines, Iowa	2.00
4046	J. J. Masten, Guthrie, Ky.	108.50
4047	A. Huff, List 7124, Easton, Pa.	13.57
4048	Fred Fickas, San Diego, Cal.	2.00
4049	R. Johnston, Humfrey Channels, Canada	45.00
4050	L. Coleff, Humfrey Channels, Canada	45.00
4051	R. Johnston, Humfrey Channels, Canada	84.75
4052	Gus Equall, Humfrey Channels, Canada	32.00
4053	Anonymous, Arlington, Mass.	20.46

Total for February (incl. No. 3381-3688 published in previous issue) \$46,364.60

CORRECTIONS

Rec. No. 821 for \$50 was through a mistake credited to F. W. This amount was donated by the International Pub. Ass'n, Section 6, Black Rock, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Rec. No. 3275 for \$575 was cancelled, but printed by mistake; its place is now taken by Rec. No. 3933.



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Semi-Monthly Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia



"Take Them, Mother Volga!"

SOVIET RUSSIA

Vol. VI.

April 1, 1922

No. 6

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England and Genoa

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

(Whether the Genoa Conference becomes a fact or not the following discussion of England's attitude is of interest to all sympathizers with the Soviet Government. The author, at one time Special Correspondent in Russia for "The Manchester Guardian", was one of the first foreigners to describe the Revolution with sympathy.)

UP to the Cannes conference Lloyd George had succeeded in very considerably strengthening his position and that of the ruling classes of England in international affairs. He had made peace with Ireland, averted a struggle for naval supremacy with America, and obtained the prospect of curbing French militarism on the continent of Europe by bringing in German capitalism, newly arisen out of the ashes of the German Revolution, into an international finance consortium for the exploitation of Central Europe and Russia. But the fall of M. Briand and the rise to power of M. Poincaré again has put a spoke in his plans. The systematic attempts now made by the French Government to sabotage the Genoa Conference, aided by the Northcliffe press in England, and the continued tendency of America to avoid direct participation in European affairs, in order that it may more effectively exert pressure on the capitalist governments to pay it their war debts, has weakened Lloyd George's position once more and brought his government before another crisis.

But if the international position of the British ruling classes has not improved during the last month, its internal position is becoming exceedingly critical. It is up against two problems, which appear, for the moment at least, to be quite insoluble. The first is the catastrophic state of the Imperial finances (a huge but as yet unknown deficit is expected in the next Budget). The second is an unprecedented revolutionary wave in Egypt and India—these two bulwarks of British Imperialism in the East. In order to deal with the situation, Lloyd George's Government is obliged to use all the arts of trickery and make-believe.

Let us consider the first problem. How is Lloyd George trying to grapple with his financial difficulties? The condition of trade shows no signs of improvement. The figures for export and import for

December of last year were the lowest recorded. The number of unemployed shows no signs of abatement. The revenue from indirect taxation, customs and excise are decreasing, and America is pressing for the payment of interest and sinking fund on its debt. There is therefore only one thing for Lloyd George to do and that is drastically to cut down State expenditures. The Northcliffe press has been clever enough to understand the position and, hoping to gain popularity with the petty bourgeoisie, has been running a big "economy campaign" for several months past. The Government has appointed a special committee under the presidency of the Canadian financier, Sir Auckland Geddes, to report on the possibility of reducing the national expenditure by 175 millions sterling; 75 millions have already been cut down by dissolving certain State departments and reducing the staff of others, but there remain 100 million more still to be cut, if the budget is to be balanced. So far as is known, the committee has only succeeded in drawing up a plan for reducing expenditures by 75 millions, leaving 25 millions still to be cut. Of these 75 millions, it is proposed to find 45 millions by reducing the expenditure on the Army, Navy, and Air Services. Here one may see the importance of the Washington Conference—from the point of view of the financial stability of the British Empire. At the cost of having to bow to the dictatorship of President Harding, accept his battleship ratio, and abandon the alliance with Japan, Lloyd George obtains the possibility of saving a considerable sum of money. As all the clear-sighted labor elements in England saw from the first, the Washington Conference was merely a device to save world capitalism from bankruptcy.

But in addition to the reduction of armaments, the Geddes Committee provides for a reduction of 38 millions on various departments connected with

the social welfare of the wide masses. Thus it is proposed to cut down 18 millions on education and to force school teachers to accept lower salaries and to increase the number of pupils in each class. The dismissal of large numbers of school teachers will also have to take place, if these plans are carried out. Pensions for war invalids and the expenses of the Ministry of Health are to be reduced by some 5 millions. Thus Lloyd George hopes to be spared the disgrace of coming before the English electors as the man whose government bankrupted England, by reducing expenditure on armaments and imposing the rest of the burden on the laboring masses by lowering the standard of living and depriving them of those small advantages which they have been able to acquire under capitalist society. In the first case, he will receive the support of the petty bourgeoisie, who are tired of armaments and war, and in the second place, he will be able to appeal to them as the man who practiced economy. Here, of course, he may wreck his government. Already great opposition has been aroused by his economy plan among the great spending departments, particularly the Army, Navy, and Air Services, whose case is being championed by Winston Churchill. The latter realizes that unless the rulers of England have sufficient aeroplanes and poison gas bombs to throw on the villages of Indians and Egyptians, even the glories of the British Empire, like the glories of Ivan the Terrible, will fade away. Also, the mere fact that Lloyd George, in the days of his radicalism, agitated for and achieved considerable social reforms, all of which are now to be thrown on the scrap-heap, in order to prevent the necessity of taxing the landlords and the industrial magnates, is likely to increase his unpopularity in large circles of the population.

Once more he is at his wits' end to find some popular cry, with which he can divert popular attention from understanding the true state of England. He still hopes that Genoa will provide one of these diversions and that it may also help to solve some of the problems with which he is confronted. To ally himself with Herr Rathenau and Herr Stinnes and, together with them, to harness the Russian Revolution and the technique of German industry to an international finance consortium—that is still a very attractive project, but one which is no less dangerous to the proletariat of Central and Eastern Europe than the policy of open brigandage pursued by M. Poincaré. And this is really at the bottom of all the so-called "Liberal" tendencies of English politics to-day. As the Conference of the Liberal Party in Manchester last month showed, the "Free Liberal" opponents of Lloyd George, in spite of all their oratory and invective, had nothing positive to propose as an alternative to the policy now pursued by the left wing of the Coalition, which Lloyd George now intends to call the "National Liberal Party". In spite of Lord Grey's criticism on foreign policy, everyone knows that it was he who was responsible for bringing England into the war on the basis of

a secret treaty with France. In spite of Mr. Asquith's attack on Lloyd George for the period of terror in his Irish policy last year, everyone knows that it was he who murdered the Irish revolutionaries at Easter 1916, and that he is the man who has the blood of James Connolly on his conscience. Thus, all the fights that are now going on in England between Lloyd George's National Liberals and Asquith's Free Liberals, between the Northcliffe press and Lloyd George, and between the Conservative "Die-Hards" and the Coalition, are nothing else than sham fights between various elements of the British ruling classes. To some extent they are based on personal animosities, but for the most part they are staged in order to mislead the masses into the idea that, if Lloyd George's Coalition goes, something more progressive will take its place. The real nature of these conflicts may be seen by the difference of opinion which has arisen over the question of the reform of the House of Lords. The Conservative "Die-Hards" do not want a General Election, until the House of Lords has been reformed in such a way as to give it back its old privileges, to stop all revolutionary legislation which may be passed by the House of Commons. Lloyd George on the other hand would fight the danger of a Labor government getting into power in England, by finding a good electioneering cry to throw dust in the eyes of the British proletariat and to prevent it from realizing the true state of affairs.

As regards the second problem before the Coalition—the question of India and Egypt—it is very difficult to say anything positive. No reliable information has come from these countries for some weeks. The censorship has stopped the publication of telegraphic despatches from Bombay to the *Daily Herald*, because "their publication is considered undesirable by the authorities." All that is known is that India is in a state of rebellion against British rule. The pacifist Ghandi has now complete control over the Nationalist movement, and is organizing a gigantic general strike, which includes the non-payment of taxes. The British authorities are considering whether to arrest* and deport him and meanwhile have filled the prisons of India with thousands of revolutionaries, whom they are treating with their accustomed barbarity. Meanwhile, a pleasant young gentleman, called the Prince of Wales, is led like a prize ox around the towns of India and is duly photographed, receiving the homage of intimidated Indians, announcing their loyalty to England at the rate of 5 rupees a day, and the photographs are produced by the Northcliffe and all the yellow press as proof of the loyalty of India to the British Empire. Thus the Genoa Conference and the "tempest in a tea-cup" over the Reform of the House of Lords are merely convenient excuses for covering up the financial situation of the British Empire at home and the rising tide of revolution in its Asiatic dependencies.

*Ghandi has been sentenced to imprisonment for six years since the above was written.

The Work of Wrangel Soldiers at Baku

(In the "Izvestya" of January 19 Serebrovsky gives an account of how a part of the former Wrangel soldiers returned to Russia and atoned for the crimes they had committed against their country.)

THE difficult situation which had developed in the oil industry of Baku, owing to the lack of foodstuffs and technical equipment, reached such a critical stage in the spring of 1921 that great numbers of Persian and Armenian workers began to flock back to their villages and swift remedy had to be found. For this reason I was entrusted, in May, 1921, with the task of selling naphtha and oil products and getting in return foodstuffs, manufactured articles and technical equipment. But it would have taken a rather long time before a sufficient number of Persian workers from Ardebil and Armenian workers from Zangezour would have heard of this and arrived. This loss of time might however have sealed the doom of the oil industry in Baku. For this reason I decided to look for the necessary workers among the Wrangel soldiers in Constantinople, reckoning upon the frame of mind of a part of these men who were greatly longing to be back home.

In this connection I wish to say a few words about the voluntary and non-voluntary Russian émigrés in Constantinople in May, 1921. In my life I have seen many cases of great distress, but I had never felt a horror to equal that which the situation of the Wrangel soldiers evoked in me. On the day of my arrival, while walking along the main street of Pera, the European part of Constantinople, I observed the generals and staff officers of the Wrangel army passing by the most fashionable stores and restaurants in all their splendor, and accompanied by their ladies. Suddenly there appeared from one of the side streets a troop of walking corpses covered with dirty and vermin-eaten rags. First I thought that these wretches were Red Army soldiers who had been taken prisoner and who had been allowed to sink to such a condition of misery. When I began to talk to them, however, I discovered that they were Wrangel soldiers who had been driven to a camp outside the city after they had just recovered from typhus. I also learned in the course of my conversation, that many Cossacks and infantry soldiers, including those who had remained in good health, wanted to return to Russia at any price. One of the supervising officers soon put a rude end to our conversation. I then decided to visit the camp, in order to get acquainted with the condition of the men on the spot. A happy accident was in my favor. I met an old French officer, the father of one of my schoolmates at Brussels, who happened to be in charge of the Wrangel camps. He expressed his readiness to supply me with the necessary credentials, but warned me against the Wrangel officers who opposed so strongly the re-

turn of their men to Russia that they would not even stop at resorting to violence in order to prevent it. On the Island of Lemnos an altercation over this question resulted in an armed clash between the military cadets of the notorious hangman-general Kutepov and the French guards. My friend-protector even attached to me a young French officer. One morning I started out with my companion for the Wrangel camp. Contrary to my expectations, nothing more occurred there beyond coarse swearing on the part of the officers. In the camps situated close to the city, I succeeded in recruiting a few hundred workers for the oil-wells of Baku. I did not conceal from them the difficulties of our food situation, or the work that would have to be done. Nevertheless the people willingly accepted all the hardships into the bargain in order to atone for all the conscious and unconscious crimes they had committed against their country. All the heroic Cossacks who participated in the war against the Germans and the Austrians cried for joy when they saw themselves so near the goal of their longing to return home, when they learned that after six months' work they would obtain civil equality in the Russia of the workers and peasants, which they had now begun to love. The officers, it appeared to me, were dissatisfied, and grumbled only because they were not included in this invitation to return to Russia. Individually they sought to learn from me the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the return of the officers, and whether they would not have to face punishment for their participation in the war against their country. I told them that I had instructions to recruit workers only. Shortly after my arrival, a meeting took place to which there came also officers whose attitude was definitely hostile. From their midst were heard exclamations: "You are leading the people to execution!" "Are the victims of Crimea not yet sufficient?" I explained to the Cossacks and to the infantry soldiers that we would not take anybody to Baku by force, that those who would go with me would be granted full amnesty, that although the amnesty had not yet been extended to the officers, this would be the case very soon. My words brought forth a storm of fury and execration. But the soldiers outshouted the officers and declared that they believed me and that they intended to go back to Russia. A large number immediately passed through the doors and ran to the harbor. A Cossack, apparently an officer, invited me to the stables, where allegedly there had assembled several hundred people who wanted to go back. When I got there I met with a hostile reception, being nearly cut down by the officers.

and it was only due to the intervention of the rank and file that I came off alive. The very same day I managed to arrange all my affairs preparatory to my departure. One steamer had already been unloaded and about 3200 men had boarded the other. They received us with loud cheers. I learned later that the men had formed a committee, which organized an orchestra and sewed a red flag. Soon the anchors were raised and I bade my acquaintance, the French officer, a hearty farewell. The orchestra played the Internationale, and the red flag was hoisted while the steamer entered the Bosphorus. We passed American, English and Italian cruisers, from which we were greeted with loud cheers and the waving of hats. Finally we passed Wrangel's yacht, the "Lucullus". At this moment all my passengers emitted furious shouts and jeers. They gathered empty cans and all kinds of utensils and threw them on the deck of the Wrangel yacht. On the way we busily plied the Wrangel soldiers with propaganda. On the following day we arrived in Batum. I landed first in order to arrange the necessary formalities and to provide for the further transport of the men to Baku. The Cheka, seeing my "White Guards", simply let them alone. In the evening we proceeded on our journey to Baku. Immediately upon our arrival, the men were distributed to the various establishments and the work began. It was a real pleasure to observe how eagerly they set to work! Our workers could not help feeling ashamed when they looked at those men at work, trying hard to make up for their sins. And here the great change was wrought which resulted in a gradual but certain improvement of our oil industry. Thus it was really the former Wrangel soldiers who created for the other workers the incentive to hard work which helped rehabilitate the oil industry in Baku. For this reason they were treated with exceptional consideration. In fact, they were regarded as comrades who from darkness had found their way to light. The party workers who were active in their midst were full of praise for their eagerness to work and their attitude toward the Soviet power. The party committee even forbade the use of the word "Wrangelite" in order that all unpleasant remembrances of the activities of the traitor might be forgotten. After six months, Baku presented quite a different picture. The oil production has reached an output of 240,000 tons per month. At present, 1075 wells are exploited and the oil output has increased to about 16,000 tons daily. Under such circumstances, the former Wrangel soldiers, after six months' work, were free to leave Baku. They all returned to their homes as the defeated in the struggle against the people of Russia and as participants in the common victory over the collapse of this part of our national economy. Some of the Wrangel men voluntarily remained in Baku and continue, together with the newly arrived workers from Ardebil and Zangezour, to work in the reconstruction of our national economy. Now Baku has a sufficient number of efficient workers,

the spirit of the working population is no longer that of dejection, and there is hope for a final victory.

TO THE TEACHERS OF ALL COUNTRIES

The following Appeal was recently issued by the Third All-Russian Congress of the Teachers' Union:

The National Congress of Russian Teachers appeals to you, teachers of the world.

The broad plains of Southern Russia today resemble a barren desert. The bony hand of death threatens millions of workers and their children. Among them are thousands of teachers and their families.

The fight against the famine is extremely difficult in the unfortunate and exhausted country. The Soviet government—the only workers' government in the world—is attempting with superhuman energy to save the lives of the population of the famine region. But the means at the disposal of the exhausted land are so small that without foreign assistance their salvation is impossible.

Workers of the world! We as the representatives of 700,000 teachers and educational workers turn to you with a fraternal call and an urgent appeal for help.

You yourselves know best how and with what you can help. Commence a great movement in your countries on an international scale under the slogan "Help for Proletarian Russia!" Send us this help by all possible channels; send it over the heads of your governments, over the frontiers that separate us. Support the working-class in its struggle against new attempts at intervention which will mean even greater ruin and even more suffering for our exhausted country. Half of the sum necessary to build a dreadnought is sufficient to save 20 million human beings from death by starvation.

We do not doubt that the "civilized" governments of "civilized" Europe will refuse to give up this half-dreadnought in order to help us. But we also do not doubt that you, workers of the world, will, in answer to our appeal, do all in your power to aid us.

The Third All-Russian Congress of the Trade Union of Educational Workers.

BUSTS OF LENIN AND TROTSKY,

the work of Clare Sheridan, have been reproduced in plaster of Paris with the artist's permission. Orders for the Lenin bust (large size) should be accompanied by remittance of three dollars; for the Trotsky bust, two dollars.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Art Department · 201 West 13th Street,
New York City

Debs Asks You to Help Russia

Eugene V. Debs, from his home in Terre Haute, has issued an appeal for famine relief for Soviet Russia which every American worker will heed. Deeply sympathizing with the struggle of the workers in Russia in their fight against the heartless ruling class of the world, he calls upon everyone to give the starving in Russia "the bread we hold in our hands". The appeal for contributions for Russian Famine Relief by Eugene V. Debs follows:

"Where the bravest of our comrades have fought and suffered and sacrificed their all with a sublime heroism that has no parallel in history; where the embattled Russian revolutionists have staunchly stood and held their ground against the combined powers of the world's despotism and reaction in the war of the workers for liberation, there too are millions of men, women and children stricken with gaunt hunger and writhing in the skeleton clutch of starvation. These Russian comrades of ours whose matchless valor and self-sacrifice have thrilled and inspired the workers of all nations and challenged the plaudits of the whole world now look to you, American workers, to come to their rescue in the desperate crisis now upon them and save them to humanity in the rebuilding of the ruined world.

"These heroes in Russia who have immortalized their cause, our cause, who have paid in overflowing measure in blood and tears and agony unspeakable, the price of their fidelity and devotion to the oppressed and exploited toilers not only of their own land but of the whole world, now appeal to us for the food that shall save them from perishing as hostages to starvation, and shall we now fail to return in small part what we owe them for what they have suffered in the awful years of the revolution to break the fetters of labor everywhere and set humanity free from the curse of the ages?

"In Russia our comrades have suffered and endured beyond the power of words to express to save us suffering; they have gone hungry and naked that we might be fed and clothed; they

have bared their heroic breasts to the bayonets and bullets of a hostile and heartless ruling class world to give liberty to the human race, and shall these martyr spirits, these glorious souls and their helpless children now be permitted to die ignominiously for the want of the bread we hold in our hands?

"No, a thousand times no! We should merit eternal reproach for our recreancy if we failed in this crucial hour to give and to give promptly, and to give again and again to the full limit of our power.

"The starving workers and peasants of Soviet Russia cry aloud to us in the throes of their desperation and agony, and unless our hearts are of stone we can hear them by day and by night, and I appeal to every member of the American working class, to every man, woman and child with sympathy for starving fellow-creatures, to every human being responsive to human suffering within reach of my voice, to give and give at once and give freely and to the last dollar and the last penny that may be spared to the Friends of Soviet Russia, swelling the present contributions a hundredfold, for the relief as far as possible of the awful famine in the struggling Soviet Republic and for the rescue of the millions of its threatened victims whose cruel and shocking fate would forever shame our common humanity and leave a foul and damning blot on our vaunted civilization."

(Signed) EUGENE V. DEBS

American workers desiring to respond to this appeal by Eugene V. Debs are called upon by the Friends of Soviet Russia to *sign the Roll Call and give*. A roll call of all friends of Soviet Russia is being taken by the F. S. R. The Roll Call Book will go forward with shipments of food made before May 1st, and will be deposited in the archives of the Soviet Government as an attestation of international solidarity, as proof that you helped Soviet Russia when she needed help most. Write the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York City, and say: "I want to sign and give."

OUR LITERATURE DEPARTMENT

There has been an error in a statement in a previous bulletin with regard to "Communism and Christianity" by Wm. M. Brown.

Bishop Brown has donated an unlimited quantity of the paper-bound edition to relief work, in addition to the 2,000 cloth bound copies, which sell at \$1.00, every penny of which goes for relief. The paper edition may be had at 25c. per copy (not 50c.) or 6 for \$1.00. This book is one of the most popular on the market at the present time, and should be widely circulated, particularly since all returns are for relief.

The second edition of F. S. R. Post Cards is just off the press and will be sent to the affiliations without delay. All the former edition that the branches have on hand should be disposed of at once—either by sale or free distribution.

The edition of 2,000 of John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World," has been exhausted and a fresh supply had to be procured.

"Famine Pamphlets" are all gone. A new edition, with different pictures will appear within a few weeks.

My Impressions of Russia

By HENRY SARA

The author of this article is an English comrade now speaking for the Famine Relief Work of the Friends of Soviet Russia in various American cities. His knowledge of Russia is based on very extensive travels in that country (see next page).

ALL personification is unreal. Liberty is a great thing in most countries—but quite an abstraction, and equally elusive. Emancipation is a great slogan, but quite intangible. And even the giant Labor is so composite as to be largely a contradictory Beast. So that hostility to Soviet Russia, where Labor has been made the all-in-all, is easy to understand. Why should a Republic be allowed to prevail where Labor has been made such a fetish? Why should any group or set of men be allowed to bring into being an organization having for its end the establishment of Internationalism? Internationalism as an abstraction is alright, but practical Internationalism is all wrong. A paternalism towards Labor is permissible but a recognition of Labor is absurd.

Well, that is Soviet Russia's real fault. She has been guilty of sincerity. That is an unpardonable breach of the international code, hence she has been called upon to pay a heavy toll. And the toll is still being exacted.

Whoever has lived and traveled in Russia has marveled, during many stages of the journey, at the tremendous effort of Idealism displayed by those who have assumed the great task of building up a Republic based upon the recognition of Labor. It seems almost a superhuman task and never more so than when a full realization is made of the numerous races gathered together 'neath the Red banner which the revolutionaries have defended so gloriously.

It is impossible to escape the feeling that much is being done to translate into reality the sentiments so pointedly expressed on one of the many artistic posters: *From Darkness to Light; From the Struggle to the Book; From the Book to Happiness.*

To make Labor aware! What a crime against Civilization! To introduce among a primitive people the means to lessen toil! Many tourists have visited Russian Turkestan and all have remarked the backwardness of tribes or races to be found there. The old official Russia dominated this vast area, exploited these simple folk, and was concerned merely with the possibility of wringing wealth from them, aided by their ignorance.

And now?

Now there are native halls upon the walls of which are borne the portraits of their leaders in the revolutionary Cause. Slogans expressing International Solidarity with the Workers of the World. Literature explaining in suitable language the new message of Labor's power. Here among these races, unknown to the man in the street very often, are to be found ardent Communists spreading enlight-

enment in schools and classes where there previously existed only a neglected "rabble".

Picture a noisy teashop placarded with Soviet posters, and cartoons; a string band making weird music; trays of dried fruit; bowls of tea; flat rounds of bread; and looking down upon the proceedings two oil paintings, one of Lenin, and the other of Karl Marx! Miles from the railway, hundreds of miles from a big city, and though one describes the music as weird nevertheless the strains of the melody of the International are quite recognizable. Then a call for a meeting. Over a wide stretch of water, for the drainage is bad, is built a barge and then the cry having gone round, swarms and swarms of fantastically dressed men—the women are not the equals of the men, yet—gather round the chairman's table erected under the roofed market place. In passionate eloquence the speakers tell their story of the new freedom, of the new power, of the potentiality of the Giant Labor.

Then elsewhere, among the women, meetings are run by the women workers. The educational work adapted to meet the requirements of women who are actually hidden away from the joy of life is very difficult but still it goes on apace. Women who have been veiled, that is wear a black piece of gauze-like material, closely woven, over their faces, so that no other man except their husband shall be able to look upon their faces, through the new message, discard the primitive custom. Slowly they learn to feel the kinship of their sisters of the world. The beginning of greater things.

Then the theatres. Not only are plays sent from Moscow in which the iconoclasm of Lunacharsky and such like playwrights is given full scope, but native plays dealing with local conditions, local problems, and native history are acted with the view to assist the larger educational work.

It can be objected that after all this is largely a surface matter, that below this activity the lives of the people have changed but little. That is quite true, but the objection is not exactly helpful. The vastness of Russia is little understood. To say that Russia is three times as large as America, or that the famine area is as large as France, is a commonplace method of making comparisons. Actually to travel in the country produces an impression quite impossible to register in writing. To look out of a railway carriage window whilst on a journey in the South of Russia is to look upon nothing very often but wide stretches of land upon which no signs of life or habitation can be met. People who talk so glibly about what the Russians ought to do are usually the least informed as to



The heavy black line on this map indicates the route followed by Comrade Sara on Russian and Turkestan railways. The trip took him all the way to picturesque Tashkent and back.

actual conditions. On the spot one does not say: Why don't they do this, or why don't they do that? But rather: How do they do this, and how do they do that? For, just as Rome was not built in twenty-four hours, so one-sixth of the Earth's surface will take longer than four years, four years of civil conflict at that, to touch a fringe of the problem of social reconstruction. This applies to Red Petrograd and Martial Moscow, as well as to the great areas of steppes mentioned above. But whilst so often one finds the critics shirking the task, and the criticized striving, striving, ever striving, choice is not difficult, the battle is with those who shoulder it; and little is recked but the winning, by them.

In far away Kokand, for example, one will find a cotton mill, perhaps as primitive a form of mill on a large scale as is to be found anywhere in the

world. Without any modern machinery, without metal castings, a workingman has built up a plant, for weaving and spinning, entirely in wood. During our visit the plant was working at its normal speed and one gained some idea what was being lost by lack of machinery suitable for the work. And whilst these people struggle, struggle, to render life possible without exploitation, the Russian émigré propagandists talk to their fearful students of the horrors of Bolshevism.

One of the largest London universities has regular lectures by various professional gentlemen who do their utmost to horrify their audience. For example, in a series of lectures recently on the "Russian Peasantry", Baron A. F. Meyendorff managed to picture a very disagreeable and brutal creature. Sir Bernard Pares' history was only outdone by the notorious Harold Williams on "The Russian Intelligentsia". He told of an officer who approached him for a copy of the *Times* newspaper. When asked what it was for, he

explained that it was for sleeping upon. The sighs went up from the audience in commiseration with the officer. How many of the audience sighed at the thought that outside of the very building in which they were sitting that night, men and women would be sleeping on sheets of newspapers on the stones because they were homeless, one has no means of knowing, but it is safe to say that it would be a very small number. As Harold Williams told his thrilling tale, one's mind not involuntarily drew the contrast between this new world and the old brutality of Tsarism, and delighted in the revolutionary hopes of our time, the swift changes, the enthusiasm now warming all hearts.

Russia, Soviet Russia, where an indomitable people try to realize visions must never be forsaken by us, nor call upon us in vain.

Important Events of 1921

January

4. Rising in Georgia against Menshevik Government.
26. Autonomous Republics of Daghestan and the Mountain Peoples (Northern slopes of Caucasus) formed.

February

3. Death of P. A. Kropotkin.
26. Russo-Turkish Conference opened at Moscow.
27. Establishment of Soviet Government in Georgia.
28. Signature of Treaty between Soviet Russia and Afghanistan.

March

1. Rising in Kronstadt.

16. Signature of Treaty with Turkey. Signature of Trade Agreement with Great Britain. Central Executive Committee decided to introduce taxation in kind instead of food levies.
17. Kronstadt rising put down.
18. Signature of Peace Treaty with Poland.

April

20. Mongolia declared an independent State.

May

6. Signature of Trade Agreement with Germany.

June

20. Official statement of crop failure in Volga provinces.

29. Third Congress of the Communist International opened at Moscow.

July

1. First International Congress of Red Trade Unions opened at Moscow.
12. Central Executive Committee issued decree embodying application of new economic policy to minor industries, handicraft workers, and co-operative societies.
21. Proclamation of famine area, and appeals for relief.
31. Arrival in Moscow of the British Trade Delegation.

August

4. Arrival of Polish Diplomatic Mission in Moscow.
6. Norway accepts terms of Trade Agreement proposed by Russia.
12. Dutch Government permits its nationals to trade with Russia. Italian Cabinet sanctions negotiations for Trade Agreement with Russia.
20. Signature of agreement between Mr. Hoover's organization for famine relief and the Soviet Government.

September

2. Signature of Trade Agreement with Norway at Christiania.
7. Widenfeld, Norwegian Government representative, leaves for Moscow. Signature of Agreement on Relief with Dr. Nansen.
8. Czecho-Slovak Trade Delegation leaves for Moscow.
24. First cargo of locomotives from Germany leaves for Petrograd.
25. Conference between the Angora Government, Russia, and the Caucasian Republics opened at Kars.

October

3. Arrival in Moscow of Finnish Chargé d'affaires.
12. Decree of Central Executive Committee establishing a State Bank.
13. Appeal issued by Geneva International Conference to all Governments to grant an immediate loan to Russia for famine relief.
14. Peace Treaty signed between the Caucasian Republics and Turkey.
19. Decision of the Central Executive Committee to establish an autonomous Republic of the Crimea.
21. Swedish Government expresses readiness to begin negotiations for a Trade Agreement with Russia.
22. Russian Trade Delegation arrives in Christiania.
24. Arrival in Berlin of the Russian representative, M. Krestinsky.
26. Representatives of French firms in Constantinople begin commercial negotiations with the Ukrainian Delegation.
28. Economic Conference between the Baltic States and Soviet Russia opened.
29. Declaration of Soviet Government on the recognition of pre-war debts.

November

4. Chicherin protests against the exclusion of Russia from the Washington Conference.
5. Amnesty granted to the soldiers who fought in the White armies against Russia. Stefanski appointed Polish Ambassador to Russia. Treaty signed between Russia and Mongolia.
14. Arrival of German Trade Delegation at Petrograd. Exchange of Notes with England with regard to recognition of pre-war debts.
17. Commissariat for Foreign Affairs issued statement on Finnish border raiders' attacks on Karelia.
18. General Slashchev and other Wrangel officers return to Russia.
24. General Slashchev appeals to the officers and soldiers of Wrangel's army to return to Russia. Far Eastern Republic protests against support being given by Japan to counter-revolutionaries in the Maritime province.
25. Norwegian Trade Delegation leaves Christiania for Moscow.
30. Frontier Commission finally settles borders between Russia and Esthonia.

December

5. The Soviet Government protests against the violation of the Yuriev Peace Treaty by Finland. Krestinsky

opens an International Famine Relief Conference in Berlin.

8. Treaties signed between Russia, the Ukraine, and Austria.
10. The Polish Government invites the Ukrainian Government to start negotiations for a Trade Agreement.
14. Paikes, representing the R. S. F. S. R., and Klasing representing the Far Eastern Republic, arrive in Peking.
23. Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened.
25. Death of Vladimir Korolenko.
28. The United States Congress votes \$20,000,000 for famine relief in Russia.

(From the Moscow "Izvestya")

ALLIES OF THE RUSSIAN FAMINE

By ROBERT PELLETIER

(From "L'Humanité", Paris, February 17, 1922)

The Russian famine has allies all over the world. There are men so blinded by their hatred of Communism that they are willing to apply all the influence at their disposal to cripple the work of relief and to aggravate the frightful sufferings of millions of people.

One of these persons is M. Pierre Ryss, a contributor to the *Posledniya Novosti*, a paper published by M. Miliukov in Paris. M. Ryss put into circulation an accusation that American Communists have collected \$500,000 for the starving in Russia and spent it for propaganda, inviting the Russian Government to credit the starving in Russia with an equivalent sum.

The *Temps*, without mentioning the American Communists by name, gleefully used the arguments of M. Ryss, and, joining him in his assistance to the famine, the great semi-official journal of the French Republic has declared that in that "great country" the Communists had committed this act of malfeasance, which was the subject of an entire article calculated to give the French bourgeoisie a good pretext for tightening its purse-strings.

It is easy to imagine the joy with which the patriotic orators of the bourgeois salons all over the provinces of France will exploit this wonderful slogan: "A gift to the starving in Russia is a gift for Communist propaganda". And Mr. Pierre Ryss, who is doubtless a Russian, may delight in the thought that he has killed several thousands of his compatriots by this use of his pen.

It so happens that M. Ryss is lying.

The American Communists, more specifically, the Friends of Soviet Russia, have indeed received \$500,000,* and this sum was spent in shipments extending from October 15 to December 24, on five ships, the steamers *Margus*, *Floridan*, *Elzasier*, *Gasconier* and *Eastern Coast*, including foodstuffs and medicaments to the total value of \$450,652. The rest of the \$500,000 was used for transport charges.

*Doubtless the author, who jumps at the conclusion that the Friends of Soviet Russia is a Communist organization, is here including the sums collected by other organizations affiliated with the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, as well as by the American Office of the Russian Red Cross.

Dr. Bagotzky, delegate of the Russian Red Cross to the International Red Cross Committee at Geneva, has been in a position to check up the amounts contributed to the Society, and he confirms the figures given above. But the harm done by M. Ryss is irreparable, for the *Temps*, although it reprinted his calumny, will not reprint our denial.

And there will be people, all over France, who

will be happy to find a pretext to ignore the cry of distress of the famished, as well as the voice of their own consciences.

As for M. Miliukov and his accomplices, they will have made themselves responsible for a crime of which it will be difficult to measure the horror, the extent, and the hypocrisy.

Thousands of wretched people who might have been saved will now die.

The Changed World Situation

By LEON TROTSKY

(After an analysis of the reaction of each social class to the changed economic conditions, the fourth instalment of Trotsky's new book takes up the possibility of an armed clash between the United States and Great Britain. The fifth and last instalment, to appear in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, will deal with the tasks and prospects of the working class after the war.)

The Present Crisis

AFTER the bourgeoisie had accomplished the demobilization of troops and fought back the first onslaught of the working masses, it recovered from its state of confusion, fear, and panic, and regained its self-assurance. It now began to believe that this was only the beginning of an era of the greatest prosperity, for which no end was to be seen. Well known English statesmen proposed to raise an international loan of £2,000,000,000 sterling for reparation tasks. It seemed as if a rain of gold were about to descend upon Europe and produce a general prosperity. The destruction of Europe, the wiping out of its cities and villages, was transformed—with the aid of these fantastic loan figures—into actual wealth, but there was in reality nothing but the shadow cast by misery. But real facts soon brought the bourgeoisie back out of the world of air castles. I have already mentioned the crisis that began in Japan in March, 1921, then broke out in the United States (in April) and thereupon extended to England, France and Italy, and, in the second half of last year, embraced the entire world. From what I have already said it is perfectly clear that we are not dealing with a simple fluctuation in a periodic cycle of industry, but with a retribution for the destructions and wastes of the entire war and post-war periods.

In 1913 the net imports of all nations amounted to 65,700,000,000 gold marks (16 billion gold dollars). Of this sum Russia imported 2,500,000,000; Austria-Hungary, 3,000,000,000; the Balkans, 1,000,000,000; Germany, 11,000,000,000 gold marks. Thus Central and Eastern Europe imported more than one-fourth of the total commodity imports of the world. At present all these countries are importing less than one-fifth of their former importations. This figure is a sufficient indication of the present purchasing power of Europe.

What are the immediate economic prospects?

It is evident that America will have to draw in its belt, since it can no longer hope to sell to the

European war market. On the other hand, Europe likewise will have to adapt itself to the most backward, i. e., the most devastated regions and branches of industry. This means an economic adjustment downward, in other words, an extended crisis, with stagnations in certain branches and countries, and a very feeble growth in others. The cyclical variations will continue, but on the whole the curve of capitalist evolution will go down instead of up.

Crisis, Boom, and Revolution.

The mutual relation between economic advance and crisis in the development of revolution is not only of great theoretical interest to us, but more particularly of practical interest. Many of us will remember that Marx and Engels in 1851—when prosperity was coming on with full speed—wrote that the revolution of 1848 must now be considered as closed, or at least as postponed until the next crisis should ensue. Engels wrote that the crisis of 1847 had been the mother of revolution, while the prosperity of 1849-51 was the mother of victorious counter-revolution. But it would be quite one-sided and at bottom quite incorrect to interpret these observations as meaning that a crisis always has a revolutionary effect, and that prosperity always pacifies the working class. The revolution of 1848 was not born of crisis. The crisis had only been the final provocation. The revolution actually was produced by the opposition between the needs of capitalistic development and the fetters of a semi-feudal social and government system. The revolution of 1848, although it was absolutely deficient in resoluteness or completeness, nevertheless did eliminate the remnants of the guild and feudal systems and thus extended the framework of capitalist development. Under these circumstances—and only because of these circumstances—the advance of 1851 was the beginning of a long epoch of capitalistic prosperity, lasting until 1873.

May we expect the same effect from the advance in 1919-1920? By no means. There was no longer a possibility of extending the framework

of capitalistic development. Does this mean that the remote or even the very near future may not bring a new boom in trade and industry? By no means. I have already said that so long as capitalism lives it continues breathing in and out. But in the epoch that we have just entered, in the epoch of retribution for the destructions and devastations of the war, in the epoch of adjustment *downward*, the periods of prosperity can be only superficial and predominantly speculative in character, while the crises are much longer and more profound.

Therefore, is a restoration of capitalist equilibrium possible on a new basis? If we admit—let us do so for a moment—that the working class will not rise to the point of revolutionary struggle and will thus give the bourgeoisie an opportunity to dominate the affairs of the world for a long series of years—let us say two or three decades—there is no doubt that a certain new equilibrium will be attained. Europe will go back a great way. Millions of European workers will die through unemployment and undernourishment. The United States will adjust itself anew to the world market, recast its industries and *cut down its operations for a long period*. After this painful process has been followed by a new division of labor in the world in the course of some fifteen or twenty or twenty-five years, a new epoch of capitalistic prosperity might again begin.

But this entire speculation is quite abstract and one-sided. It is based on the assumption that the proletariat will cease its struggle. *But there can be no possibility for this, if only for the reason that the class antagonisms have been remarkably sharpened in the course of the last few years.*

Social clashes become more serious.

Sharpening of Class Antagonism

Economic evolution is not an automatic process. I have thus far spoken of the bases of production, but this does not dispose of the matter. Men live and work with these bases under them, and it is these men that carry out the process of evolution. Now, what has taken place in the relations between men, or better, the relations between classes? We have seen that Germany—and other countries of Europe also—have been thrown back to their economic level of twenty or thirty years ago. But have they also been thrown back in the sense of the development of their social classes? Not a bit of it! Germany's classes, the number of its workers and the degree of concentration and organization of its capital—all these things were being developed before the war, particularly during the two decades of prosperity from 1894 to 1913, and continued coming to a head: during the war, with the aid of government intervention, and after the war, in the course of a mad wave of speculation and concentration of capital. We therefore face two processes of evolution. The national wealth and the national income are going down, *but the development of classes is not going backward but forward*. The number of proletarians is increasing, capital is

being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, the banks are amalgamating, industrial enterprises are concentrating into trusts. As a result, a class struggle is being waged owing to the decrease in the national income. There is the whole point. The less secure becomes the material foundation under their feet, the more will the classes and groups be obliged to fight for their share of this national income. This circumstance must not be ignored for a moment. If Europe has been forced back thirty years in its national wealth, this does not mean that it has become thirty years younger. It means rather that it has become thirty years poorer, but as far as classes are concerned three hundred years older. Such are the relations now existing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The Peasantry

In the first period of the war people spoke and wrote that the peasantry all over Europe was becoming richer by the war. And, as a matter of fact, bread and meat were very much needed by the government for the army. Insane prices, always rising, were being paid for everything, and the pockets of the peasants were bulging with treasury notes. With these more and more devaluated credit notes the peasants paid the debts that they had contracted in coin of full value. Of course this was a very advantageous operation for them.

The bourgeois economists believed that the development of peasant economy after the war would guarantee the stability of capitalism. But they were miscalculating somewhat. The peasants did pay their mortgages, but farming does not consist alone in the payment of debts to banks. It also means working the soil, fertilizing it, keeping implements in repair, getting good seed, making technical improvements, etc. All this was either unobtainable or cost piles of money. And no labor was to be obtained. Agriculture declined, and the peasants, after their first semi-fictitious prosperity, became impoverished. This process may be observed at various stages all over Europe. But it is coming out with particular crassness in America. The American, Canadian, Australian and South American farmers, when it became clear that a ruined Europe would not be able to continue buying their grain, suffered very acutely. Grain prices dropped. All over the world there is famine and discontent among the farmers. *The peasantry thus ceases to be the prop of the present system. The working class has begun to be able to draw at least a portion of the peasantry (the lower layers) into its own struggle, in neutralizing another section (the middle layers), and in paralyzing the upper section (the exploiting elements).*

The New Middle Class

The reformists put great hopes in the so-called new middle-class. Engineers, technicians, physicians, lawyers, bookkeepers, office workers, corporation and government clerks, etc., all these are considered as a semi-conservative group, standing between capital and labor, and having the function—in the

eyes of the reformists—of guiding and at the same time supporting the democratic régime. During the war and after the war this class suffered even more than the working class, i. e., their standard of living went down lower than that of the working class. The main cause of this is in the decrease in the purchasing power of money and in the devaluation of paper money. In all the countries of Europe this cause has produced great discontent and even the middle officialdom and the technical brain workers have been infected with it. Of course the government and corporation employees, bank clerks, etc., etc., have not become completely proletarian, but they have lost their former conservative character. They now have changed from a support of the state to a discontented and protesting element that undermines and shakes its mechanism.

The discontent of the bourgeois intellectuals is made more grave by their connection with the petty and middle trade and industrial bourgeoisie. The latter feels itself cheated and neglected. The trustified bourgeoisie is becoming wealthier and wealthier in spite of the impoverishment of the country. It is appropriating an ever increasing portion of the dwindling national income. The non-trustified bourgeoisie and the new middle class (intellectual workers) are going down relatively and absolutely.

As for the proletariat, it is very probable that in spite of its lower standard of living it now has a larger share of the decreasing national income than it had before the war. Trustified capital makes an effort to decrease the worker's share and put him back on a pre-war footing. The worker, however, does not proceed from statistical observation, but from his own lowered scale of living, and is determined to increase his share of the national income. *In other words, the peasants are dissatisfied owing to the decline of their production; the brain workers are becoming poorer and demoralized; the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class are ruined and discontented. The class struggle is coming to a head.*

International Relations

International relations, of course, play an important part in the life of the capitalist world, which keenly felt this condition during the world war. Even now, when we put the question whether it is possible or impossible for capital to reestablish world equilibrium, we must consider what are the international relations under which this work of restoration is to be prosecuted. We may easily convince ourselves that international relations have become much more strained, are much less likely to favor a "peaceful" development of capital than was the case before the war.

Why did the war take place? Because the productive forces were being stunted by the frame of the most powerful capitalistic countries. The efforts of imperialistic governments were directed toward abolishing national boundaries, toward embracing the whole ball of the earth, toward eliminating boundary marks and toll gates that might hold

back the development of the productive forces. This is the economic basis of imperialism and the cause of the war. And what is the result? Europe now has more boundaries and more toll gates than ever before. It has created a whole atlas of petty states. The former Austro-Hungarian Empire is now represented by ten customs boundaries. The English writer Keynes has called Europe a mad-house and, as a matter of fact, from the standpoint of economic development, this entire separatist tendency of the petty states, with their isolation and their customs tariffs, amounts to a monstrous anachronism, an insane mediæval note in the orchestra of the twentieth century. The Balkans, to be sure, were barbarized; but Europe became Balkanized.

The relations between Germany and France absolutely preclude any possibility of a European equilibrium. France is obliged to plunder or violate Germany in order to maintain class equilibrium at home, which would otherwise be impossible owing to the exhausted resources of French economy. It is impossible that Germany should remain the object of this plundering, and it will not be able to continue as such an object. Of course, an arrangement has been made for the present. Germany has undertaken the obligation of paying annually two billion gold marks and in addition twenty-six per cent of its exports. This arrangement is a victory for the English policy, which aims to prevent a French occupation of the Ruhr district. At present the main aggregations of European iron ores are in the hands of France, while most of the coal is in the hands of Germany. The first condition for a restoration of European economic life is a combination of the French ore with the German coal, but this union, so necessary for economic development, would be fatal to English capitalism. All of London's efforts are therefore directed at preventing either an offensive or a peaceful combination of French ores with the German coal.

For the present France has accepted the compromise, if only for the reason that it is unable, owing to its disorganized production apparatus, to digest all the coal that Germany is now delivering in compulsory consignments. But this does not mean a final solution of the question of the Ruhr district. The first failure on the part of Germany to meet its obligations will again render acute the question of the fate of the Ruhr region.

The increase of France's European influence, and also of its international influence, will not be determined by the added strength of France, but by the obvious and increasing weakening of England.

Great Britain has defeated Germany. This was the question to be answered by the last war. And the war was in reality not a world war, but a European war, even though the struggle between the two most powerful states—England and Germany—was fought out with the participation and assistance of all the rest of the world. Germany was defeated by England, but England is now considerably weaker in the world market and in the world hegemony than it was before the war. The

United States has grown more at the expense of England than England has grown at the expense of Germany.

America is defeating England particularly through the more rational and progressive character of its industry. The productivity of the American worker exceeds that of the English worker by 150 per cent. In other words, two American workers, by reason of the better organization of industry, produce as much as five English workers. This fact alone, which is admitted by English statistical works, indicates that England's fate is sealed in its struggle with America, and this would suffice to drive England into a war with America while the English fleet still predominates on the ocean. All over the world, even in Europe, English coal is being driven out by American coal. Yet England's world trade was based chiefly on coal exports. Besides, oil is now attaining a decisive importance in industry and defense; it not only feeds automobiles, tractors, submarines and aeroplanes, but it has tremendous advantages even as a fuel for the greatest ocean liners, as compared with coal. Fully 70 per cent of the world's oil is produced by the United States. In the case of war, therefore, all this oil will be in the hands of the Washington Government. In addition, America has in its hands the oil of Mexico, amounting to 12 per cent of the world's oil production. Of course, Americans rebuke England for having appropriated fully 90 per cent of all the oil wells of the world outside of the United States, and for preventing Americans from acquiring them, while the American wells are likely to run dry in a few years. But these home-made statistical estimates are of a dubious and arbitrary nature. They have been made to order as a justification for America's claims to the oil of Mexico, Mesopotamia, etc. But even if the danger of exhausting the American oil wells should become a real one, it would only be an additional factor in accelerating the war between the United States and England.

The indebtedness of Europe to America is an acute question. The debt amounts altogether to 18 billion dollars. The United States are in a position at any moment to cause the greatest difficulties in the European money market by demanding payment. As is well known, England even asked America to cancel the English debt and promised in turn to cancel the European debts to England. But as England owes America much more than even the continental countries of the Entente owe England, England would have gained immensely by this deal. America declined. It is not difficult to understand why the capitalistic Yankees have very little desire to finance Great Britain's war preparations against the United States out of their own funds.

England's alliance with Japan, which is fighting for hegemony in Asia against America, also strains the relations between America and England.

But the most ticklish element in all these relations is that of the navy. After the Wilson Govern-

ment had encountered the resistance of England in an international problem, it devised an immense program of peaceful expansion. The Harding Government took over this program from its predecessor and it is now being worked on with full steam. In 1924 the American fleet will not only be much larger than that of England, but—if not in tonnage, then at least in striking power—it will excel both the English and the Japanese fleets put together.*

What does all this mean from the English standpoint? Either England must by 1924 answer the challenge and attempt to destroy the military, naval and the economic power of the United States, by a resort to its present superiority, or it must consent peacefully to become transformed to a power of second or third rate, and definitely yield to the United States the first place on the oceans and seas. The last slaughter of nations, which "solved" the European question in a certain fashion, has therefore given birth to a world question of tremendous proportions, i. e., the question whether England or the United States shall rule. The preparations for the new world war are in full progress. Expenses for army and navy have risen tremendously as compared with the pre-war period. The English army budget is three times what it was, that of America being three and a half times. On January 1, 1914, i. e., at the moment of highest tension in the period of armed peace, about seven million soldiers were under arms all over the world. At the beginning of 1921 there were about eleven million soldiers under arms. And the greater number of these soldiers, of course, is in exhausted Europe.

The sharp crisis which has arisen from the restriction of the world market is also an extraordinary stimulant to the struggle between the capitalistic states and deprives international relations of any stability. Not only Europe is a "madhouse", but all the world. Under these circumstances it is idle to speak of a restoration of capitalist economy.

(To be concluded in SOVIET RUSSIA for April 15)

*An apparent lowering of naval armaments results from the Washington Conference, but doubtless it is of no very serious nature.—*Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.*

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The New Policy of the Russian Trade Unions

WHEN the economic life of Soviet Russia entered a new epoch it was obvious that the question would arise as to the role played by the Trade Unions under the new economic policy. The Trade Unions, embracing 7,500,000 workers and office hands, are one of the most important factors in the life of Soviet Russia. The tasks of the Trade Unions have hitherto consisted in organizing and regulating work; they have participated in the organization and management of the entire industry of the country. Under the new economic policy, the tasks of the labor unions are becoming different. Their character itself is being changed. Until now the labor unions were to a certain extent state organizations in a proletarian state. But at present, with the establishment of freedom of trade and a certain development of private capitalism, the antagonism of interest between capital and labor renders necessary a rebuilding of the labor unions, which must adapt themselves to the new tasks arising before them in connection with the new economic policy.

What are these tasks and what is to be the part played by the labor unions at the present time? An answer to these questions may be found in the theses of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, adopted on December 28, 1921. These theses give a detailed account of the new tasks of the labor unions and their new role in the state. The main reform in this direction is the return to voluntary membership in the labor unions. Up to the present, the workers and employees of every industry were bound to be members of the labor union. Under the former economic policy such a situation was quite natural. However, it stimulated the rise of a certain degree of bureaucracy. The labor unions became to a great extent detached from the masses. The introduction of voluntary membership in the labor unions, and a greater interest of their members in union activity, will bring about a strengthening of the authority of the union in the eyes of the working masses.

According to the words of Tomsy, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Labor Unions, the very apparatus of the labor unions will have to be contracted and simplified. The entire economic policy must be directed toward the aim that the labor unions should be able to exist and develop their activity exclusively on the means which they can receive from the membership dues. A voluntary joining of the unions implies also a voluntary payment of dues, which until now had been arranged and controlled by the establishments themselves.

In the theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party it is pointed out that under no conditions are the members of the labor unions to be requested to subscribe to certain political opinions; they are only to be expected to understand the principles of solidarity and discipline

and the necessity of uniting the forces of the workers for the defence of the interests of the workers and for the support to be given to the incorporated authority of the working class, i. e., to the Soviet Government.

Concerning the tasks of the labor unions, the theses point out the essential difference between the class struggle of the proletariat in a country which recognizes private property in the soil, the factories, etc., in a country in which the political power is in the hands of the capitalist class, and the economic struggle of the proletariat in a state which does not recognize private property in the soil and the majority of the big enterprises, in a state in which the political power is in the hands of the working class. It is declared in the theses that during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism the existence of classes is unavoidable. Therefore the labor unions must openly recognize the existence of the economic struggle as well as its inevitableness until the time when at least the bases of the electrification of industry and agriculture have been laid, until the roots of small individual economy and the domination of the market have been abolished.

However, in the capitalist state the final aim of the industrial struggles is the destruction of the government apparatus, is the overthrow of the given governmental class organization. In the proletarian state the labor unions can struggle only against its bureaucratic perversion and against all kinds of capitalist survivals in its institutions. On the other hand they must also fight against the political and cultural backwardness of the working masses.

Proceeding from this point of view, the labor unions should direct their efforts towards the speediest and least painful settlement of the conflicts, with the greatest advantage to the workers represented by them, insofar as these gains can be obtained without detriment to other groups and without prejudice to the development of the labor state and its general economy.

The main task of the working class after it has conquered political power is to increase the amount of products and also the productive forces of the country. The most durable and the quickest possible success in the reestablishment of big industry—is the condition without which the success of the emancipation of labor from the yoke of capitalism, and the victory of socialism, is unthinkable. This success, on the other hand, demands the concentration of all authority in the hands of the industrial management which should superintend fixing of wages, the distribution of money, of the food rations, etc. The interference by the labor unions in this activity of the management of the industrial plants is undoubtedly harmful. Their participation in economic and state organs must find its expression in naming their candidates for all economic and government institutions, in

the preparing of administrators coming from the workers and the toiling masses in general. On the other hand, there must be an increase in the participation of the unions in the elaboration of the economic plans, of the programs of production and expenditure of the funds for supplying the workers, in the choice of the enterprises which will continue to be supplied by the state, of those which will be leased or given to concessionaries. Without assuming any function of any control over production, the trade unions will effect their participation in the regulation of the private capitalist enterprises by participating in the corresponding government organs. Side by side with the participation of the trade unions in the entire cultural and educational activity and production propaganda, such an activity of the labor unions will more and more lead the working class and the toiling masses to an intimate participation in the entire mechanism of state economy. Moreover, one of the basic activities of the labor unions is the elaboration of the schedules and norms of supply.

In the theses of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party it is further pointed out that the main task of the labor unions at the present time is to keep in touch with the masses. Just as the best factory, with an excellent motor and first-class machinery, will be unable to work, if the transmission gearing from the motor to the machinery is out of order, so there would inevitably ensue a catastrophe in the socialist construction work that is being conducted by Soviet Russia, if there were any defect in the construction and the functioning of the transmission gearing from the Communist Party, the advance guard of the working class ruling a great country that has effected its transition to socialism—to the masses. The labor unions are this transmission gearing.

In one of its latest issues, *Pravda* published the results of an inquiry which it had made among the prominent leaders of the Russian labor unions concerning the new tasks of those bodies: the People's Commissar of Labor, Schmidt, and the General Secretaries of the Central Council of the Labor Unions, Rudzutak and Tomsky. They all declare that the new program for the activities of the labor unions is quite timely and sound. Only under such conditions will the labor unions be able to work now. The putting into effect of the new program will contribute to a speedy strengthening of the labor union movement and to a conscious attitude of the working masses towards the constructive activity of the state. The resolution of the Central Committee imposes concrete instructions and gives definite content to the activities of the unions. They show how they may unite the labor masses into one organism, thus contributing to the increase of production and to a successful development of the economic life of the country.

The labor unions, which play a role of prime importance in the life of Soviet Russia, will also, under the new economic policy, remain one of the principal factors in the country's constructive ac-

tivities. The transformation of the labor unions which has begun, in accordance with their new tasks, is a guarantee that under the new economic policy also, the labor unions will play the great role which was assigned them by history in the construction work of the world's first proletarian state.

—*Novy Mir, Berlin.*

“HE SURVIVED THREE TSARS”

By A. SERGEYEV

Among the incidents at the Congress there were a number that impressed one as symbolic pictures of the workers' and peasants' revolution. This is true, for instance, of a number of speeches that came from the mouths of plain men. Their very appearance on the platform gave rise to such enthusiasm that the walls of the Great Theatre resounded with applause and shouts of delight.

For example, there appears behind the footlights an old man in a sheepskin coat, the Non-Partisan peasant Chulkov, who has been elected to the Presidium of the Congress. The old man's figure is somewhat bent, and presents that typical century-long stoop of the peasantry, which is the distinguishing mark of our old peasants, a veritable stamp of servitude. Chulkov speaks in a trembling, sometimes broken voice, somewhat subdued by age and by the “bony hand of hunger,” which obviously is sapping his life. And what does he say?

“I have seen three tsars and outlived them: the Tsar ‘Liberator,’ the Tsar ‘Peace-maker,’ and the Tsar ‘Rum-dealer!’”

A storm of applause follows upon these words.

“You may ask why I speak with so little respect for the tsars. What else can I say? Under all these three tsars I sat behind the stove and now I have been brought out and put in another place. And do you know where? Here, right here!”

With an imposing gesture of old age, the old man indicates the hall resplendent in light, purple, and gold, the great mass of the delegates, the Presidium, the walls, and the ceiling, which is adorned with allegorical figures. He continues amid a storm of ovation, still speaking in the same hesitating voice.

“Yes—And so it came about that we are now building up a new life—All this has come about!”

The “bony hand of hunger,” interrupts his enthusiastic speech on the dream of the peasants, “of the golden grain,” the dream of contentment that has been brought to him in his old age by the new Soviet laws on the tax in kind, on the utilization of the soil, and other matters. He again encounters difficulty, but regains his calm and continues, hardly audible:

“And so it came about that we are now building a new life. All this has come about!”

Do you hear this, Messrs. Ryabushinsky & Co., who have been placing your hopes on the “bony hand of hunger”?

“So it came about that we are building a new life. All this has come about!”

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Jay C. Browa	Charles Baker	

The front cover of this issue is an original drawing by Robert Miner. The first page of next issue will be a new Russian Soviet poster, on a subject not connected with the Famine situation.

IN our last issue we printed an extensive and interesting correspondence between Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, and Paxton Hibben, formerly a member of the Near East Relief. Not the least important of the remarks of Captain Hibben were those he made on the subject of railway transportation in Southern Russia. Captain Hibben's view is that the railways running inland from the ice-free ports on the Black Sea, when supplemented by the enormous river fleet that will begin to operate in the Spring on the great navigable rivers, will be able to handle a volume of food shipments far in excess of that admitted as feasible by Mr. Hoover, and probably not far short of 20,000 tons of food per day. Captain Hibben is not unacquainted with the conditions prevailing along these railroads; his journey into Russia last August carried him over thousands of miles of Russian lines (as described in the Report of the Near East Relief Commission, published by the Friends of Soviet Russia) and brought him into personal contact with many important officials of the railroad and water transportation systems. If you have not yet read Captain Hibben's remarks on this subject, look into the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA and get the actual figures.

* * *

THIS is not the first time in the history of the Russian Revolution that much interest has been shown by foreign officials in the efficiency of the Russian railroad system. But the reading

public quickly forgets the literature it has read on Russia, owing to the rapidity with which new books are being thrown upon the market. One of the most interesting little things written in the field of personal observation of Russian conditions was the *Bullitt Mission to Russia* (Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, of William C. Bullitt, New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919, 151 pages). On rereading this pamphlet, a lot of things are brought back to mind that are interesting in the present connection. It will be recalled that there was danger of famine in Russia in the winter of 1918-19, and that a number of humane and decent souls, like Fridtjof Nansen, as well as a number of less humane and less decent politicians, who shall be nameless, were beginning to interest themselves in Famine Relief. Already then the question came up of aiding the Russians in rebuilding their disorganized railroad system, but of course nothing came of it, and whatever increased efficiency the Russian railroads have since acquired has been due entirely to actual purchases of locomotives abroad by the Russian Soviet Government, as well as to the heroic efforts of the railway workers and others. Those who were interested in Famine Relief and in the results to be achieved through such relief were under the impression that it might be possible for an Allied Commission to take over the Russian railroads and run them for the Russian Soviet Government, with the understanding that relief shipments should have priority over all other transportation. On February 21, 1919, Mr. Bullitt, then with the American Peace Commission at Paris, received a letter signed by P. H. Kerr, of the British Delegation, enclosing a statement of the conditions under which "I personally think it would be possible for the allied governments to resume once more normal relations with Soviet Russia." While railroads were mentioned, it was not suggested to take over lines *inside* Soviet Russia.

In Mr. Bullitt's testimony before the Senate Committee there follow interesting discussions concerning the development of the formulation of the terms under which assistance was to be extended to Russia, as Mr. Bullitt finally submitted them to Lenin in the Spring of 1919. One very interesting document was the Auchincloss-Miller Proposal ("Draft of proposed letter to be signed by President Wilson and the prime ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy in reply to Mr. Nansen's letter"). It is interesting for a paragraph occurring about the middle of it (page 81 of the Huebsch report), which we quote in full:

"The difficulties of transport in Russia can in large degree only be overcome in Russia itself. So far as possible, we would endeavor to provide increased means of transportation; but we would consider it essential in any such scheme of relief that control of transportation in Russia, so far as was necessary in the distribution of relief supplies, should be placed wholly under such a commission as is described in your letter and should to the necessary extent be freed from any governmental or private control whatsoever."

It so happens that Mr. Nansen's letter (page 74)

had mentioned a commission, to consist of representatives of the small neutral countries, but Mr. Nansen had said not a word about giving this commission any control of railroads, in spite of the fact that the delicate diplomatic wording of the Auchincloss-Miller Proposal was calculated to be tacitly accepted by Mr. Nansen as a restatement of his own words. But Mr. Bullitt is not only incapable of practicing such deceptions: he is also incapable of falling for them, as his courteous "Memorandum for Mr. Auchincloss" (April 14, 1919, a few days after he received the Auchincloss-Miller Proposal) will show:

"Dear Gordon: I have studied carefully the draft of the reply to Dr. Nansen which you have prepared. In spirit and substance your letter differs so radically from the reply which I consider essential that I find it difficult to make any constructive criticism. And I shall refrain from criticizing your rhetoric.

"There are two proposals in your letter, however, which are obviously unfair, and will not, I am certain, be accepted by the Soviet Government.

"1. The life of Russia depends upon its railroads; and your demand for control of transportation by the commission can hardly be accepted by the Soviet Government, which knows that plots for the destruction of railroad bridges were hatched in the American consulate in Moscow. You are asking the Soviet Government to put its head in the lion's mouth. It will not accept. You must moderate your phrases.

"2. When you speak of the 'cessation of hostilities by Russian troops', you fail to speak of hostilities by troops of the allied and associated governments, a number of whom, you may recall, have invaded Russia. Furthermore, your phrase does not cover Finns, Estonians, Letts, Poles, etc. In addition, you say absolutely nothing about the withdrawal of the troops of the allied and associated Governments from Russian territory. And, most important, you fail to say that troops and military supplies will cease to be sent into the territory of the former Russian Empire. You therefore go a long way toward proving Trotsky's thesis: That any armistice will simply be used by the Allies as a period in which to supply tanks, aeroplanes, gas shells, liquid fire, etc., to the various anti-soviet governments. As it stands, your armistice proposal is absolutely unfair, and I am sure that it will not be accepted by the Soviet Government.

"Very respectfully yours,

"WILLIAM C. BULLITT."

Control of the Russian railroads is a thing that the Soviet Government will never give up. Control of transportation in these days means sovereignty, and no one seriously believes that any of the concessions given to foreigners by the Soviet Government means that the latter wants to relinquish its control of the country's affairs. Mr. Bullitt's observations of three years ago are still valid to-day.

ATTEMPTS recently made in propaganda articles emanating from Washington to discredit Russian relief organizations not connected with the American Relief Administration appear to have had more effect in Europe than in America. And it would appear from the following news item in the *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, February 11, 1922, that Mr. Hoover's publicity matter has assumed a different form in Germany from the form in which it appeared in American newspapers. Here is a translation of the *Vossische Zeitung* item:

"WASHINGTON, February 9 (*Vossische Zeitung Radio*).—The latest attempts of the Bolsheviki to raise a large amount of money in America have led to sensational disclosures. A sharp opposition has arisen between the administration of the official American relief body for the starving in Russia and an organization that calls itself "The American Committee for Russian Famine Relief", having its office at Chicago. It is reported that agents of the latter organization appropriated for themselves considerable sums that were intended for the Russian Red Cross, which is under direct control of the Soviet Government.

"In order to execute this immense fraud, the letter-heads of various Senators and Governors of the United States were made use of. A number of agents now stationed in America have been exposed by these disclosures, among them Dr. Dubrowsky and Dr. Jacob Hartmann, who was associated with the well-known Bolshevik 'Ambassador' in America, Martens. It has further been ascertained that the above-named Chicago organization developed an activity that was directly opposed to the official relief work of the United States."

The "disclosures" have not been unpleasant in their effect, at least in this country, and we can say for the Friends of Soviet Russia that the slightly altered form of publicity in Germany will not have any influence on our collections. Also, we are glad to be able to state that since these "revelations", the organizations in question—and again we refer particularly to the Friends of Soviet Russia—have noted a decided increase in the amount of their daily receipts. But there is no doubt that Mr. Hoover's publicity has been more successful in Europe than in America.

* * *

ARCHIMANDRITE TIKHON, in charge of the Russian "Embassy" Church at Berlin, tells of the way some of the Russian émigrés in that city are carrying on:

"The frivolity to be observed in the Russian émigrés is without example in History. This attitude is of the *after us the deluge* type, of Belshazzar's feasts and other like dissipations. What can be done when they reel from prayer to the public bar and revel at a time of famine? It is what I call feasting amid corpses." (*Novy Mir, Berlin*)

Surely the representative of the disestablished Russian Orthodox Church, holding an exile pulpit in a land where his fictitious government is no longer recognized, would not exaggerate the failings of his fellow-monarchists. We respectfully suggest that if anything is to be done for the Russian counter-revolutionists who are starving at Constantinople, the cost should be defrayed by the counter-revolutionary revelers of Paris and Berlin, and not out of the pockets of American workers and tax-payers, who would rather see their money go to the workers and peasants inside Russia than to sulkers and idlers who cannot adapt themselves to the world as it is.

Those who cannot adapt themselves to the turns of History's wheel must perish. And some there are who would aggravate her wrath by squandering what resources she has left them. If they should hand over these resources to the starving in Russia, they would be laying a foundation for real co-operation with the government of their native country. But the gods make mad whom they would destroy.

Nikolai Nekrasov

(Born November 22, 1821 —Died December 28, 1877)

By A. LUNACHARSKY

(Concluded from last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA)

NEKRASOV is a *déclassé* in all his mental structure, he dashes into the struggle, he dashes into a revolutionary formulation of problems. To be sure, the fact of his noble origin simultaneously cripples his will and fetters him to the temptations of life—for Nekrasov never succeeded in overcoming this inclination—it prevented him from becoming a fighter. But the fact that in the first fatal skirmishes between the people and the oppressor, *he sang only*, the fact that he allowed himself immense luxuries, became a corroding internal disease with Nekrasov, and created in his spirit a frightful discord, causing him even on his death bed to writhe and to beg his people for forgiveness. This trait of self-flagellation for not having taken upon his shoulders the heaviest task of self-sacrifice, for yielding easily to earthly pleasures, for the opportunism to which Nekrasov had often been forced, in order to save his periodical from police raids—completes the picture of Nekrasov. For Mirtov's "duty",* which the intelligentsia had assumed, was as heavy as a chain, and not everyone could be a pioneer, not everyone went forth "to die for the great cause of love". And many, many, carried away by the burning preachings of the Narodnik† prophets, being unable to follow them, were filled with remorse and mortified themselves.

This was of course the expression of their having been born at the wrong time. Had the storms of revolution come up, Nekrasov and the little Nekrasovs would all have been carried away and thrown into the struggle, but this storm of revolution merely seethed and then died down, and this encouraged his vacillation and added to his sufferings with the trials of the people his own sufferings, his humiliation for his soul, "born at the wrong time". But in the phenomenon of Nekrasov's repentance for his slight transgressions there is contained a tremendous revolutionary ethical force.

It would be superfluous to speak here of Nekrasov's poetic creation in general. Too much has already been written on this subject, all of which is a poor substitute for a profound and affectionate acquaintance with all his work; but it is necessary to dwell on one point. With delicate superficiality, æsthetic criticism has produced the current conception that Nekrasov is a poet of no particular gifts, and even Nekrasov speaks of his

muse as severe, of his poems as "clumsy", and even in anniversary articles that I read yesterday and the day before yesterday I found this admission: "His poetic talent was not particularly strong, his form rugged", etc.

But Chernyshevsky, dying in the depths of his banishment a slow, painful, psychic death, learning that Nekrasov was dying a physical death, and suffering pangs of conscience on his death bed, sent him through Pipin the following letter: "Tell him that I love him as a man, that I thank him for his kindness to me, that I kiss him, that I am convinced that his fame will be immortal, that Russia's love for him, the poetic genius, the greatest of all Russian poets, is eternal. I mourn him. He was really a man of great nobility of soul, of great mind, and, as a poet, he was of course greater than any Russian poet."

Well, you might say this opinion expresses only the spiritual kinship of people of the same generation, of the same camp? Perhaps there is an exaggeration in this statement: "Of course, the most gifted, of course, the greatest". Russian literature counts among its ranks a few men of poetic genius, who are, of course, superior to Nekrasov; but with the exception of this exaggeration, the statement by Chernyshevsky is correct.

When you reread Nekrasov now, as a mature person, who has learned and seen a good deal of life, who has read practically all the great poets of the world, you wonder how people can still speak of Nekrasov as of a great poet of feeble gifts, of imperfections of style.

Nekrasov is a *civic* poet, and it is as a *civic poet* that he is great. Feeble poets with strong civic feelings may deserve to be respected, but rarely do they create anything useful. First of all, art must be art, i. e., it must, as Tolstoy said, infect others with the spiritual experience of the artist, it must kindle our soul with his spiritual flame. To accomplish this, two things are needed. It is necessary, first of all, that the soul of the artist should burn with a strong flame, that his experience should be greater than ours, that he should be a *great* man; a man who is not great cannot be a great poet, because he has nothing to infect with, and the apostle Paul was quite right when he said that without love all human tongues are but tinkling cymbals. But note that when I say that a poet must be a great man, I do not mean that he must be such in his private life.

Until the poet is called
To the sacred service of Apollo,
He remains absorbed
In all the petty cares of life.‡

Moreover, "of all God's creatures most despised he is perhaps the most despicable."

*In his "Historical Letters" Peter Lavrov who wrote under the pseudonym of Mirtov first raised the question of the "duty" incumbent upon the educated to work for the enlightenment and liberation of the people.

†"Narodniks" (from "narod"—people) were called those Russian Socialists of the early seventies who "went to the people" and saw in the Russian genuine peasant "communism" the basis of the socialist transformation of Russia. They were opposed by the Marxians, who preached the proletarian class struggle

‡Pushkin.

Such he is as a citizen, as Ivan Ivanovich, as Alexander Sergeyevich, as Nikolai Alexeyevich. But what is that moment when "the sensitive ear harkens to the celestial word?" What is that "celestial word"? It is a social act. When the poet creates, he ceases to be Nikolai Alexeyevich, and becomes the proclaimer of the thoughts, feelings, and emotions of vast numbers of men. When the poet creates he knows that he speaks for hundreds of thousands of men, perhaps for millions, he knows that he is a tribune, that the eyes of his fellow-men, and perhaps of eternity, are upon him. And here is where his social personality triumphs over everything else in him. He is transformed into another being, a better being, for now only pure metal rings in the bell of his soul.

And it is this transformed man, this social man, this "Man", that must be great in order that his personality may become a great poet. This is the first condition, and it is admirably fulfilled in Nekrasov. His lyric spirit is intense, embittered, stately, deep. He is a beautiful soul. And besides, those great feelings with which he infects us are feelings which would be most needful to the development of Russian social life, and which are essential even now, for the problems which confronted the social life of the Russian intellectuals and the peasants of the sixties and seventies are still the problems of the social life of the Russian proletariat of the twenties of the present century.

But this is not yet sufficient to make a man a great artist. We can conceive of a great soul, full of beautiful passions and radiant thoughts, but incapable of giving them adequate form, holding up, as a dam, the stream that flows from the author's soul to the soul of the reader. One may be a "Raphæl without hands".

Nothing of the kind can be said about Nekrasov. His works reflect most admirably all his feelings and thoughts. He is intelligible to all, everybody understands him, everybody reads him, all learn him by heart, all sing his poetry, even the scarcely literate peasantry. It is remarkable that Nekrasov never lamented, as did Tiutchev, that "expression makes the thought a lie". The source of Nekrasov's tragedy is quite different. He often laments that his poetry is not sufficiently truthful. In what sense? In the sense that his conduct does not come up to the height of his preaching, and not in the sense that his preaching does not reach the height of his intentions.

Nekrasov's verse is not sufficiently smooth? But who said that smoothness of form is an essential quality? Who has demonstrated that it is essential to write *smooth* poetry about the horrors of the life of the people? Do we not demand of the artist's prose that the rhythm should correspond to its substance? Is the artist not great whose prose chokes, writhes, and falls, together with the story he is telling, and shouldn't poetry be like that? Must we sugar-coat portrayals of monstrous reality to fit the needs of refined

pastels? What nonsense! If Nekrasov's poetry should be more rounded out, more melodious, its effect would be that of a lie. If a man should write of the death of his beloved mother, observing all the rules of syntax and rhetoric, it would seem like monstrous hypocrisy and heartlessness. .. What Nekrasov thought "clumsy" in his verse was only his "severity". He is clumsy because he is monumental, he is clumsy because he is powerful. And it would be a pity if there should be even one grain less of this clumsiness.

But, then, why not prose instead of poetry? Because the highest pathos in which the soul of Nekrasov lived begs to be sung. And here is how good poets may be tested: If a poet's verses cannot be sung, then let him drop poetry and write prose, he might perhaps prove a good prose-writer. Poetry must sing, sing inwardly in your soul, when you read it to yourself; it must create rhythm and melody when you read it aloud; it must call the named and nameless composers to set these works to real music. Is not all this true of Nekrasov? I doubt whether even Pushkin and Lermontov have created as many musical compositions as Nekrasov. Who of the Russian poets is sung more? In what remote village is "Vyd na Volgu" (Come out on the Volga) or the "Pesnya Korobeynikov" (The Song of the Village Vendors), overflowing with joy, not known?

But Nekrasov is great not only as a lyrical poet. Nekrasov is also a great delineator of nature. He is an epic poet, he creates types that are unforgettable. His landscapes are of unsurpassably convincing realism, his pictures of life throb with reality. One need only recall the flight of popular fancy which carries Nekrasov's great poem "King Frost". What boisterous gesture, what dashing breadth, what demonism!

In Nekrasov, as in the beautiful Slav maiden whom he depicts in this poem, there lay tremendous possibilities. If once the line escaped his lips: "Struggle hindered me from being a poet", we must say: No. It did not prevent him from being a poet. But if he had lived in a happy period, he would have sung happy songs, and then all these superficial critics would realize that in the joyful song, in the song of beauty, love and the joy of life, Nekrasov would prove to be just as great and perhaps even greater. Perhaps even greater, in the sense that his creations would be more bewitching. But he is greater as he is, in that great lesson which he has bequeathed to us. He raised his cries and threats, while weeping and denouncing, to a point of high musical and artistic beauty.

It is impossible to exhaust in this brief article even one-tenth of the lessons which Nekrasov has left to us; without for a moment lessening our admiration for Pushkin and Lermontov, and the more modest but beautiful memories of Alexey Tolstoy, Tiutchev, Fet and Koltsov, etc., we must say: There is not another man in all our Russian literature before whom we bow with greater love and reverence than before the memory of Nekrasov.

The Russian State Bank

By A. L. SHEINMAN

(The notions held abroad on the subject of the State Bank of Soviet Russia, which began its operations about three months ago, are rather confused. In order to obtain correct information on the character of its organization and activity, a representative of "Novy Mir", Berlin, visited the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the State Bank, A. L. Sheinman, who was stopping in Berlin for a time. Mr. Sheinman answered all his questions. The conversational note in some of the remarks reprinted below is due to the fact that we are giving the interview as it originally appeared in "Novy Mir" more than a month ago.)

THE Russian State Bank differs from the central or state banks of other countries in the fact that issuing currency does not form part of its activities. Under present conditions, especially in countries with a low rate of exchange, banks of issue do not serve the commercial and industrial needs of the state. When issuing currency, these banks are guided not by the needs of money circulation but by the requirements of paper money by the national treasury. Such issuing of currency, although it is officially guaranteed by the national treasury, is nothing else but a concealed loan, which the government raises from the population, or, more than that, it is a concealed tax imposed upon the population. At the time of the Revolution, when the banks were abolished, the issuing of currency passed immediately to the People's Commissariat of Finances. And at the present time, until the general problems of money circulation are solved, and the fate of the already issued money notes determined, there is not the slightest reason for transferring the issuance of currency from the management of the Commissariat of Finances to the State Bank. The Soviet Government does openly what other governments do surreptitiously. It covers its deficit by issuing money without attempting to persuade anybody that this currency is behind it any other guarantee than the responsibility of the state.

The year 1922 is the first year of the Revolution for which a budget was established in the Soviet Republic, and in which an important part of this budget was computed in the form of revenues. Of course it cannot be expected that in the very first year it will be possible to cover all expenses by revenues. But a very important change is involved in the mere fact that only a certain part of the government expenditures and not all of them will be covered by new issues of currency. Naturally, such a change will require an important reduction of expenses and extraordinary sacrifices on the part of the state and the government. But it was decided to make these sacrifices and the last Congress of Soviets confirmed the budget for 1922, which provides that more than two-thirds of the expenditures are to be covered by revenues.

Thus the influence of the Russian State Bank upon the money circulation of the country is subject to the same restrictions as that of a commercial-industrial bank. But in spite of this limitation, its influence is still very important and may (in fact, it has already begun to) exert a very

material influence on the entire realm of money circulation. It must not be forgotten that in the course of the last few years the country has been completely deprived of all the technical apparatus and methods facilitating money circulation, which are one of the features of bank technique. Suffice it to say that when it was necessary to transmit money from one city to another, this operation could be safely executed only by literally transporting the money itself. Thus the organization of even such a simple banking operation as the remitting of money materially influences circulation. It is sufficient to point out that on January 10, 1922, i. e., at a time when the State Bank had been in operation less than two months, it already had a revenue of more than 2,200,000,000 rubles from commissions paid on money remittances. The gradual development of check circulation also influences the circulation of money.

The main task of the State Bank is commercial and industrial in character.

In the realm of industry, the clients of the State Bank are divided into three categories: state industry, cooperative industry, and private industry. Among the industrial enterprise of the state only those can be fully clients of the State Bank which are not supplied by the state, i. e., enterprises which receive from the government neither money nor materials, and are conducted *for private profit*. In advancing money to its industrial clients, the State Bank carefully studies their industrial and financial plans, and only if it is convinced that these plans and programs are sound and may be realized under present conditions, the loans are granted. This refers to short term loans not exceeding more than nine months. In the same way loans are also granted to establishments of agricultural character.

The problem of granting credits at a time when the rate of exchange is falling is in general extremely complicated and difficult to solve, and the solution of this problem can by no means be found in abstract theoretical investigations. It can be solved only by practical experience. In the beginning the State Bank restricted itself to the following: in order to safeguard it against possible and probable losses connected with the continuous devaluation of money, a comparatively high interest rate was fixed on money lent out. Thus, at the present time, the interest rate has been fixed at from 8 to 12 per cent. per month. Up to the present there have been no complaints on the part

of the clients that this rate is exorbitant. If we take into consideration the fact that the national budget is drawn up in gold rubles, and that payments on the budget are effected in paper rubles at a rate which changes every month, established according to the relation existing between the value of the notes and the goods, and that thus the wages of the employees and the workers also vary with these conditions, there is nothing astonishing in the practice adopted by the State Bank for calculating the rate of interest. It is to be expected that as soon as the new financial policy of the government will bring favorable results, the rate of exchange of the ruble will begin to stabilize. The interest policy of the State Bank will be gradually changed until it reaches a so-called normal level.

As for the granting of credits to industry and agriculture, there are unfortunately still more serious obstacles. I am thinking of the circumstance that Russian industry and agriculture at present are in need of long term credits. Even leaving aside the fact that the granting of such credits is made difficult by the absence of those material resources in our country which are necessary for the complete restoration of industry and agriculture, the solution of this problem also presents great difficulties from the point of view of financial and bank technique. At the present time this question is being made the subject of careful study and immediate steps for its solution have already been taken.

The problem you mention, of a general reform of money circulation and a transition to metal circulation, is a problem not only in Russia but all over the whole world, and especially in countries near Russia. I must declare frankly that if this problem is being solved in other countries, its solution will meet with still less difficulty in Russia, for, owing to the tremendous devaluation of our currency, the metal fund necessary for withdrawing it from circulation and for organizing a metal circulation is very small when compared with the world supply of metal and the needs of our neighbors.

The exchange operations of the State Bank could of course not assume large proportions up to the present. In the beginning these operations were limited to the purchase of foreign currency for effecting money remittances to Russia. Our exchange activities have not as yet had the necessary basis in the form of commercial relations with foreign countries. So long as all sums obtained from export went to the credit of the treasury, and so long as all expenditures for import were charged to the debit of the treasury, the necessary conditions for the development of the foreign operations of the State Bank did not exist. But in connection with the new economic policy, under which a large number of enterprises which ceased to be supplied by the state, acquired the right to sell their products abroad for the satisfaction of their own needs, also assuming the obligation to satisfy their

own needs in foreign goods on their own account, there also begins to appear a field for the foreign activity of the State Bank. This field is being extended every day. The cooperatives serving the needs of the population will also have to conduct—they are already beginning to do so—their own importing operations for their own account. In addition to this it must be mentioned that even those enterprises which are still supplied by the State have at their disposal certain funds which they may apply at their own discretion. Besides, there is now a great number of branches of trade and industry in which private initiative has found a field to develop. With a view to satisfying all the tremendous needs mentioned above, the State Bank is now about to undertake an emphatic expansion of its foreign operations.

I understand the dissatisfaction which some circles are trying to provoke abroad by pointing out that the rate of exchange established by the State Bank for foreign currency does not correspond to the real prices. It must be explained that we are here dealing with one of the old schemes directed against the measures taken by the Soviet Government and aiming at perverting the meaning of these measures. From what I said above it is clear that at present there does not yet exist in our country a legitimate, economically grounded supply and demand of foreign currency, whereby its rate could be regulated. Under present conditions, foreign currency is only an opportunity for speculative investment of Russian paper money, and it is a matter of course that all those gentlemen who in facile and shady ways have acquired great amounts of Russian currency, will not stop at any price as long as they may well invest their loot. But they nevertheless cannot avail themselves of large quantities of foreign currency and for this reason, as soon as a big transaction appears, it is of necessity effected through the State Bank at the official rate established by it.

You ask what is taken as a basis of the official rate of exchange. The basis is the relation of the prices for the most important articles of consumption within the country to the prices for the same articles on the most important foreign markets. After this question had for a long time been carefully studied by prominent Russian economists, we selected this method. In order to illustrate more clearly that the prices of the so-called free market are based absolutely on no foundation, I will show that only on this market are such fluctuations possible. At the end of December, these prices, owing to the lack of a fresh influx of Russian currency, dropped fifty per cent.

As to the question of trade in shares of the nationalized enterprises, I first came across it in Berlin. I still think that your information that important German banks and prominent German financiers are buying up these shares is not trustworthy. I simply cannot believe that they could be so badly informed on affairs and reactions of

feeling in Russia that they would venture to invest their money in worthless paper. Those persons who are knocking at all doors in Berlin to sell their shares, do not really believe that the enterprises may be returned to their former owners. For this is essentially impossible. In the course of more than four years, in connection with the many evacuations, crises, reorganizations, etc., the property of one enterprise was transferred to another, and perhaps again transferred several times, the raw materials of many similar enterprises were concentrated in a single one not to speak of the fact that many enterprises were regrouped for completely different purposes. Only persons who have spent these four years abroad, living on their dreams of restoring the old days, can be so blinded as not to see what has happened. Moreover, I think that these gentlemen who are trying to sell their shares to foreigners, are not only endeavoring to get money for nothing, but mainly aim to drag foreigners into unprofitable ventures and thus to put obstacles to their future agreement with the only and legitimate owner of all the nationalized enterprises, i. e., the Soviet Government.

The initial capital of the State Bank is the two billions in paper rubles which it received from the Government. Owing to the absence of free operating capital, this capital is of course not sufficient to enable the State Bank to work out all the great tasks imposed upon it. For this reason, in the budget for 1922 there was provided a loan to the State Bank to the extent of fifteen million gold rubles. I have every reason to suppose that the State will not refuse to continue to subsidize the treasury of the State Bank. It is understood that the State Bank will have to prove to the Government that the capital received by it has been wisely invested, and that its activity is directed towards helping industry, agriculture and commerce.

The Bank has not received any metal funds from the State, but it has taken steps to obtain from the population the sums held by it. This operation is proceeding quite successfully, and if my memory does not deceive me, I may say that in our vaults there is already one million gold rubles. Of course as soon as a system of local organizations has been developed and when there is at least one branch of the State Bank in every provincial capital, these operations as well as many others will be of much greater proportions.

On the subject of the administrative side of the State Bank, such as the organization of bookkeeping and accounting, etc., I must say, without any intention to eulogize the establishment placed under my management, that this phase has been well organized, and I suggest to everybody who wants to get acquainted with the ways in which our work is done to follow its progress. Suffice it to say that regularly, twice a month, we print reports of our financial situation and that every morning I have a report of the turnover of the preceding day. Of course there is an experienced banking man at the head of each department.

I am very much satisfied with my journey to Berlin, but I am sorry that instead of one week I had to stay away from Moscow for two weeks, but this is compensated by the fact that in addition to German affairs, I have also, during my sojourn in Berlin, been doing some business with America. Thus, I have already signed an agreement concerning correspondence relations with the Equitable Trust Company, of New York, and negotiations with other American, French and Swiss banks are nearing their conclusion. Thus, at the present moment, the Russian State Bank already has connections with all other countries.

THE CABBAGE SOUP

By IVAN TURGENIEV.

An old widow had lost her only son, a young man of twenty, the best worker in the village. The landed proprietress, owner of the village, heard of the old woman's misery and came to visit her on the day of the funeral.

She found her at home.

In the middle of the room, standing at the table, she was ladling out, with a slow mechanical movement of the right hand (her left hung lifeless by her side), a thin cabbage soup out of a smoke blackened pot, and was gulping one spoonful after another.

The old woman's face was wan and sad, her eyes red and swollen; but she bore herself erect, as if she were in church.

"Lord in Heaven!" thought the merciful lady of herself, "at such a moment she is still able to eat. What coarse feelings these wretches have!"

An the gentle lady recalled how she herself, a few years ago, after having lost a little daughter of nine months, had renounced in her sorrow the pleasure of renting a splendid bungalow not far from Petrograd—and had spent all the Summer in the city—and the old woman, on the other hand, was simply gulping down her cabbage soup.

Finally the gentle lady lost patience.—"Tatyana!" she cried out, "but this is monstrous!—I cannot understand you! Have you not loved your son? Has that not been enough to make you lose your appetite? How is it possible for you to eat cabbage soup!"

"My Vasya is dead," replied the old woman gently, and again bitter tears flowed over her sunken cheeks. "And I am nearing my end too: it is as if my head had been torn from my body. But I cannot let the cabbage soup go to waste; the cabbage soup is salted." The gentle lady shrugged her shoulders and departed. Salt was cheap for her.

DEBATERS!

Are you preparing to meet your opponents on the subject of *Recognition for Soviet Russia*? Buy the Bound Volumes of this paper: Vol. III, five dollars; Volume IV, four dollars; Vol. V, three dollars.

“R a s s e y a ”

By L. SOSNOVSKY

The following account of actual happenings in provincial Russian communities is taken from a recent issue of “Pravda”. “Rasseya” is the illiterate peasant way of pronouncing and writing “Rossiya”—Russia.

“WE, the citizens of the village Rosa Luxemburg, of the International County of the District of Kaluga, of the province of the same name, send greetings to the Communist International, etc. . . .”

Please don't consider this an invention. This county and this village really do exist. And such a resolution was printed in the papers. In general, in the province of Kaluga, the streets, the counties and the villages have been thoroughly renamed.

“Village of Rosa Luxemburg” comes strange and awkward to the tongue; the same may be said of the village of “The Dekabrist”. But was the former name of this village better when it bore the name “Yazva” (Pestilence)?

In my country, in the province of the Orenburg Cossacks, there were before the Revolution hamlets and settlements, bearing the name “Paris”, “Leipzig”, “Berlin”, and even—Fere-Champenoise, in commemoration of certain battles and treaties.

Why the bearded Cossacks should live in a locality with the amazing name of Fere-Champenoise, none of them knows, not even the teacher and the priest. But as to “Rosa Luxemburg” and “The Dekabrist”, the Kaluga people already know something, and as time goes on they will know more.

It took Russia four years to change the “Village of Pestilence” to the “Village of Rosa Luxemburg”. Why the village had been given the name “Pestilence” I do not know. The dear overlord had probably been angered somehow by his serfs and in his rage he must have rechristened the village with the name of “Yazva”.

Thoughtless people may console themselves with the thought that the name only has been changed and that the village of Pestilence in itself has not changed. Let them take what consolation they can from this notion.

I am glancing through the “Memorial and Year-book of the Province of Kaluga for 1916.” On page XXIX is printed the list of all the governors from 1776 to the Revolution of 1917. Here are the most striking names:

Prince P. P. Dolgorukov

Prince A. D. Obolensky

Count D. N. Tolstoi

Prince N. D. Golitzin

Privy Councilor A. G. Bulygin

Prince C. D. Gorchakov

Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Chenikayev.

They all ruled over the village of Pestilence.

But at present the Province of Kaluga is ruled by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of

the Province, Aleksey Kirillovich Samsonov, a baker, of peasant stock, of the district of Kaluga. His substitute is N. I. Novikov, salesman, of peasant stock, also of the province of Kaluga.

Immediately after the governor there usually followed, let us say, the commander of the garrison, who used to be a brigadier-general.

At present the office of Military Commissar of the province and Commander of the Garrison is in the hands of a workingman, the lithographer H. E. Almazov.

With the permission of the dear gentlemen of the nobility, I will take the liberty—to compare the Marshal of the Nobility—there is no other fitting comparison—with the Chairman of the Provincial Extraordinary Commission—the locksmith I. D. Ossipov, of peasant stock, of the Province of Kaluga.

Instead of the former Police Commissioner—there is the Commander of the Provincial Militia, the painter V. V. Dyuzhikov—who, like all the other ikon-makers, was born in the province of Vladimir.

Among the liberal Zemstvo workers in the province of Kaluga a prominent place was occupied by the Cadet philosopher Prince Eugene Trubetskoy. He was also member of the Supreme Council of the Empire, and was elected from the Province of Kaluga.

If we may place the present Board of Agriculture at the same level with the Zemstvo, then we may declare that the Prince and Philosopher has been replaced by the limping cobbler A. D. Dyudin, in charge of the Provincial Department of Agriculture.

We shall close this list of the provincial authorities of the past and the present by presenting the court authorities of the province.

Instead of the old-time jurist, with his uniform and a diploma, who was the chairman of the district court, today the functions of the Chairman of the Provincial Revolutionary Tribunal are discharged by the printer P. I. Gromov.

Where then are the old masters? Some of them have disappeared, and others are far away.

I was in the commune “The Red Town,” situated in the former estate of the Prince Galitsyn (10 miles from Kaluga). His Excellency has sent word from abroad. He addressed to the Commune a letter, the contents of which are as follows:

“Robbers and bandits! . . . You may rob without conscience my house, my estate, my cattle. Go to the devil! But I beg you to spare my ancient linden park. On these linden trees that were planted by my forefathers I will hang you scoundrels as soon as I come back!”

This letter is being preserved in the office of the Provincial Extraordinary Commission and I have advised them to save it as a museum curiosity.

Here is one of the former masters. Near the building of the Executive Committee of the Province there always stands a well dressed coachman. A splendid horse, rubber tires, a peasant's cloth overcoat, a coachman's cap of oilcloth, and the hair cut in the Russian peasant manner.

This is the former landed proprietor Unkovsky, the descendant of the Unkovskys who in the sixties, under Alexander II, were the masters of the destinies of the peasants.

"If you please, Comrade, I will give you a ride!" he proposed to Almazov, Military Commander of the Province.

"Get out, Comrade Unkovsky! The whole city knows that you charge 50,000 rubles a ride. They will say immediately that Almazov has become a grafter." They part amicably, the Military Commander and the cabby. The former dirty lithographer, who was always soiled with ink, and the former sleek gentleman of noble birth whose fine white house is even now visible at the foot of the hill.

Ask Almazov or Samsonov who were their own forefathers, how they were named and they will not answer you. Go to the Lavrentiev Monastery (at present a concentration camp), and you will find there a big row of marble statues at the entrance of the church. All read: Unkovsky, Unkovskaya, Unkovskys. a venerable dynasty. From the aristocratic three-cornered hat with a sword, to the coachman's oilcloth cap with a whip.

"If you please I will give you a ride!"

As you see, the way from the village "Pestilence" to the village "Rosa Luxemburg" is very long. It is not merely a change of the door sign or of the rubber stamp when the nobleman and business man have been removed from the management of the affairs of the Province and their places have been taken and kept for *four years* by bakers, cobblers, lithographers, locksmiths and painters—all children of poor peasants of the Kaluga province.

Almost the entire personnel of the Administration of Kaluga lives in one apartment, in the house of a former merchant. They live in a kind of Commune by putting all their salaries and food rations into the common fund. They put the rooms in order themselves, arranging the samovars, etc. Their whole mode of living is watched by the whole town. Let one of them have a glass of whiskey, let him leave the house in an unsober condition, let him show himself on the street with an unworthy person, and the entire province will know about it.

Under the dictatorship, the government is rather severe — there is no doubt about that. But the people of the village "Rosa Luxemburg" have quite a different attitude towards the authorities from that of the village "Pestilence."

Near the village "Pestilence" there lived rich peasants such as Yerokhin, Yevdokimov and

others — suburban kitchen-gardeners. Sturdy people, they had erected for themselves comfortable two-story farmhouses. It so happened that the Executive Committee of the Province stepped rather vigorously on their toes by infringing imprudently and illegally upon their property rights.

The Yerokhins found their way to all the high authorities, to the Commissariat of Agriculture, to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, to the Council of People's Commissars, and to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. They obtained, although only in part, their reinstatement in their rights, after having passed all the legal Soviet instances. But this is not important. More interesting is their attitude towards the provincial authorities.

The Yerokhins entered by force the office of the Chairman of the Provincial Central Executive Committee, shouted, threatened with reprisals on the part of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and called him a counter-revolutionary for not complying with the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Of course, the Chairman of the Provincial Executive Committee could have simply given a sign and the impertinent *kulak** would have felt the hand of the Cheka. But in the village "Rosa Luxemburg" they know very well, from the poor man to the kulak and the priest, that the present government is simple, is one of their own people.

What is Samsonov after all? Even the All-Russian Elder M. I. Kalinin† once came to Kaluga. At one village meeting—as reported by local inhabitants—a disgruntled, irritated peasant began to address Comrade Kalinin with the strongest possible words (I don't know whether all these words would pass the censor). Kalinin listened and then with the general approval of the meeting, began to reprimand the base, egotistic and capitalistic instincts of the peasant. And in doing so, it is said that Comrade Kalinin did not husband his vocabulary.

The peasants took his side in this dispute and up to the present day remember the All-Russian Elder because of his simplicity and plain words:

"See, he speaks our language! This is a government as it ought to be!"

In the village "Pestilence" it never happened that the head of the supreme government authority of the whole country should quarrel with a peasant in public meeting, and that he should consent to be addressed in not very dignified expressions.

But in the village "Rosa Luxemburg" it has happened.

In the company of Samsonov, the Chairman of the Provincial Executive Committee, we are direct-

*Rich peasant.

†The Chairman of the Russian Central Executive Committee—virtually the President of the Soviet Republic—is called by the peasants the Chief "Starosta"—the All-Russian Village Elder.

ing ourselves to one of the Soviet farms. Climbing a steep hill the machine got out of order. We had to walk. At the top of the hill there is a church containing a wonder working ikon. Once upon a time (when the village was called "Pestilence") the priest and his wife were coining money here. Now the profiteering time is over and here is what is going on now:

From the priest's house a middle-aged woman came out: the priest's wife. She walked towards us.

"Comrade Samsonov, would it be possible for me to obtain two dessiatins of land? We were allotted land—but very far from here, while right here in the vicinity there is land that lies idle. It would not be idle with us. Would it not be possible to get it somehow?"

"Will you work it yourself?"

"We ourselves? . . . Why certainly! Just come into our yard and you will see what I am doing with my own hands. Don't you see how my hands look?"

Indeed, her hands bespoke her hard work; they were covered with callous spots.

We entered the yard. The priest's wife showed us the felled and uprooted trees, and the earth that was prepared for cultivation.

"Here we will have a kitchen-garden and berries next year. Come to see us next year to have tea and berries with us. I could do much good work, but I have not the land on which to do it."

"Very well, address us at the Board of Agriculture. We will look it up. But tell me, how did you destroy the trees? For they were all put there to make a fine show in order to invite pilgrims. And this very hill had been thrown up for this purpose."

"Oh, well, what do I care for show! I would not otherwise have found a place for a kitchen-garden."

When leaving the priest's house, I thought to myself:

"In the former days the priest's wife would not have boasted about her callous hands if she had met the governor. On the contrary, they would have shown the governor their well-manicured nails, their elegant manners, their fine furniture, and given him a splendid dinner. But now every priest's wife knows that from the village "Rosa Luxemburg," up to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in the Kremlin, all the new authorities are looking at hands and paying reverence to those that are callous."

Russia has changed. It has greatly changed.

Let us turn our attention elsewhere for a moment.

A few days ago I received a letter from the Tagan prison, from an old textile worker, I. A. Komarov, with whom once upon a time, before the Revolution, I had worked together in the trade union. The fellow had done wrong, he had gotten into bad company, spent the union's money, and is now in prison awaiting trial.

He writes: "I feel my weakness and my baseness. But it is very hard for me to sit here in the company of all sorts of rabble. There is not a single worker here. They are all bourgeois, generals, bishops, chinovniks.* Although they may pretend to be workers, they hate them at heart. . . ."

This is what happened in Russia. A worker who had committed an offence, notwithstanding how low he may have fallen, considers it humiliating to be kept in the company of such rabble as generals, bourgeois, bishops, *chinovniks*. And the latter find it to their advantage to pretend to be workers.

I remember another case also. After Comrade Krassin's first journey to London, people spoke of an adventure of one of the experts of our trade delegation in that city. He was a former bourgeois, powerful on the stock exchange. In London he wanted to go to the theatre, bought a ticket for one of the stalls and took his seat. But then something happened. They asked him to leave his place. He showed his ticket and his papers. It was of no avail. It turned out he had not come in full dress. Such as he was, he could be admitted only to the places further back, or in the gallery.

Our bourgeois was so indignant with the bourgeois order of civilized England, that involuntarily he cried out:

"Oh, you filthy swine! They should send you some sailors from the Cheka. . . . They would teach you to go in full dress. . . ."

The importance of full dress (frock coat) has been greatly undermined. It has been crowded out by the blouse.

I take the train from Kaluga to Moscow. There are fellow travelers of various kinds. There is a pretty little lady with curls, every moment consulting her mirror (to see whether everything is still in place) and powdering her nose. She talks through her nose, using French expressions. With her are her husband—a military specialist from the Department of General Military Training, and another military specialist from the Provincial Military Committee. It appears that the little lady was a nurse in the hospital, and had found a husband there, who had been one of her typhus patients.

"Under various pretexts I was getting for him four portions each time."

Into the windows of the car there was shining the moon of Kaluga as a substitute for the non-existing artificial light. And under the shining moon-light, what do you think the conversation was about?

About the kitchen-gardens and potatoes.

"In our Provincial Health Department the soil that was allotted to it turned out to be worthless. No matter how much it might be watered—nothing comes out of it. But the kitchen-garden of the Provincial Military Command is remarkable."

(To be concluded in next issue.)

*Tsarist government officials.

Great Britain's Famine Record

(From a recent issue of the London "Communist" we take the following significant article on the relative culpability of England and Russia in the causation of famines past and present.)

SO much is made of the suggestion that the famine in Russia is due to the incompetence or worse of the Soviet Republic that it seems necessary to remind ourselves that famine is by no means an unusual occurrence in the British Empire. Ireland and India give outstanding examples.

Ireland gives us, too, a means of statistical comparison. During the famine years of '47 and '48 some two millions of Irish died of famine or famine fever. It is computed that some ten millions of Russians will die (unless adequate help is immediately given) from the same causes. Here is a question for political moralists: If the anticipated death of ten millions out of a population of 100 millions proves the Soviet Government to be unfit to rule, what does the actual death of two millions out of a population of eight million Irish prove with regard to the British Imperial rulers of Ireland?

The case of India is even more impressive because of the constant recurrence of the phenomenon. Here are a few examples:

1769-70—Great Famine in Bengal. A third of the population (10,000,000) perished.

1790-92—General Famine — known as the Skull Famine (because the victims died in such numbers that they could not be buried).

1838—Famine in N. W. Provinces.

1869—Intense famine in Rajputana. 1,500,000 died.

1876-78—Famine in Bombay, Madras and Mysore. 5,000,000 deaths.

1898-1901—Famine. 1,000,000 deaths.

In 160 years of British rule India has "enjoyed" nineteen famines and five severe scarcities. It should be noted, too, that the outbreaks of bubonic plague which are all but perpetual in India are directly induced by the systematic malnutrition of the Indian people—a result made inevitable by their ruthless exploitation at the hands of British and Indian Imperialist capitalism.

There have been for 170 years two main capacities in which Englishmen have gone to India—either as officials or as merchant or industrial capitalists. In each case their one object was to extract as much as was physically possible from the Indian people. The result is indicated above. With monotonous regularity perpetual plague is relieved by periods of famine, and the protests of the people are met with "Rowlatt Acts" and their sequel—violent repression.

An indication of the workings of Capitalist Imperialism (and another measure of comparison with Soviet Russia) is given by the damning fact that alike in the classic Irish famine of '47 and '48, and in those in India of more recent date, food in large quantities was exported from the stricken lands.

From Ireland during the famine years there was

exported in corn and cattle enough to have fed the whole population twice over.

As to India, the Statistical Abstracts for the British Empire for those years show that the excess of wheat production over consumption in India during those years was: 1898, 37,839,163 bushels; 1899, 18,627,968 bushels; 1900, 295,083 bushels; 1901, 14,268,562 bushels.

The exports of foodstuffs to Great Britain alone during those years include an average of over three million cwts. of wheat and over five million cwts. of rice.

Nobody can charge such a crime upon Soviet Russia. All that it has is at the disposal of its people so far as it is physically possible to transport it. More would be done—and would have been done—had its enemies repented of the evil they had done and put at its disposal the necessary transport.

The workers of the world must, at whatever cost, strive to repair the evil that their rulers have done.

NOTE TO CHINA

(Mr. Alexander K. Paikess, Plenipotentiary Extraordinary of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic on a special mission to the Chinese Government, has sent a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China, W. W. Yen, expressing the gratitude of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Government for the disinterested help rendered by the Chinese people and the Chinese Government to the Russian famine sufferers. It reads:)

Monsieur le Ministre,
It is with feelings of the utmost satisfaction that I have the honor to note the humane activities of the Chinese people in rendering assistance to the famine-stricken Russians. The famine is of an unprecedented extent. In the most fertile regions of Russia, the Volga provinces, millions of people are now suffering the horrors of famine and consequent disease. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic is exerting itself to the utmost in dealing with this natural calamity and in alleviating the sufferings of the people. In the first instance, the Soviet Government addressed an appeal to the people of Russia urging all classes and sections to devote their energy to the struggle against famine. The spontaneous activity of the whole people, directed first and last to the relief of the distress of millions, is a sure pledge of a successful conclusion of the campaign that the Government has initiated against this calamity, which has stricken the people of Russia after seven years of war and a universal blockade.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has duly considered the possibility that its utmost exertion and the combined efforts of the people may prove inadequate to secure a victory over this terrible disaster; and the Soviet Government has therefore sent out a universal appeal on behalf of the population of the famine-stricken districts. The Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, not minimizing the extent of the disaster, has made an appeal to international solidarity and to the sympathy of the world, offering every possible opportunity for the fullest and most complete expression thereof. As might have been anticipated, the working people of all countries promptly responded to this appeal, but very few Governments did so. Most of those Governments that blockaded Russia at the time of her Great Revolution sought to profit by the famine

that held many millions of Russians in its grip, by making demands on the Russian Government and attempting to use the famine as a pretext for interference in Russia's domestic affairs. China is to be counted amongst the very few Governments that offered disinterested help to the sufferers without any ulterior motive. Having just arrived in China on a special mission as the representative of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, I experience the utmost pleasure and satisfaction in noting the sincere promptitude with which the Chinese Government and the widest circles of Chinese society have come to the assistance of the famine-stricken Russian population.

In expressing my deepest gratitude to Your Excellency and through Your Excellency to the President of the Committee for Russian Famine Relief, to the members of the Committee, to the press, and to the Chinese people, I beg Your Excellency to allow me to state my firm conviction that the activities of the Chinese people in this matter will be appreciated by the Russian people and by the Russian Government, on whose behalf I have the honor to address Your Excellency, and will contribute to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two Great Republics of China and Soviet Russia.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure Your Excellency of my highest consideration and esteem.

(Signed) ALEXANDER K. PAIKESS,
*Plenipotentiary Extraordinary of the Russian
Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

His Excellency,
Dr. W. W. Yen,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China.

RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE LIST

STAFF OF FOREIGN OFFICE ON DECEMBER 1, 1921.

Board:

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs: G. V. Chicherin (General Control, Eastern Dept., Information Dept.).

Assistant P. C. for Foreign Affairs: M. M. Litvinov (Western Dept., Economico-Juridical Dept.).

Member: V. R. Menzhinsky (Border States).

Member: P. P. Gorbunov (Organization and General Management).

Total staff, 1301.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN MISSIONS

The following is the list of Foreign Missions of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic at December 1, 1921:

Plenipotentiary Missions:

GERMANY: Plenipotentiary Representative, Krestinsky. Assistant, Pashukainia. Secretary, Brodovsky.

LATVIA: Plenipotentiary Representative, Ganetsky. Assistant, Alexandri. Secretary, Kliavin. Libau Consul, Zhenersky.

LITHUANIA: Chargé d'Affaires, Sander.

FINLAND: Chargé d'Affaires, Cernich. Secretary, Korinetz.

ESTHONIA: Plenipotentiary Representative, Litvinov. Assistant, Stark. Secretary, Shenshev.

POLAND: Plenipotentiary Representative, Karakhan. Assistant, Obolensky. Secretary, Lorenz.

TURKEY: Plenipotentiary Representative, Aralov. Assistant, Mikhailov.

PERSIA: Plenipotentiary Representative, Rothstein. Secretary, Nikanovich.

AFGHANISTAN: Plenipotentiary Representative, Raskolnikov. Secretary, Rosenberg.

BOKHARA SOVIET REPUBLIC: Plenipotentiary Representative, Yurenev. Secretary, Bodrov.

KHIVAN SOVIET REPUBLIC: Plenipotentiary Representative, Byk. Secretary, Oskolskaya.

ARMENIA, GEORGIA, and AZERBAIJAN: Plenipotentiary Representative, Legran. Secretary, Schiffers. Consuls at Baku and Batum.

War Prisoners' Commission:

AUSTRIA: Chairman, Bronsky. Secretary, Huber. *Special Missions:*

CHINA: Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, Paikes.

FAR EASTERN NEGOTIATIONS AT DAIREN: Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, Markhlevsky. Secretary, Vilensky.

Trade Delegations:

GREAT BRITAIN: Chairman, Krassin. Assistant, Berzin. Secretary, Klishko.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: Chairman, Mostovenko. Secretary, Shutko.

ITALY: Chairman, Vorovsky. Assistant, Tikhmenev. Secretary, Stranyan.

NORWAY: Chairman, Mikhailov. Secretary, Zaretskaya.

SWEDEN (Centrosoyus Delegation): Chairman, Kerzhenstev. Assistant, Heller. Secretary, Simanovsky.

Read the April 15

issue of

SOVIET RUSSIA

It will contain a number of exceptionally interesting features. Among them are:

METEOROLOGICAL CAUSES OF THE FAMINE, a scientific exposition of the situation, with maps and charts.

WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM: A Communication from the F. S. R., showing how much each city in the U. S. A. has done to fight the Famine.

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH SWEDEN. Full text of this new document, signed at Stockholm, March 1, with important Swedish comment.

*Price, Fifteen Cents
At All Newsstands*

National Office Notes

(The following notes of interest in connection with the campaigns to raise funds have been prepared by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y. Have we heard from you?)

Three Carloads of Russian Toys for American Children

A CABLE was received on March 14 by the Friends of Soviet Russia to the effect that the peasants in the famine area of Soviet Russia are sending three carloads of wooden toys to their American friends.

The peasants of the Volga region are desirous of showing their gratitude toward the American workers who, when their Russian fellow-workers were starving, did their utmost to aid them. Hence this shipment of these highly prized products of the deft Russian fingers.

It is not generally known that the wooden toys made by Russian peasants are noted for their originality and beauty. Yet, wherever handicraft is understood, these wooden toys are regarded as among the choicest in the world.

These wooden toys will be disposed of at bazars, and the proceeds returned in food and other necessities to the famine areas of Russia. Every friend of Soviet Russia will endeavor to procure one of these toys.

Largest Shipment of Clothing to Soviet Russia

While appealing for aid to the outside world, the Soviet Government is doing its utmost to collect as much grain within greater Russia as possible. Thus the provinces with "good" and "poor" harvest, the famine provinces, and also Siberia, Northern Caucasus, Kirghiz, Turkestan, Crimea and the Ukraine furnished more than 3,000,000 tons of grain up to January 11. More than 700,000 have been allocated for seeding purposes.

At the same time, the government is reclaiming considerable of the marsh land and is making an effort to put into use much of the arable land at present untouched. There are more than 20,000,000 acres of land in the south that could be cultivated if irrigated.

In the Moscow province the workers of the mills and factories have organized small farms covering an area of 24,000 square miles. Further land is being freed and will be cultivated on a large scale and by modern methods.

Great Need of Motor Vehicles

Soviet Russia is a vast country. The roads are not very good, as a result of the devastating work of the counter-revolutionaries, and of the years of warfare, during which very little constructive or repair work could be done. But in addition, Soviet Russia is in dire need of motor vehicles. Thus the total number of motor vehicles at the present time is only 23,000 and all are not fit for service.

America, the home of the motor car and truck, must furnish the Russian workers and peasants with sufficient motor implements to ensure a good harvest next fall.

Soviet Russia still clamors for lorries and tractors. American workers must heed the call.

Famine Scouts and Women's Division, F. S. R.

The Friends of Soviet Russia has inaugurated two new sections for extending its work. The children of this country are to be recruited for the great work of relief, especially for the children. The mothers and working-class women are to be organized to aid their suffering sisters in the land of Hunger. The two departments have been put under the direction of a well-known comrade, Rose Pastor Stokes, to whom all inquiries should be sent.

Work of Friends of Soviet Russia Endorsed by Prominent Periodicals.

A heated controversy has been raised in the capitalist press regarding the activities of the various relief organizations. The attitude of the Friends of Soviet Russia to the matter of relief is plain and needs no frequent reiteration. The F. S. R. is a working class organization furnishing relief for the starving workers and peasants in Soviet Russia without reservations. It does so in the realization that there are bonds of solidarity between the workers of all countries, that manifest themselves particularly during a crisis.

The success which the F. S. R. has achieved in relief has been recognized by the working class of America. Such liberal periodicals as the *Nation*, *New Republic*, and *Freeman* have openly espoused the cause of the F. S. R. and helped it to parry the malicious attacks being made on unofficial relief organizations.

The Russian famine is the touchstone of loyalty to the working class.

Notable Success in New York Tag Days.

Despite a heavy downpour of rain, despite the refusal of permit for a tag day, the New York branch has attained notable results. About \$12,000 was collected, adding to the big total that the New York comrades have raised up to date.

International Affiliation of the F. S. R.

Realizing the necessity of centralization and coordination of work, the Friends of Soviet Russia has officially affiliated with the Worker's International Famine Relief Committee, Berlin, which is the agent for the various workers' relief organizations in the countries of Europe and America. All of the shipments are directed to the representative of the Committee in Soviet Russia, are taken in hand by him and forwarded without delay to the province of Kazan, which has been designated as the field of activity of the workers' organizations. The organizations of all the other countries have representatives in Kazan aiding in

the distribution of relief. The F. S. R. has been asked to send a man to aid in this work.

Do not Become Weary!

'News has come lately from the famine area showing that the famine is extending to areas hitherto not so badly affected. The population

has become apathetic and indifferent to its fate. The children's homes are crowded. The people, long undernourished, are falling prey to typhus. . .

However numerous and great the gifts of the workers and their organizations, however oppressive their own economic situation may be, relief work *must* continue. *We dare not become weary!*

Books Reviewed

MAXIM GORKY: *Reminiscences of Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy.* Authorized translation from the Russian by S. S. Kotliansky and Leonard Woolf. B. W. Huebsch, New York, Boards, 86 pages.

Some have said that the Russian Revolution could not have taken place if the Russian people had not been saturated with Tolstoyan ideas. This opinion is not confirmed by a reading of Gorky's "Reminiscences of Tolstoy." If ever there was a man with a contempt for all that we call "progress" it was Tolstoy. This scepticism is plainly revealed in the conversations recorded by Gorky in this book.

On one occasion, speaking of intellectuals, Tolstoy said: "An intellectual is like the old Galician prince Vladimirk who, as far back as the twelfth century, boldly declared, 'There are no miracles in our time.' Six hundred years have passed and all the intellectuals hammer away to each other: 'There are no miracles, there are no miracles.' And the people believe in miracles just as they did in the twelfth century."

Tolstoy realized clearly how little influence literature has on the great mass of the people. After spending some hours one day receiving and conversing with a group of peasants, he said to some of his literary friends: "We shall soon cease completely to understand the language of the people. Now we say: the 'theory of evolution', 'the role of the individual in history', 'the evolution of science', and a peasant says: 'You can't hide an awl in a sack', and all theories, histories, evolutions, become pitiable and ridiculous because they are incomprehensible and unnecessary to the people. But the peasant is stronger than we, he is more tenacious of life, and there may happen to us what happened to the tribe of Atzurs, of whom it was reported to a scholar: 'All the Atzurs have died out, but there is a parrot here who knows a few words of their language.'"

Once Tolstoy reproached Gorky for having overdrawn a character in one of his stories, but later he smilingly admitted that "all writers are inventors, they alter their characters to suit themselves." But he added sternly:

"That is why I say that art is a lie, an arbitrary sham, harmful for people. One writes not what real life is, but what one thinks of life oneself. What good is that to any one—how I see that tower or sea or Tartar—what interest or use is there in it?"

In Tolstoy's eyes, women were always "dangerous". He believed total abstinence from sexual indulgence to be an ideal of conduct, and in the *Kreutzer Sonata*, a book which is kept carefully locked away on the closed shelf of American public libraries as lustful, he preached a terrible sermon against sexual relations within and without the marriage state. Hence his dislike of woman, the temptress. "Tolstoy talked much of women", says Gorky,—"but in my opinion, he regards them with implacable hostility. It is the hostility of the male who has not succeeded in getting all the pleasure he could, or it is the hostility of the spirit against the 'degrading impulses of the flesh'. But it is hostility and cold as in *Anna Karénina*." Some visitors were once discussing women in Tolstoy's presence, when he suddenly cried out: "And I will tell the truth about women when I have one foot in the grave. I shall tell it, jump into my coffin, pull the lid over me, and say, 'Do what you like now.'"

Gorky, who above all things admires the order and creative activity of the West, often found himself in opposition

to Tolstoy. He disliked Tolstoy's non-resistant teachings and feared the effect they might have on his countrymen, already too prone, as he thought, to indolence and passivity. But the very fact that the two men disagreed so fundamentally lends animation to Gorky's recollections and in no way detracts from the reverence with which he regards Tolstoy as great artist and great man.

"I remember his keen eyes—they saw everything through and through—and the movements of his fingers, as though they were perpetually modeling some thing out of the air, his talk, the jokes, his favorite peasant words, his elusive voice. And I see what a vast amount of life was embodied in the man, how inhumanly clever he was, how terrifying.

"And I, who do not believe in God, looked at him for some reason very cautiously and a little timidly. I looked and thought: 'This man is godlike.'"

M. H.

The Russian Famine, Pictures, Appeals. Russian Famine Pamphlet No. 1. Published by the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York, 1922. Paper, 32 pages.

The cover design is a sea of hands outstretched for food. In addition, thirty-seven photographs, many of them large, give some idea of the seriousness of the famine situation. The text also is interesting, since it includes many appeals from various sources—including the appeals of Helen Keller and Maxim Gorky. It is to be hoped that the stirring scenes depicted, and the unmistakable language of the appeal for aid, may strengthen the understanding of how necessary it is for the workers of the United States to join with the workers of other lands in giving succor to Russia. We understand there has been a little delay in the preparation of the second pamphlet of this series, "Famine in Russia and Capitalism Abroad", but we hope to be able to welcome a copy of it in the review pages of our next issue.

N. LEBEDEV: *Die Textilarbeiter in Sowjet-Russland.* Berlin C. 54: A. Seehof & Co., 1921. Paper, 20 pages.

An interesting study of the conditions of work and pay of an important branch of Russian industry, which becomes doubly important since it is one of the occupations in which tremendous improvements have been made since the Revolution. Textile workers in Russia in the Tsarist days were very poorly paid, as may be seen from the following table, taken from this pamphlet:

Comparative Annual Wages of Metal and Textile Workers

Year	Metal Workers	Textile Workers
1914	533 rub. 28 kop.	283 rub. 59 kop.
1915	718 rub. 28 kop.	537 rub. 88 kop.
1916	1050 rub. 68 kop.	543 rub. 95 kop.

Much of the process of organization of the textile workers falls in the period immediately following the revolution, and constitutes the subject-matter proper of the pamphlet. But let him who is interested get the pamphlet. We found a copy of it in the New York Public Library.

J. W. H.

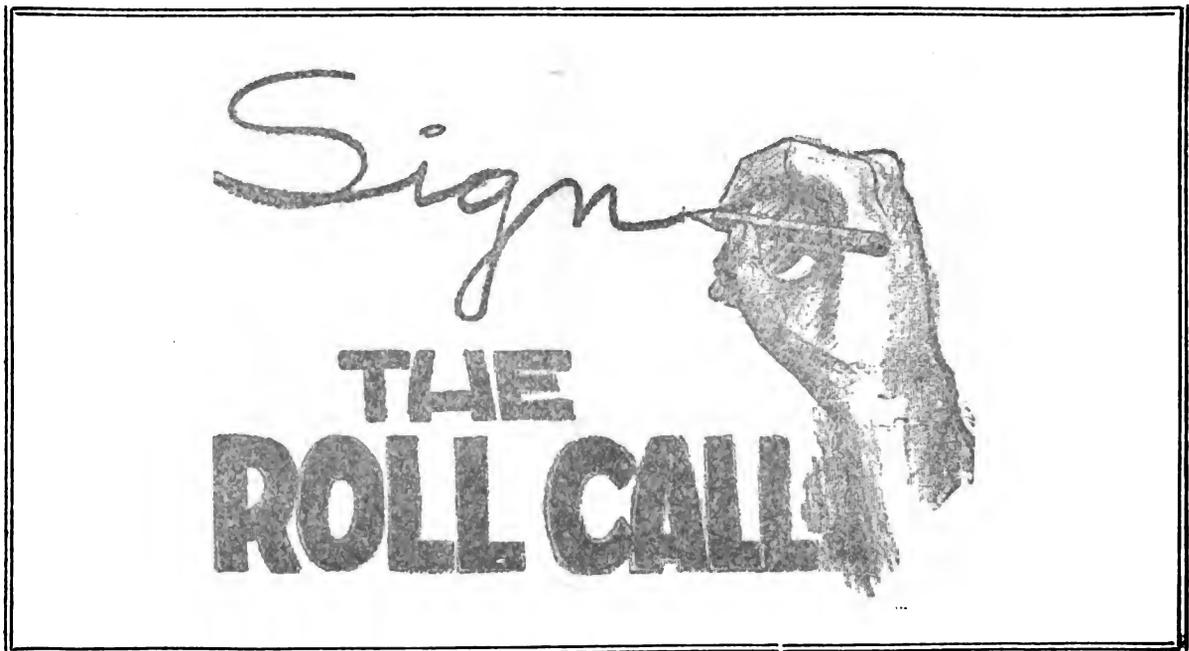
Relief Contributions, March 1-15

Here is a full list of contributions, both from individuals and organizations, received at the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., during the first half of March. The following abbreviations should be noted: F. S. R. (Friends of Soviet Russia), S. T. A. S. R. (Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia), R. C. (contributions received in response to "Roll-Call" appeal). The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will print contributions for the second half of March, as well as the total for the whole month.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
4054	John Burcevich, List 5421, E. Chicago, Ind.	30.00	4121	Russian Sec. FSR, N. Y. C.	69.76	4192	N. Vovnosky, Pittsburg, Pa.	10.00
4055	F. S. R. Branch, Passaic, N. J.	15.00	4122	F.S.R. Br. Salt Lake City, Utah	33.75	4193	H. & C. Ennlaß Lyons, N. Y.	10.00
4056	Russian Sec., F.S.R., N. Y. C.	258.59	4123	XII Dist. Lith. Am. Wks. Lit. Assn., Pittston, Pa.	12.44	4194	A. S. Boyd, N. Y. City	10.00
4067	Coll. U. M. W. of A., No. 1286, Stewartville, O.	66.50	4124	A. H. Lampe, Breckenridge, Colo.	1.00	4195	A. Waabauer, Rockford, Ill.	10.00
4068	Chas. Shestokas, San Fernando, Cal.	2.00	4125	F.S.R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	300.00	4196	Ed. Robinson, Perry, Okla.	10.00
4059	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	249.17	4126	W. C. Grube, Oakland, Cal.	20.00	4197	E. C. Needham, Wash., D. C.	10.00
4060	F. S. R. Branch, Grand Rapids, Mich.	400.57	4127	Mary Wilson, N. Y. C.	10.00	4198	Mrs. C. E. Yerge, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
4061	F. S. R. Branch, Vancouver, B. C., Can.	247.50	4128	Mark Merwin, Bklyn, N. Y.	10.00	4199	C. P. Pafort, N. Y. City	10.00
4063	P. Lenowitch, List 14129, Herrick, O.	47.10	4129	Watts & Church, Pittsburg, Kans.	10.00	4200	B. F. Mixon, Elkhart, Tex.	10.00
4063	Coll. Mrs. E. Koukly & B. Argewicws, Detroit, Mich.	24.50	4130	Isabel Martin, Chico, Cal.	10.00	4201	W. Reber, New York City	5.00
4064	M. Bashura, Norwich, Conn.	17.30	4131	L. J. Pelan, Salt Lake City, Utah	8.00	4202	R. H. Heller, New York City	4.00
4065	F.S.R. Branch, Duluth, Minn.	16.20	4132	Adolph Schwartz, N. Y. C.	5.00	4203	J. N. DeTemple, Sierra Madre, Cal.	5.00
4066	F.S.R. Br. Mason City, Iowa.	6.50	4133	F. Fredrickson, Finlayson, Minn.	5.00	4204	E. Matusia, Phila., Pa.	3.00
4067	W. L. F. Stueick, Milwaukee, Wisc.	2.50	4134	I. Kettula, Finlayson, Minn.	5.00	4205	Dr. W. Van Nette, Clyde, Ohio	2.00
4068	Dora Nelson, Greenfield, Mass.	1.00	4135	A. & A. Mencke, Cleveland, O.	7.00	4206	F. S. R. Br., Danville, Ill.	2.00
4069	F.S.R. Br. Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	4136	L. Paulcer, Allice Arm, B. C., Canada	2.00	4207	P. L. Werth, Frankfort, So. D.	1.00
4070	Co-Operative Temperance Cafe "Idrott", Chicago, Ill.	300.00	4137	S. E. Coble, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	4208	R. Wight, Danbury, Ohio	1.00
4071	F.S.R. Br., Duluth, Minn.	150.00	4138	C. A. Kaley, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	4209	Coll. Open Court Forum, Bklyn, N. Y.	25.00
4072	F.S.R. Br., Rochester, N. Y.	150.00	4139	W. J. Conarty, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	4210	J. M. Kahn, N. Y. City	2.00
4073	F.S.R. Br., Minneapolis, Minn.	94.00	4140	J. Merkl, Abita Springs, La.	1.50	4211	Ed. Wilharm, Phila., Pa.	2.00
4074	Mary C. Trask, N. Y. C.	25.00	4141	Mrs. L. Lagarde, New Orleans, La.	1.00	4212	J. Soughan, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	2.00
4075	F.S.R. Br., Hartford, Conn.	22.00	4142	Ole Hove, Templeton, Cal.	1.00	4213	Asworth, New York City	5.00
4076	Zelina Reeler, Kansas City, Mo.	20.00	4143	I. Putnam, Templeton, Cal.	1.00	4214	A. Chorover, New York City	5.00
4077	Theo. Peterson, Rockford, Ill.	10.00	4144	F. S. R. Branch, Newark, N. J.	500.00	4215	A. E. Johnson, Grand Rapids, Mich.	1.00
4078	W.S. & D.B.F., Br. 225, Columbus, O.	7.00	4145	R. & L. Sanders, N.Y.C. 2-85 War Savings Stamps	385.57	4216	J. Gerlicky, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
4079	F. S. R. Branch, Wilmington, Del.	5.00	4146	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	10.00	4217	B. M. Parelhoff, N. Y. City	2.00
4080	G. G. Migliaccio, N. Y. C.	5.00	4147	Coll. by Bert Sharp, Liberty Centre, Ohio	25.05	4218	Rose Parelhoff, New York City	2.00
4081	C.N. Morgan, Elizabeth, N. J.	5.00	4148	Coll. by L. J. Pentrek, W. Park, Ohio	17.50	4219	Elinor Parelhoff, New York City	2.00
4082	Mrs. Lorenzo Webber, Portland, Mich.	5.00	4149	F. S. R. Br., Maynard, Mass.	15.50	4220	D. Olson, Duluth, Minn.	2.00
4083	Dr. A. R. Melnicoff, Phila., Pa.	5.00	4150	F. S. R. Br., Buffalo, N. Y.	13.75	4221	Sara Villas, New York City	2.00
4084	Nuss Bros., W. Homestead, Pa.	5.00	4151	Coll. by R. Pearl, Eureka, Cal.	10.50	4222	S. Jackson, Flourtown, Pa.	1.00
4085	Montague Palmer, Tenafly, N.J.	10.00	4152	Coll. by R. C. Holbrook, New Kamilche, Wash.	4.50	4223	Coll. by Mallen, Bklyn, N. Y.	111.00
4086	F.S.R. Br. Superior, Wisc.	120.00	4153	R. Baldwin, Oswego, Mont.	2.50	4224	J. Wick, Edwardsville, Pa.	2.00
4087	Finn. Socialist Br., Baraga, Mich.	25.00	4154	Irl. Shaw, Emmett, Idaho	2.50	4225	R. B. Hayes, Redding, Cal.	1.00
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4089	F.S.R. Br. Stamford, Conn.	128.10	4156	Mrs. T. C. Hawley, Lodi, Cal.	3.70	4227	M. Vanauadall, Berkeley Heights, N. J.	5.00
4090	Lith. Workers Literary Soc., Br. 12, Pittston, Pa.	22.00	4157	J. Mavrin, List 15628, Chisholm, Minn.	119.00	4228	Miss McDonald, N. Y. City	.50
4091	J. K. Georgieff, Chilco, Idaho	5.00	4158	Dr. L. Elosser, San Francisco, Cal.	100.00	4229	N. T. Herbst, Bklyn, N. Y.	5.00
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4093	S. N. Kialdjef, Chilco, Idaho	5.00	4160	C. G. Barth, Phila., Pa.	50.00	4231	R. H. Hayes, Redding, Cal.	1.00
4094	Friends, Crystal Springs, Fla.	12.00	4161	C. M. Burnham, N. Y. C.	15.00	4232	M. C. Dean, Muscatine, Iowa	1.00
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4097	M. Kobosoff, N. Y. C.	10.00	4164	L. Balsam, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	4235	M. E. Broughton, Phila., Pa.	5.00
4098	Mr. & Mrs. A. A. Sathor, Jefferson City, Mo.	10.00	4165	H. H. Levine, Warren, Ohio.	10.00	4236	Yam Modrelewski, Bridgeport, Conn.	2.00
4099	T. Skusnicenko, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	4166	Casper Leuthold, Milwaukee, Ore.	4.00	4237	H. B. Windens, Forsyth, Mont.	2.00
4100	C. P. Foster, Buffalo, N. Y.	5.00	4167	H. Oberholzer, Clackamas, Ore.	5.00	4238	L. T. Watson, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00
4101	J. A. Schmidt, Buffalo, N. Y.	5.00	4168	J. E. Weber, Milwaukee, Ore.	1.00	4239	Emil Kern, Irvington, N. J.	2.00
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4116	Chas. Kunts, Icelia, N. J.	25.00	4183	F. S. R. Br., Rochester, N. Y.	150.00	4254	Robt. Melville, Bonner, Mont.	5.00
4117	Dr. N. Dubroff, Hazelton, Pa.	29.25	4184	F. S. R. Br., Yonkers, N. Y.	100.00	4255	F. E. Smith, W. Roxbury, Mass.	5.00
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			4189	Willard Reed, Jr., Cambridge, Mass.	5.00	4260	A Friend, Hamilton, Mont.	3.00
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						4265	F.S.R. Br., International Falls, Minn.	34.25
						4266	F.S.R. Br. Holyoke, Mass.	33.13
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4270	A. J. Cam, Clovis, Cal.....	22.50	4354	P. Dennett, Rickreall, Ore.	25.0	4445	1 Pair sleeve buttons, 1 neck chain, 1 brooch, Cleveland, O	
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4285	P. Workman, Boise, Idaho.....	1.50	4370	Pohn Orth, Boston 11, Mass....	5.00	4461	A. E. Frey, Detroit, Mich.	10.00
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4288	R. E. Knapp, Boise, Idaho.....	30.00	4373	Mr. & Mrs. C. K. Gleason, Kirkwood, Mo.	5.00	4464	R. Madler, Newark, N. J.	10.00
4289	L. E. Workman, Boise, Idaho...	127.50	4374	C. Zakutly, San Rafael, Cal...	5.00	4465	M. A. Kempf, Edgewater, Colo	10.00
4290	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich...	600.00	4375	Casselli Hat Store, McKeesport, Pa.	5.00	4466	A. Owsiak, Providence, R. I.	10.00
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4292	M. Sitera, Omaha, Neb.....	5.00	4377	K. Sell, Walled Lake, Mich....	5.00	4468	U. B. of C. & J. No. 657, Sheboygan, Wisc.	10.00
4293	Book Binders Union, No. 24, New York City	62.20	4378	D. R. Brumhall, N. Y. City....	5.00	4469	C.L. & M.B. Brumbaugh, Ballerwood, Pa.	10.00
4294	M. Wilensky for Local 261 New York City	10.00	4379	T. G. DeProost, Redding, Cal.	5.00	4470	K. Arthur, Phila, Pa.....	10.00
4295	F. S. R. Br., Milwaukee, Wis	579.36	4380	C. Arridson, Attleboro, Mass...	5.00	4471	Cancelled. Issued by mistake \$10	
4296	F. S. R. Br., Ellsabeth, N. J.	104.85	4381	Rus. Sec. F. S. R., N. Y. City	532.29	4472	Mrs. M. Hillsmith, So. Danbury, N. H.	10.00
4297	F. S. R. Br., Chisholm, Minn.	37.75	4382	B. Fine, Cleveland, O.....	10.00	4473	H. C. Oppenheimer, N. Y. City	10.00
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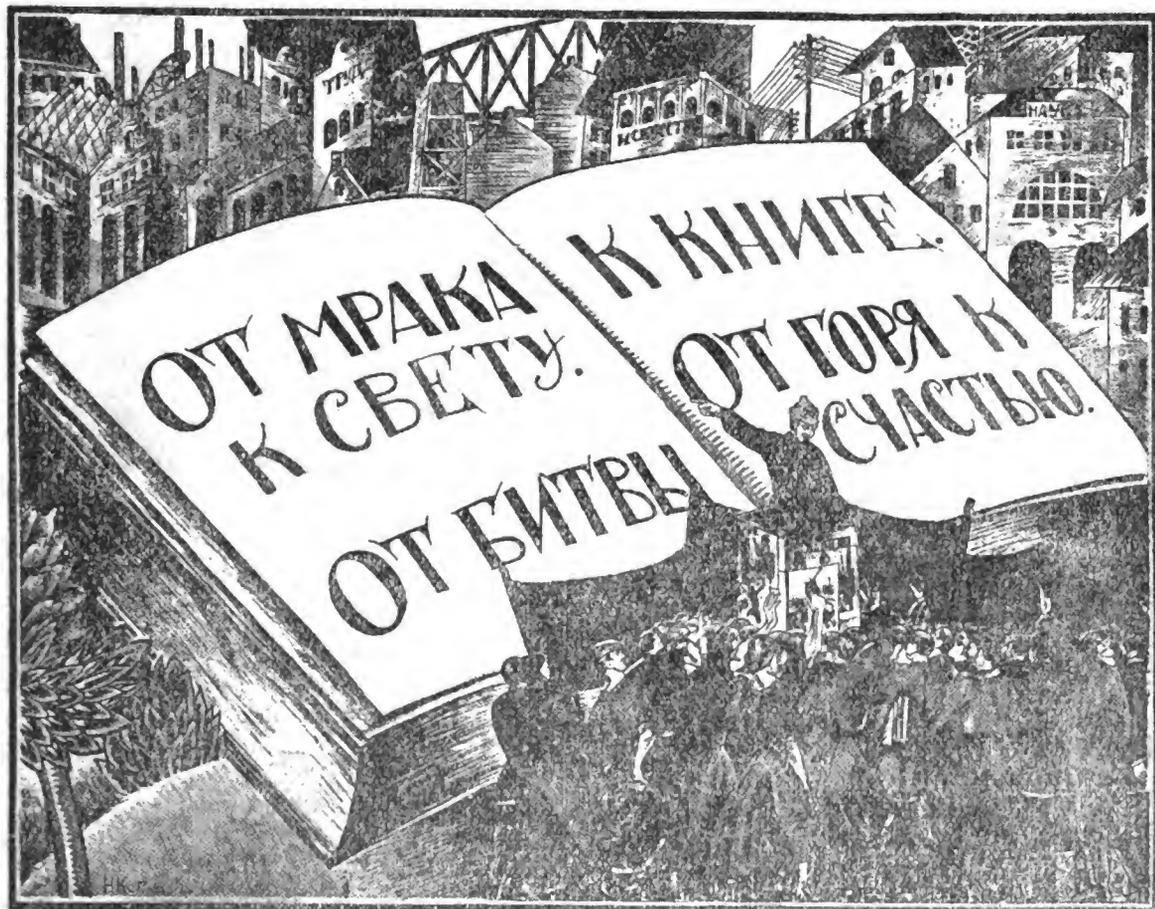
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Modes of Economic Organization

By N. BUKHARIN

(This article is taken from "Pravda" of February 8, 1922.)

THE system of economic relations now evolving in our country is commonly called "State Capitalism". But economic conditions with us are so complicated that it would be difficult to comprehend them in a single fixed conception. Nor has the expression "State Capitalism" that significance in economic literature which has recently been given it in our Russian literature. Let us attempt here to get a clear idea of the various kinds of economic life now existing and evolving in our country:

Enterprises of the Proletarian State

We here include all enterprises that have been nationalized by the Proletarian State. These are state monopolies, but by no means state capitalistic monopolies, for in a state capitalistic monopoly the bourgeoisie is the owner of the enterprises. With us, on the other hand, the working class is the owner of the nationalized enterprises, and as the character of the production methods is determined by property relations, it is clear that the technical term "state capitalistic enterprise" cannot be applied to an establishment that is owned by the working class. On the other hand, such an enterprise is not yet a socialistic production unit in the proper sense of the word. The conception of "socialistic economy" presupposes a strictly applied planfulness throughout the whole economic process, while in our country, especially under the new economic policy, the element of planfulness lags far behind that of adaptation to the general market for commodities.

A capitalistic form of business management ("production on a paying basis", production for the commodity market, etc.) is not sufficient to make an enterprise a capitalist enterprise, in the sense of capitalist ownership.

Enterprises of Mixed Type

To this class belong enterprises in which the State appears as an owner together with capitalist groups. In the so-called mixed enterprises a portion of the shares belongs to the Proletarian State, while the rest belongs to foreign or Russian capitalists. It is quite clear that enterprises of this type are not state capitalistic enterprises, nor can they be considered as purely proletarian establishments. The owners in this case are both the workers and the capitalists. The surplus value created in these enterprises goes partly into the pockets of the Workers' State and partly into those of the capitalistic partners. In the general evolution of economic life there will ensue a constant conflict of control within any specific enterprise, and as the economic power of the proletariat increases, the share owned by the capitalist groups will be pushed more and more into the background. The Proletarian State will determine the course

of affairs in increasing measure, and will conduct them in the same manner as, for instance, the great banks and trusts conduct a number of stock corporations in a capitalistic state.

Concessioned Enterprises and Leases

In these establishments the property relation is the following: the Workers' State is here the owner, but not the complete owner, as the concessionaire, as well as the lessee, invests production devices of his own in the production process, by himself importing machinery, constructing new factory buildings, obtaining production tools. In the majority of these cases the initial capital will be the property of the Workers' State. Surplus value obtained in these establishments will be divided into two parts, and the class struggle proceeding within the enterprises will find its expression in the relative size of these fractions of the surplus value.

Private Capitalistic Enterprises Controlled by the Proletarian State

To this class belong all capitalistic enterprises in the proper sense of the word, in other words, enterprises whose owners are limited to capitalist groups or individual capitalist entrepreneurs. The development of these establishments will be regulated more or less from the outside: by the State Bank, the credit system, money circulation, the laws of the Proletarian State, etc.

Petty Bourgeois Economy and its Organizations

These embrace the establishments of the small producers, home workers, arts and crafts, and peasants, who are the best soil for the development of purely bourgeois capitalist conditions. These are the fundamental forms of economic life as we meet with them in the Soviet Republic.

A very important question must here be touched upon. The entire system of economic relations in Russia is considered as a whole, to which the great capitalistic organizations are opposed on the world market. This confronts us with the following question: Conditions on the world market may come to a point where a certain portion of the surplus value created by the Russian national economy flows in one form or another into the pockets of the foreign bourgeoisie (payments to foreign States, losses in international commodity exchange due to the weakness of our social-economic situation, etc.).* This circumstance, a result of Russia's as yet weak position in world economy, is by no means a proof of the capitalistic character of our national industry. This circumstance is only another indication that the process

*It thus appears that even enterprises exclusively controlled by the workers produce a portion of surplus value that escapes the working class.

of our economic development is simultaneously a characteristic process of class struggle. Within Russia this struggle takes the shape of competition between national and private enterprise, the shape of a struggle for better conditions in concessions and leaseholds, etc. In the field of world economy this struggle assumes the form of a struggle for better, more advantageous conditions in trade agreements, loans, etc. In the evolution of economic life an increase of that portion of the surplus value that goes to the Proletarian State is inevitable.

The economic literature of Western Europe considers "State Capitalism" to be the highest stage in the development of capitalism, the stage at which all production instruments have been concentrated in the hands of the bourgeois State, which is the most perfect and powerful organization of the capitalist class. As may be seen from the above, our State Capitalism is of an entirely different character. Our economic system may become "true" state capitalism if we reach the point

where in the course of the class struggle, both in the field of the process of production, as well as in the field of political relations, the power of command drops out of the hands of the working class. But if this great historical antagonism is decided in favor of the proletariat, it will transpire that the capitalist groups will have played in our economic life only the part of capitalistic specialists, serving the working class against their own will and their own desires. The variety of economic types in Russia is a fact in our economic life that may not be neglected. For this reason, we must pay particular attention, in estimating the functions of the trade unions in the new economic policy, to the varied inner construction of our national economy. It is self-evident that the tasks and methods of work of our trade unions will have to adapt themselves to the types of these economic forms. The grading of the economic types will determine the nature of the tasks, the forms of organization and the methods of work, of the trade unions.

The Changed World Situation

BY LEON TROTSKY.

(Conclusion)

(The date affixed to the book from which this series of articles is taken is August 19, 1921. This explains the reference to the Third Congress of the Third International in the last line of this concluding instalment.)

IMMEDIATELY after the war the bourgeoisie had lost its head and was scared out of its wits, for the workers, particularly those returning from the front, were disposed to be very exacting. The working class as a whole, however, had lost its bearings, did not know precisely how life would shape itself after the war, what they should ask for and how, what path they should pursue. Their movements, as we have already seen, took an extremely turbulent course, but there was no firm guidance for the working class as a whole. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie condescended to make great concessions. It continued the financial and economic methods of the war period (loans, money issues, bread subsidies, feeding the unemployed, etc., etc.). In other words, the bourgeoisie in power continued its work of destroying the economic foundation and shattering the equilibrium of production and finances more and more, in order to be able to maintain class equilibrium during the gravest period. This process has up to the present been more or less effective.

The bourgeoisie is now attacking the problem of restoring the economic equilibrium. It is now faced not with temporary concessions and alms to the working class, but with measures of a fundamental nature. The disorganized production appa-

ratus and the normal condition of the rate of exchange must be restored.

To restore the production apparatus means to cut down the work devoted to the manufacture of consumption commodities, and to increase the production of machinery. The accumulation must be increased, i. e., the intensity of labor must be enhanced and wages reduced.

To reestablish the normal rate of exchange, it would be necessary not only to annul debts, but also to improve the trade balance, i. e., to import less and export more. This would mean to consume less and produce more, i. e., it would be equivalent to another reduction in wages and an increase in the intensity of labor.

Every step that aims to rehabilitate the capitalist economy is connected with an increased intensity of exploitation and therefore must needs encounter the resistance of the working class. In other words, every effort of the bourgeoisie to restore the equilibrium of production, of distribution, of national finances, will inevitably disturb the unstable equilibrium of the working masses. While the bourgeoisie for two years, during the recent war, was guided chiefly in its economic policy by the desire to pacify the proletariat, even though it be at the price of a further destruction of the economic system, it now has begun, at a moment of most un-

paralleled crisis, to improve the economic situation by an ever increasing pressure on the working class.

England is perhaps the clearest example of the extent to which this pressure produces resistance. And the resistance of the working class destroys the stability of the economic system and renders all talk of rehabilitating the equilibrium a mere empty sound. To be sure, the struggle of the proletariat for power has been somewhat prolonged. This struggle has not been an uninterrupted storm attack. It has not presented the aspect of progressively increasing waves, the last of which would wash away the capitalist system.

In this struggle we observe both a rise and a descent, both offense and defense, in short, our class manoeuvres are by no means always very skilful. There are two causes for this. In the first place, the weakness of the Communist Parties that arose after the war, without the necessary experience, without the necessary mechanism, without sufficient influence and without—and this is the most important point—a sufficient understanding for the working masses. In this matter we have at any rate made some progress in the last few years. The Communist Parties have been gaining in strength and maturity. The second cause of the protracted and uneven character of the struggle is the heterogeneous composition of the working class itself, as it emerged from the war.

The labor bureaucracy of the trade unions, parties and parliaments, was least adversely affected by the war. The capitalist governments of all countries devoted much intelligence and care to this upper crust, for they understand that they would not succeed, without this upper crust, in bridling the working class during the years of blood. The labor bureaucracy was granted all sorts of privileges and issued forth from the war equipped with all those habits of obtuse conservatism with which it had entered the war, but it had been more compromised, and more closely united with the capitalist state. The skilled workers of the older generation, accustomed to their trade union and party organizations, remain for the most part, particularly in Germany, as supports of the labor bureaucracy, but their stability is not for all time. The workers who have passed through the school of the war have given the masses a new mentality, new habits, a new attitude to the questions of struggle, of life and of death. They are ready to solve questions by force. But they have learned in warfare that the application of force promises no success unless accompanied by proper tactics and strategy. These elements will go into battle, but they demand a firm guidance and a serious preparation. Many backward sections among the workers, including the working women, whose number increased enormously during the war, have now, as a consequence of the abrupt change in their conscious-

ness, become the most intrepid, if not always the most experienced section of the working class. On the extreme left wing we must finally record the working youth, who grew up in the war, the thunder of battle and revolutionary convulsions in their ears, and for whom a significant role is reserved in the impending encounter.

This numerically greatly increased proletarian mass of old and juvenile workers, workers from the rear and workers from the line of fire, all this million-headed mass does not pass through the school of revolution with equal swiftness or at the same period.

This was apparent once more from the example of the March events in Germany, when the workers of Central Germany, before the war the most backward element, rushed into battle in March without asking whether it promised victory, while the Berlin and Saxon workers, who had gathered more experience in the course of the revolutionary struggles, had become more cautious.

The general course of the struggle, and particularly the present offensive of capital, are decidedly calculated to cement together all the sections of the working class, with the exception of the privileged upper group. The Communist Party is more and more acquiring the possibility of bringing about a true united front of the working class.

Immediate Prospects and Tasks

The revolution springs from three sources, which are related with each other.

The first source of revolution is the decline of Europe. The equilibrium of classes in Europe was based primarily on the dominant position of England in the world market. This dominant position is now finally and irrevocably lost. Thence result mighty revolutionary disturbances, which may end either in the victory of the proletariat or the complete decay of Europe.

The second source of the revolutionary struggle is in the abrupt convulsions of the entire economic organism of the United States, the unheard of boom brought about by the European war, and the ugly crisis which resulted from the lasting consequences of this war. The revolutionary development of the American proletariat may under these circumstances assume a speed just as unparalleled in history as was that of the economic development of the United States in the last few years.

The third source of the revolutionary struggle is the industrialization of the colonies, particularly India. The foundation of the struggle for liberation of the colonies is the peasant mass. But their struggle requires leadership. This leadership was furnished by the native bourgeoisie. The latter struggled against the rule of foreign imperialism, but could not do so persistently or energetically, as the native bourgeoisie, itself closely allied with foreign capital, is necessarily in a certain sense the agent of the latter. Not until a rather

numerous and militant native proletariat has been created, can we have any real kernel for revolution. The movement for freedom in the colonies is of course, if we consider the numerical strength of the Indian proletariat, relatively weak; but anyone who has grasped the meaning and the history of the revolution in Russia will surely be ready to say that the revolutionary role of the proletariat in the countries of the East will be much greater than its numerical strength. This is true not only of the purely colonial countries, such as India, and the semi-colonies, such as China, but also of Japan, where the capitalist oppression goes hand in hand with a caste absolutism of feudal and bureaucratic character.

The world situation and the prospects for the future are therefore profoundly revolutionary.

When the bourgeoisie resorted to giving alms to the working class, the opportunists assiduously transformed these alms into reforms (eight hour day, unemployment insurance, etc.) and proclaimed over the ruins a new era of reformism. Now the bourgeoisie has gone over to a counter-offensive all along the line, and even the *London Times*, an arch-capitalistic organ, speaks with tremors of fear of the "irreconcilables" of capitalism. The present epoch is an epoch of counter-reformism. The English pacifist, Norman Angell, said war was a miscalculation, and the experience of the last war has really shown that it was a false calculation so far as bookkeeping is concerned. After the war it looked as if a triumph of pacifism were to ensue, of which the League of Nations was to be the expression; now we see that all hopes in pacifism were misplaced. Never has capitalist humanity been preparing so furiously for new wars as now. The illusions of democracy are being dissipated even in the most conservative sections of the working class. A short time ago the only thing that could be contrasted with democracy was the dictatorship of the proletariat, with its Terror, its "Extraordinary Commissions," etc., etc. Now very many forms of class struggle are being declared and denounced as being in contrast with democracy. Lloyd George proposed to the miners to apply to the Parliament and declared their strike to be a violation of the popular will.

Under the Hohenzollerns the German workers generally knew what was permitted and what was not permitted. In the Republic of Ebert, the striking worker is always in danger of being cut down without ceremony in the street or in the police station.

The Ebert democracy has about the same value for the German workers as their high pay in worthless paper.

The task of the Communist Party consists in grasping as a whole the resulting situation and in actively entering the struggle of the working class,

in order to conquer the majority of the working class on the basis of this struggle. *When the situation in one country or other becomes extraordinarily grave, matters must be put categorically and forms of struggle must be assumed in accordance with the facts.* But if the course of events is to take a more planful shape, we must make use of all possibilities *to win over the majority of the working class by the time decisive events occur.*

In the present defensive on the economic field caused by the crisis, the Communists must participate most actively in all trade unions, all strikes, all actions; they must observe an internal connection in all their work and always come out as the most determined and disciplined section of the working class. As the crisis and the political situation develop, our economic defensive may extend, embracing more and more sections of the working class, of the population, and of the army of unemployed, may take the form of a revolutionary offensive at a certain stage, and end in victory. This must be the goal of our efforts.

But if this crisis should be relieved by an improvement in the industrial situation, would this mean that the revolutionary struggle must be abandoned indefinitely?

All my remarks have shown that the new boom, which can certainly not be very long or very deep, will by no means amount to an abandonment of the revolutionary development. The industrial boom of 1848-1851 held up the revolution only for the reason that the revolution of 1848 really resulted merely in extending the framework of capitalist development. As for the events of 1914-1921, they did not extend the framework of the world market, but emphatically limited it, and therefore the trend of capitalist development in the near future will, on the whole, be downward. Under these circumstances, the temporary boom can only strengthen the class consciousness of the workers, serry their ranks in the industrial enterprises as well as in the struggle, and give impetus not only to the economic counter-offensive, but also to the revolutionary struggle for power.

The situation is becoming more favorable for us, but also extremely complicated. We shall not achieve victory automatically. The enemy is losing the ground under his feet, but he is strong, he has a keen eye for our weak spots, he manoeuvres skilfully, and is always guided by cold deliberation. We must learn much from the experience of our struggles during these three years, particularly from our mistakes and failures. The civil war demands a political, tactical and strategical system of manoeuvres, demands the consideration of every possible situation, of the strong and the weak points of the enemy, a combination of enthusiasm and cold calculation, not only the ability to attack, but also a readiness to beat a retreat, in order to gather one's forces for an all the more conclusive blow.

As I have said, the world situation and the prospects for the future are extremely revolutionary. This will produce the necessary conditions for our victory, but a sure guarantee can be afforded only by our own skilful tactics and firm organization.

To raise the workers' movement to a higher plane, to strengthen it tactically—that is the fundamental task of the Third Congress of the Communist International.

Moscow, August 19, 1921.

Soviet Russia and Sweden

By ZETH HÖGLUND

(The commercial agreement signed between Sweden and Soviet Russia on March 1 is printed elsewhere in this issue. A few days after it was signed, and before its ratification by the Swedish Government, the "Folkets Dagblad Politiken", a radical daily in Stockholm, printed the following interesting article from the pen of its editor on the general subject of the relations between the two countries.)

THE Russian-Swedish Commercial Agreement, for which the Government on Saturday asked the approval of the Parliament, is a much less extensive document than was desirable from the standpoint of the interests of Swedish industry. This is pointed out by the Minister of Commerce himself in his statement to the Cabinet that it was "a preliminary and scanty regulation of fundamental commercial relations", and in truth it may hardly be considered as more than that. It does not include a legal recognition of Soviet Russia and does not prepare the way for the credits by which we might have profited greatly from such an agreement. The cause for this is that the Swedish Government—which in principle appears to have no objections to this idea—had united with its desire to meet the Russian Government half way a demand that a granting of credits should be accompanied with a binding undertaking to place orders, and that the claims of the Swedish State and of private Swedish citizens on the Russian State should be "satisfactorily" regulated. It was impossible to arrive at an agreement on this point, since from the Russian side it was of course pointed out that the question of compensation was of international character and could not be settled with each country specifically, the more in view of the proximity of the Genoa Conference, at which this question was expected to be treated together with others.

The negotiations therefore were limited to securing a preliminary agreement with provisions calculated to fix a fundamental method, in view of existing conditions, for continued and if possible extended commercial relations between the two countries. The provisions are of two kinds, partly such as regulate the official representations of each government in the other country, partly such as aim at regulating and facilitating commercial exchanges. In the first connection, the proposed agreement follows the Norwegian Agreement* very closely. Each country is to have the right to send

an official representative to the other country, who is to enjoy the rights and special privileges required for guarding the interests of his country and its citizens. In certain respects, though not in all, he is to be considered as the equal of a diplomatic Minister. The Swedish Government further obligates itself to consider the representative of the Soviet Government in Sweden as the only official representative of the Russian nation in this country. The representatives shall have the right to the assistance of secretaries, commercial attachés, etc., until a treaty is signed, for which negotiations are to be made.

As to commercial exchanges, the two governments undertake to encourage commerce between their countries in every way and not to apply any discrimination against the other party between trade with it and trade with any other country. A certain clause provides that citizens from each country shall have the right to enter the other country for carrying on trade, in accordance with the regulations in force in that country on the subject of foreigners, and observing full reciprocity. In this respect the proposed treaty differs from all the other important agreements made by Russia with other countries, which provide only for an exchange of trade delegations.

In spite of the provisional character of the Agreement, we must express our concurrence in the opinion of the Swedish Minister of Commerce when he says, speaking from the standpoint of Swedish interests, that it is to be preferred to the present treatyless condition: "In a number of respects it provides more favorable conditions than those hitherto existing, for the continuance of commercial exchanges between Sweden and Russia. It furthermore affords a prospect for Swedes to resume or to take up economic activity in Russia, in so far as the internal conditions of that country may permit. On the other hand it in no way lessens the possibilities of a satisfactory solution of the questions that have thus far not been regulated in connection with this point." But we cannot help observing that the Swedish Government should have strengthened the actual recognition of the

*Trade Agreement between Russia and Norway, signed September 2, printed in SOVIET RUSSIA, November, 1921, pp. 223-225.

Soviet Government, which is involved in the Agreement, by adding a legal recognition, and that the failure to take this frank and final step is a contemptible concession to the outcry that has been raised in the bourgeois press. Similarly, the question of credits should not have been joined with the more or less dubious claims that individual Swedes pretend to have on Russia—it should never be forgotten that Russia also may have a right to ask indemnities from Sweden for its participation in the blockade, and this possibility makes it somewhat uncertain whether the Swedish capitalists will have to collect or pay out the difference between the two claims.

The Government obviously, in spite of the restraint it has put upon itself in this matter, must be ready to meet a powerful resistance to the Agreement in the Parliament, if we are to judge from the attitude of the bourgeois press of Stockholm. In these papers there is a general effort to represent the agreement as particularly unfavorable to Sweden, in fact, as positively dangerous politically, since it is to be the occasion for a mighty "flood of immigration from the East". Such terrible visions harrass *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*,* whose bad conscience keeps them in constant terror of the revolution. They can hardly be blamed for this, for they have many flagrant sins to live down, but it is altogether unexplainable how the modest Trade Agreement may accelerate this catastrophe. It might rather operate in the contrary direction, by contributing in some measure, through its results, to diminish the unparalleled unemployment in this country, which would surely be a far more powerful element in a revolution than those Russian Bolsheviks who might, by the terms of this Treaty, be able to smuggle themselves into the country and carry on their fiendish work, in spite of the watchful eye of the Swedish police.

But it is not difficult to see what is really at the bottom of these fears. The bourgeois parties are preparing a united action against the Government† and the working class on the unemployment question. It is therefore naturally considered opportune to advance to the tune of a patriotic cannonade, which may have more effect on hesitating souls than the struggle to starve out the unemployed and crush the trade unions. The Trade Agreement with Russia is therefore made to serve, on the basis of the internal political situation, as material for the bourgeois parties to raise a Bolshevik and patriotic scare, so that the more unattached sections of the population may be reconciled to the impending general attack for the overthrow of the Government. It is not a bad calculation. But it may nevertheless transpire that the reckoning has been made without the host, for the Swedish working class may yet appear to have something to say

on this situation when the hour strikes, and if the Government should require its aid in defense of the interests of the working class, its aid will surely be forthcoming.

ART OBJECTS IN FOREIGN MARKETS

By F. CHUCHIN

This article is taken from "Zritel" (The Observer), Moscow, a new weekly (issue of January 15, 1922). Some of the illustrations printed with the article will be reproduced in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

During the comparatively short period of "peace", the Soviet Republic has enriched its national museums with a great number of first class objects of art of great rarity and historical value, unique in their kind. The number of museums was greatly increased and the government was able, without loss to itself, to set aside many objects in order to sell them abroad, on the foreign art market, in order to obtain articles needed by the country, such as agricultural machinery and implements, foodstuffs, etc.

At present, the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, which holds the monopoly for the foreign trade of the whole country, is fully able to begin supplying the foreign market with art objects of Russian origin having historical value, and thus at least partly to fill the important gap in the world trade in art objects which was brought about when Soviet Russia was artificially isolated by the Entente powers. For this purpose, in order to enable the purchaser to examine the articles on the spot, the Commissariat in question is organizing central storehouses in Petrograd and Moscow for the exhibition of objects of art of historical value, and is preparing illustrated catalogs for publication.

The creation of a state fund from the export of objects of art of historical value, as well as articles of luxury, is being conducted under the auspices of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, not only on the territory of Russia but also on that of the autonomous Soviet Republics federated with her. The near future will show the results of this activity.

BUSTS OF LENIN AND TROTSKY,

the work of Clare Sheridan, have been reproduced in plaster of Paris with the artist's permission. Orders for the Lenin bust (large size) should be accompanied by remittance of three dollars; for the Trotsky bust, two dollars.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Art Department 201 West 13th Street,
New York City

*Stockholm dailies.

†The Swedish Cabinet is headed by the Right Wing Socialist, Hjalmar Branting.

“ R a s s e y a ”

By L. SOSNOVSKY.

(Conclusion)

The following account of actual happenings in provincial Russian communities is taken from a recent issue of "Pravda". "Rasseyaya" is the illiterate peasant way of pronouncing and writing "Rossiya"—Russia.

“OF course, of course... They have been cultivating it for three years. The soil there is thoroughly cultivated. And the discipline there is severe. It happened that one day one of the fellow-workers did not come out to work the garden, and forthwith she was deprived of her part in the crop.”

“You know they have a very good kitchen-garden committee. The chairman is the Artillery General Lau. He turned out to be a first-class gardener—just like a professor. And he maintains discipline. In general he has shown great capabilities. He is also a locksmith, a carpenter, a shoemaker.... When in official business he has to go to Moscow, he always takes with him a kind of collapsible sleigh which he has manufactured himself. He puts it all together in a stick. And in Moscow he converts it into a sleigh, puts on it his luggage and a few poods of firewood and pulls it across Moscow to the home of his sister.

“I tried the following experiment: I planted the potatoes one yard deep. They said the crop would be extraordinary. I am still waiting.”

“The manure is of great importance....”

“Yes, the manure,” languidly sighed the little lady and gave herself up to reveries.....

In former days I traveled considerably all over Russia, I listened to many conversations between little ladies and elegant officers, but they were never about manure or kitchen-gardens.

And on the outskirts of Kaluga I witnessed an unforgettable living picture. A gay sunny day. On both sides of the macadam road, there is a motley crowd of people busying themselves like ants around the vegetable beds.

You see, all this mixed company are Soviet workers. Songs, shouts, jokes. Colored jackets and scarfs. Further on the color of khaki—the Provincial Military Command. And over there, people blackened by dust and dirt—printers and bricklayers.

The whole field was speckled and dark with its many workers. There was a confused sound of songs, shouts and jokes. The people were digging potatoes, the crop of which was very fine.

It was not a common landscape.

Let us return to the “rulers” of the province. One could say: it is not of importance that they are peasants. But what masters do they make? I assert that these masters are not worse, but better, than the old ones.

The old masters ruled for decades and longer. They had more experience and were also better pre-

pared. The new ones have been at the helm for four years only, and what years they have been!

On the occasion of the third anniversary of the November Revolution there was published at Kaluga a memorial volume under the title “After Three Years.” The book includes some excellent photographs.

The first photograph represents the Council of People’s Commissars of Kaluga. There was such a thing in Kaluga too. The first lisping of the Soviet Government authority.

The second picture represents the entire party organization of Kaluga. It could all find place in one single photograph.

Then come three pictures. The first, the second and the third Communist detachment are departing from Kaluga to the civil war front. And every one of these detachments is more numerous than the organization that originated it. Just as with the mythical Hydra: chop one head off and ten new ones will grow in its place. There are very few workers in the Province of Kaluga. For the most part they were peasants who had left their villages—the village of Rosa Luxemburg and of the Dekabrist. Is it astonishing that the citizens of the village of Rosa Luxemburg of the International County should have some idea of the Communist International, under the banners of which their sons were fighting?

There has not yet been time to introduce a business management. But they have made a beginning, a pretty good beginning. They have greatly extended the telephone system as compared with the times of Trubetskoy and Gorchakov, as well as the electrical power station. The latter was an interesting problem.

The inhabitants of Kaluga had already given up in despair the hope to receive equipment for their station, through the regular channels. “Moscow does not believe in tears.” But all of a sudden there appeared a brisk, sly individual, who promised them, without any trouble, for ready money, to deliver the equipment directly into the yard of the electrical station.

“But where will you get it?”

“That is my secret. But I will tell it to you if you won’t tell the Cheka. It is from the City of N. There are plenty of these things there; why should they lie around idle there? It is better if they will furnish light to Kaluga.”

And he delivered the goods.

The inhabitants of Kaluga repaired the water-supply system and stopped the loss of water. The

little workshops that had shut down were again started. The home industries that had fallen into decay are reviving again. But they are more concerned with the fate of agriculture.

This is the situation. But everybody knows that according to statistical data harmful insects each year destroy about one-third of the crop. The old masters conducted the struggle against this evil in a homeopathic manner, just for make believe.

The new masters took up the work in a serious, scientific manner. Among the Wrangel officers who had been taken prisoners and sent to the concentration camp of Kaluga, there was a learned entomologist. The cobbler Dyudin (in charge of the Department of Agriculture) took him out of that place, warmed him up, handed him new clothing, and gave him a chance to work. They found a big house and made all the necessary arrangements for organizing a "station for the protection of plants against harmful insects."

When I was invited to look over this child of Kalugan Bolveshism, I made an exclamation of surprise. An astonishingly rich collection of material. A real museum. I am sure that even in Moscow, in the Provincial Department of Agriculture, this branch has not been organized so well. They say that in Moscow the "station" is housed in a few small rooms. And in Kaluga they have provided a big house for this purpose. And their plans, developed by the entomologist, are very far reaching: to create an entire system of such outposts against the enemies of the grain.

This is a symptom of their serious attitude towards agriculture. Moreover, the inhabitants of Kaluga are at present very much interested in improving horse-breeding.

With what pride they took me to the enclosure in which they had collected the best thorough-bred horses, outside the agricultural exhibit!

They led out one horse after another and the members of the Provincial Executive Committee gave the description and pedigree of each one. They spoke of the horses with emotion and affection.

"Here is our Soviet child," as a fine-looking young stallion was pointed out.

In the "Hermitage of St. Tikhon", a former nest of "black ravens",* a disgusting den of revels and dissipations, there was organized a stud-farm for horses, managed by a Communist working man. And there are many such establishments.

The agricultural exhibition, the first since the revolution, was very successful. In the course of one week it was visited by 85,000 persons. (The exhibition of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, held not long ago in Moscow, had fewer visitors). The former exhibitions held in Kaluga had, according to my investigations, not more than

3,000 visitors. The exhibition was accompanied by energetic agricultural propaganda.

I saw in the provinces a few splendidly organized agricultural communes and soviet farms.

In general, the presence of a good manager is felt in the provinces. There is no doubt about that. And it must be said that at present it is much harder to rule the provinces than before. Neither the Governor, nor the Zemstvo chairman, nor the Mayor, ever had the time to supervise such a number of factories, works, stores, agricultural and other enterprises.

You need only to have a talk in Kaluga with the present "governor"—the baker Samsonov. He will expound to you the plan by which he intends steadily and gradually to raise the entire economic life of the province, without leasing anything, and exclusively on the basis of local means and the necessary money advance (for the first half year) from the capital. Out of the surplus obtained from the match factory, he established a paper-mill, later on a glass factory, etc.

It must be pointed out that before the Revolution Kaluga had been going downhill industrially and commercially.

"The nineteenth century was characterized in the history of Kaluga by a gradual decay of industry and by a slow economic dying of the city" (*Kaluga, sketch of an historical guide to Kaluga, 1912, pages 46-51*).

Hardly any manufacturing of finished products at present goes on at Kaluga. The grain and timber trade have moved to other places. The transit of goods and cattle from the eastern and southern provinces has ceased. "As a result the city is quiet, and has become poorer and poorer." (Ib. p. 51).

This was the inheritance that the new Russia received from the old masters.

Four years of strenuous work without respite, in an atmosphere of desperate struggle.

The old governor and Zemstvo officials would have perished after two or three years of such work. For them a Sunday was always a Sunday. And they had to spend the summer either on their landed estates, or in the health resorts, or abroad. And the week day evenings they spent in clubs or at home over the green table, gambling and drinking.

But the present "governor" and "Zemstvo chairman" cannot relax even on a holiday: he must make a trip to some village, hold meetings, explain matters. And when the summer comes, matters do not become easier for that. There is the sowing campaign, the grain tax, the three fuel weeks, the navigation campaign. (By the way, during the present year the inhabitants of Kaluga used the river Oka for rafting timber, a thing that had not been practised for a long time, and the results were very good.) Thus there is no rest even in summer.

After all, to what "estate" would the present governor go for the summer? In the village where

*A popular Russian nickname for hold-up men.

he was born his hut has gone to pieces, his family is starving, and he is unable to help them—so it is better for him to stay away. The neighbors sneer at the family: "Well, why doesn't he help you to buy a little horse? After all, isn't he the government? The most important man in the province!"

And at home they sometimes suppress a tear: "Other people succeed in improving their little farm; but we have nobody. . . ."

This is how the new Russia and its government lives and works.

We are living in the very thick of life and have no opportunity merely to look on. What has changed in the last four years? Everything around us has greatly changed.

It will not be possible to drive provincial Russia back to the old stable. Let Prince Golitsyn stop thinking of his old ancestral linden trees, on which he threatens to hang the Communists of Kaluga. The linden trees will blossom just as well without him. Except that it is now a little gayer under the linden trees. The youth of Kaluga enjoy life there, and the village of Rosa Luxemburg organizes meetings and sociables under the linden trees, a thing which under the old masters could not even be dreamed of.

I can foretell his destiny to Prince Golitsyn. He will perish somewhere in the gutter, after he has eaten up his last resources, abandoned even by his children. For the young princely generation will go back to Russia, they will obtain pardon from the baker Samsonov and the cobbler Dyudin and they will be accepted as members of the Commune "The Red Little Town", where the Golitsyns were born. The muzhiks of Kaluga are good-natured people, not like their princes. They will forgive the old wrongs, and will not hang anybody for the age-long oppression. "Work, Comrade Golitsyn, earn a piece of bread".

The longing and the anguish of the Golitsyns may be felt from their papers published abroad. We see there heart-stirring verses such as this:

"The dust of Moscow on the band of an old hat". . . .

With tears of emotion the poet, while staying in Paris, looks at the remnants of the "dust of Moscow," all that remains of the things he carried away. All the rest is gone to decay. He feels himself attracted toward the earth of Moscow. He will not hold out, he will come back repentant and will kiss and cover with hot tears this earth that has assumed a new face, in torments and sufferings.

Dear Russia, the land of the Dyudins and Samsonovs who were born in the village of Pestilence and at present live in the village of the Dekabristes and the village of Rosa Luxemburg!

Accept now, at the fourth anniversary of your life, a tender greeting from your sons, the fighters for your liberation!

SCIENCE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(An interview with Prof. Pokrovsky, Aid to Lunacharsky, on the Present State of Scientific Institutions in Soviet Russia.)

The principal difficulties of the scientific institutions are due to the lack of scientific books, materials, chemical reagents, and biological specimens, which Russia always obtained from abroad, even before the war. The communications with scientific circles abroad, interrupted by the war, are gradually being restored. The exchange of scientific personnel is being carried on only in individual cases, but here also much is to be done in the near future. In spite of all the material difficulties, scientific work is still proceeding in Russia, not only in the sense that old problems are still being worked on, but that great scientific organizations are still being created. The last Soviet Exposition included exhibits of the results of the first expedition of the Floating Marine Observatory, which was stationed on the steamer Maligin, on the shores of Novaya Zemlya, and which made cruises in the Kara Sea, accompanied by the hydrobiologist Sternov, and the ichthyologist Soldatov. The expedition obtained much new and very interesting biological material. In the present year a new expedition is planned to Nadi Kobo, for zoological-geological investigations, also a botanical expedition to Surgat Tas, and a zoological expedition to Turkestan. The Geological Society is sending an expedition to the peninsula of Taimir, to work for three years. The expedition to Karabugas Bay for ascertaining the position of Glauber salt deposits, as well as general hydrographic conditions, has not yet finished its work, nor has the meteorological expedition to Siberia. The expedition of Russian astronomers to the Indian Ocean and Australia, to observe the total eclipse of the sun in 1922, which is expected to answer several questions connected with Einstein's theory, is still being planned. On the subject of the activities of scientific institutions, Pokrovsky observes that most of the new scientific establishments are concerned chiefly with the study of specific regions of the Republic, in order to ascertain their productive forces and the ethnographical peculiarities. Among the new institutions, special attention should be given to the Petrograd Röntgen Institute, a model in its field, as well as to the Psycho-Neurological Academy, connected with the Academy of Fine Arts, for formulating the theory and psychology of artistic creation. Scientific publishing houses issue journals and bulletins to make known the work done in the various institutions. In the course of this year a number of congresses will be held, which are to be of great importance for the scientific life of Russia. Russian science has thus not only advanced from its level of the preceding years, but is also blazing new trails. Connections with Western Europe will impart a new and greater intensity of labor to the scientific institutions and the individual scientists.

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
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—•—

Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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G. B. SHAW, in the last play in *Back to Methuselah*, paints a society in which there will be only spiritual interests, where the only things at stake will be to determine whether Newton or Einstein, or—let us say—whether Charles Darwin or Alfred McCann, is right, in a word, where the success of the opposition does not imply the change of the social structure, the reenslavement of millions of people, and the certain death of hundreds of thousands of their champions. Soviet Russia has not yet reached that stage—it is still surrounded by an entire world in arms, ready to attack it at any moment; its strength is undermined by a famine and its population, weakened by the long struggle, is in despair and may give a willing ear to counter-revolutionary adventurers who will promise them bread on condition that they help exterminate the Communists and reestablish the old order with some “democratic” embellishments. It is a situation such as was never faced by any other government, and it may hardly be expected that under the existing circumstances the Russian Government should treat its mortal enemies with the same consideration with which one treats the opponents of one’s theoretical ideas.

But it is exactly this impossible thing that is expected from the Soviet Government. Some papers printed a telegram supposedly sent by Anatole France to Moscow, protesting against the contemplated trial of the Central Committee of the Party of the Social-Revolutionists. And this appeal by a sincere friend of the worker’s republic is taken as the occasion for a vicious and dishonest attack printed in the New York daily organ of the Socialist Party.

Even if the telegram was sent, we should not be too severe with Anatole France. The

greatest living writer, perhaps the most brilliant thinker of modern times, who joined the French Communist Party as a protest against the infamy of the Peace of Versailles and of the intervention in Russia—if he really sent this telegram—would only once more have proved the contention that even the most penetrating mind may be moved at times by sentimental considerations. Anatole France once before exemplified this truth: during the war, notwithstanding all he had said about modern bourgeois civilization and democracy in his *Opinions of Jerome Coignard*, in *Penguin Island*, and elsewhere, he fell for the pro-allied propaganda and sang the praises of “Great Britain, thou who lovest Justice.” He has since thoroughly modified his views, and we are sure that he would never have sent out this appeal, had he known all the facts involved in the case.

The facts in the case were recently disclosed by two of the most prominent members of the “persecuted” party themselves. We are especially referring here to a pamphlet published in Berlin by G. Semionov (Vassiliev), formerly one of the chiefs of the terrorist fighting organization of the Social-Revolutionary Party, entitled “The Military and Fighting (terrorist) Activity of the Party of Social-Revolutionists in 1917-1918,” as well as to the statements made by Lydia Konopleva, also one of the most prominent terrorist organizers of that party (printed in *Novy Mir*, Berlin)

The author of the pamphlet who was undoubtedly a fanatical champion of the bourgeois revolution, and who himself organized the murder of some of the most devoted fighters of the working class, including Volodarsky, has become conscious at last of the bloody and dirty work he has done in the interest of world capitalism and a gang of ambitious and unscrupulous party leaders.

This party, it transpires, was taking money from Russian capitalists and priests, from the German military Command, and from the French Mission in Russia. It organized the murder of Commissar Volodarsky and later repudiated in the press the participation of their party in this act. Before the attempt made on Lenin’s life by Dora Kaplan, they had to promise their “fighters”, who were indignant over their base repudiation of the murder of Comrade Volodarsky, that they would not disclaim the attempt on Lenin—and nevertheless they repudiated it again—for they knew that the Moscow workers would have simply torn to pieces every Social-Revolutionist who would have fallen into their hands. They, who never recognized the “legitimacy”, from the revolutionary point of view, of appropriating money from the Tsar’s treasury, organized armed robberies against the people’s money—and also against private individuals, under the guise of “perquisition”—with the instruction to their adherents, in the case of failure, to represent themselves as common criminals. They received explosives and infernal machines from the French Mission and blew up trains and bridges.

They did all these things—not to speak of their connection with the Czecho-Slovak revolt, and the numerous peasant revolts—and they never gave up their opposition, and seem ready at any moment to combine their fight against the Soviet power with the same “spiritual” means—but the *New York Call* thinks that the Soviet Government has not the right to strike back, to defend its life, in a word, to keep a single political prisoner in its jails. Our idealistic contemporary says in fact:

“But a government that is truly powerful, powerful in the sense of the spirit as well as the letter, that is genuinely dedicated to the democratic ideal. . . . never has a political prisoner, and never has to resort to force and violence to maintain its integrity against minority opinion.”

“Any government in the world, regardless of its traditions, its heroism, or its valor, that has one political prisoner is not a free government. Freedom means freedom, or it doesn’t.”

These passages are really revealing. They seem intended to convey the idea that the leaders of the proletarian revolution had set up the contention that theirs is a “free government” (which is a contradiction in terms)—while as a matter of fact they always emphasized that theirs is an organization of coercion against those who unceasingly, with all the most violent and merciless weapons at their disposal, are endeavoring to bring back the rule of the bourgeoisie. They also seem to contend that the blowing up of trains and bridges, the robbing of public property and the murder of leaders of the Revolution, are simply expressions of “minority opinion”, and for this reason should be exempt from any prosecution. A very “radical” point of view. But we fear the Soviet Government will never become broadminded enough to adopt these views.

* * *

THERE are theories whose adherents are doomed always to obtain the very opposite of the result they aim at. A classical example of such a theory is anarchism. A mixture of a great number of entirely heterogeneous elements—bourgeois individualism with its metaphysical postulate of absolute freedom and complete sovereignty of the individual, primitive communism based on the naive belief in the inherent goodness and generosity of human nature, and proletarian protest against the opportunist, possibilist and bourgeois reformist character of the Socialist parties—*anarchism* has for a long time enjoyed the complimentary if undeserved reputation of being the most irreconcilable enemy of bourgeois society. But its history for the last fifty years, and especially since the November Revolution of 1917, has proved irrefutably that—aside from some individual terroristic protests—*anarchism* was nothing but a propagandist religious sect, not at all concerned with the actual moment, but with the distant future (corresponding to the “Beyond” of the old religions). In Austria and Germany those Anarchists who have not joined the Communists are at present preaching Tolstoyan non-resistance, pacifism and disarmament to the workers; in the Latin countries, they

preach revolution for the pure ideal of anarchy, which they know cannot possibly be realized now, and in America—they are concerned with the bringing up of the new generation, and one of their leading exponents not long ago seriously contended that the founding of one single tiny school of the Ferrer type is of much greater importance for the development of humanity than the much-discussed Russian Revolution. Kropotkin himself, shortly before his death, at a time when the whole world was seething with the possibilities of universal revolution, in one of his letters spoke of the trade unions as destined to be of great importance in the development of the revolutionary movement in the course of the next *fifty* years.

* * *

SO much for the Anarchist of the old style. The new style Anarchists in Russia, who have discarded Anarchy as a mere ideal of the far distant future, and for the last four years, in the face of the allied intervention and civil war, have been endeavoring to destroy the “State”, i.e., the Soviet Government, and establish Anarchism, have in spite of their hatred for all forms of tyranny and oppression, in reality rendered splendid service to the capitalist and imperialist enemies of the workers’ republic. Irreconcilable enemies of every government, they incited the hungry workers of the cities against the Soviet Government because it did not give them enough food, and when the Government through requisitions from the villages endeavored to obtain food, they incited the peasants to revolt against a government that was “robbing them of their grain”.

The dissatisfaction of the peasants with the requisitioning policy of the government (owing to the blockade, the intervention, and the ensuing disorganization of industry, the government was unable to provide the peasants with the necessary manufactured articles) gave the Anarchists of the new style, who were so incessantly raving against the dictatorship, against the Red Army, etc., a chance to put into effect their own theories of government, or rather non-government. In the Ukraine the Anarchist partisan leader Makhno for certain periods held large tracts of territory. And there the Anarchists—under the conditions of incessant war confronting them, as it has confronted the Bolsheviks for the last four years—had to repeat all the things they had combated. They organized an Army, a military dictatorship, an iron discipline, an immovable bureaucracy, even a sort of “Cheka”—but all of course under different names and in an incredibly crude and savage form. True, they abolished courts as far as we know—and substituted for this vestige of the bourgeois past, a summary and bestial execution of every Communist or Communist sympathizer they could lay hands on.

They had still another opportunity to assert their ultra-revolutionary principles, when they took a leading part in the Kroustadt revolt of March, 1921, which, whatever might have been the grievances that caused it, was hailed enthusiastically

by all the Russian and international counter-revolutionists.

* * *

BUT while the Anarchists as a group, harmless dreamers or involuntary counter-revolutionists, in reality are as a rule defeating their own purpose, there are no doubt Anarchists who know very well what they want. These are the ones who in their idealistic youth acquired a certain gruesome notoriety in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, and in their later years, on the strength of their past and the awe inspired by their names—comfortably pursue the lucrative business of radical Chautauqua lecturing—until a fit of governmental hysteria victimizes them again in spite of their complete innocuousness.

It was the tragic fate of Emma Goldman, one of those old time preachers of Salvation Army Anarchism, to be brought face to face with the realities of revolution and civil war. And as these realities necessarily contradicted absolutely the tenets and conceptions of Anarchist sentimentalism, she, as a typical doctrinaire who is interested only in her decrepit little pet theory, does not try to understand the discomforts of the Revolution and to explain its shortcomings, defeats, insufficiencies, humiliations, by the difficult situation brought about by a struggle against an entire world of enemies, amid the ignorance and discouragement of the majority of the population—but puts all guilt squarely on the inefficiency, corruption, and—Marxian theories, of the Bolsheviks. (It is interesting to note that the Mensheviks, Emma Goldman's cousins from the Right, in their hostility towards the Bolsheviks, attribute all the miseries of Russia to the fact that the Bolsheviks have desisted from sound Marxian principles.) And not only does it not occur to her that through her attacks, which are now spread broadcast by the millions, she may deter many a reader from giving his mite for relief work in Russia—but she is certainly also convinced that the capitalist press, which readily opens to her its columns and its money bags, is made of better stuff than the friends of the Russian proletarian revolution, who will place her at the same level with Burtsev, Mrs. Snowden, and Morris Zucker.

A true indication as to what one could expect from Miss Goldman's articles was given by the very first instalment in the *World*. It brought two pictures of the disappointed lady, of which one was taken at a time when she was still comparatively young—let us say twenty years ago—and one taken undoubtedly after she left an American jail, before her deportation. The captions of the pictures read as follows: "About two years ago", "To-day". To-day Miss Goldman looks about twenty years older, and the change is of course attributed to her worries about the Bolshevik "betrayal of the Revolution". Another editorial remark—repeated in the introduction throughout the entire series—has it that she was "barred from several other countries through the influence of

the Bolsheviks", which would denote that the Soviet Government has acquired some power to determine the internal policy of European capitalist countries.

As a whole, the articles are nothing but the old hash of anti-Bolshevist propaganda, warmed up in "anarchist" sauce, and adorned with a rich dressing of inaccuracies, false interpretations, reticences and outright lies. By the way, it is interesting to note how the writer, being an old professional speaker to all kinds of radical and "progressive" bourgeois crowds, almost involuntarily adapts herself to the mentality of the public for which she writes and bemoans the fact that all over Europe, and especially in France, the "cradle of liberty", "the liberties of the people—gained through centuries of struggle—now lie fettered and prostrate" (before Anarchists she once spoke differently of those "liberties"). Or that amusing remark in the second instalment about the Bolshevik "Jesuitic motto that the end justifies all means"—which will probably astonish some of her admirers, who know that for many decades this motto was quite current among Anarchists.

Her first great argument against the Bolsheviks is the "betrayal" of Brest-Litovsk. Russia had practically no army at that time; the German working class, still completely under the influence of the Scheidemanns, refused to turn against its government; America and the other Allies left unanswered all the appeals of the Soviet Government for military assistance; and Lenin, in the face of the complete hopelessness of a further struggle against Germany, advised the conclusion of peace. Even those who opposed him at that time, such as Trotsky and Radek, soon admitted that he was perfectly right. This Miss Goldman calls "making peace with German imperialism over the heads of the German people"—while as a matter of fact the German people had made peace with German imperialism over the head of the Russian Revolution. But who would bother about such trifles! Similarly, what does it matter that Radek, of whom she writes that he was "then in a German prison", was at that time one of the delegates at Brest Litovsk, "kidding" General Hoffmann to white rage, and that he was not jailed in Germany until a year later, having gone to Germany, Miss Goldman would probably say, to betray the German Revolution. The peasantry, according to Miss Goldman, has "neither forgotten nor forgiven this treachery of the Bolsheviks", and this Brest-Litovsk treachery was "the signal for a long open and secret resistance of the peasants to the Bolsheviks". Thus the Russian peasant, who at the time of the German advance during the intermission in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations did not want to fire a single shot, and abandoned hundreds of cannons to the Germans without a struggle, (thereby indirectly forcing the Bolsheviks to sign the treaty with closed eyes), in Emma's historiography is elevated to the height of a revolutionary patriot.

With particular tenderness she bewails the sad lot of the Russian peasant, who, according to her, was "robbed of everything" by the Government. The peasants, she says, "refused to turn over their products to the Government agents. They demanded the right to deal with the workers directly, but it was denied them". Great good it would have done the workers if the peasants had dealt directly with them!—as if the workers could have given them in exchange any manufactured articles which the Government could not give. Or are we to infer that the peasants, being by nature anarchists and altruists, refused to donate their grain to the State, but would have gladly have donated it to the workers, who, owing to the war, the blockade, the general disorganization, had nothing to offer?

In her article on the "Cheka" Miss Goldman makes the interesting revelation that the "majority of the Chekists are from the Czar's Okhrana, from the Black Hundreds, and from the former high officials of the army". And as in the same article she states that the Cheka is "a state over the state"—we are wondering what a psychical change has come over all the Tsarist policemen, spies, and officers, who, being in the majority and at the same time a "state over the state" still hesitate to reintroduce the old system.

We will not dwell upon Miss Goldman's remarks concerning Maria Spiridonova, who—however excellent her character and courage—is a typical hysterical sentimentalist of revolutionary "purity", and would have rather seen the Russian Revolution killed by the German soldiery, or by the starvation of the cities, than accept even temporarily a humiliating peace or admit the forcible requisition of grain from the peasants. This state of mind was characteristically put in the Italian Anarchist daily *Umanita Nuova*, of March 19, by the great veteran of romantic Anarchism, Errico Malatesta, in the following words: "What a glorious memory the Russian Revolution would have bequeathed us, had it been vanquished at a time when it was yet the Revolution, not yet corrupted and stifled by the authoritarian spirit of its rulers".

Nor will we grudge Miss Goldman her religious admiration for Peter Kropotkin, the founder and patriarch of the anarchist church, who in spite of his revolutionary irreconcilability had shown much more tenderness and ardor in the defence of the *bourgeois* "democracies" of the West than in his protests against the strangling of the *proletarian* revolution by those same democracies, and who in all the trials of the Revolution, brought about mainly by the external situation, saw only the evil workings of the Marxian theories and of their conceptions of the state.

Miss Goldman seems to have been greatly moved by the horrors committed by the Extraordinary Commission. To calm her nerves we would advise her to read the recitals of the gentle treatment accorded to captured Bolsheviks by the "White" counter-revolutionists on the one hand and by the Anarchist saviors of the revolution under Makhno

—as described in the diary of Makhno's wife (quoted in Y. Yakovlev's *Russian Anarchism in the Great Russian Revolution*) on the other hand.

As we have already mentioned, the *World* implies that Miss Goldman had been barred from many countries as a result of Bolshevik influence. As far as we know, this influence seems not to be very strong with the present American administration, and we may perhaps hope that in a not distant future we may behold Miss Goldman continuing her useful activity for the saving of the Russian Revolution, here in America, under the auspices of Mr. Pulitzer and with the approval of Mr. Archibald Stevenson.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912 OF SOVIET RUSSIA, published twice a month, at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1922.

State of New York, } ss.
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Jacob W. Hartmann, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Publisher of "Soviet Russia" and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:—

Name of— Post office address—
Publisher: Jacob W. Hartmann, 110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
Editor: Jacob W. Hartmann, 110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Jacob W. Hartmann, 110 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y.
2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

Jacob W. Hartmann, 110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

Sole owner.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)
None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is— (This information is required from daily publications only.)

JACOB W. HARTMANN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of March, 1922.

(Seal)

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Queens County

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Preliminary Agreement Between Russia and Sweden

(The full text of the Treaty is given below. We have received it in the Russian and English versions, with information to the effect that the latter "is regarded as authentic". For this reason we are not making changes in the language of the text, nor in the rather unusual spelling of Kerzhentsev's signature.)

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Royal Swedish Government, being both desirous as soon as circumstances permit definitely to regulate by means of a treaty the economic and political relations between the two countries, have decided—pending the conclusion of such a Treaty—to enter into the following Preliminary Agreement.

Article I.

1. Both Governments agree to grant free admittance to their territories to an Official Representative of the other Government as well as necessary assistants (as secretaries, trade agents, etc.) to a number mutually agreed upon. The Official Representatives shall be nationals of the country they represent.

2. The Official Representatives shall have the right to issue passports, grant visas, legalize documents, and in other respects take care of and defend the interests of their nationals.

3. In the exercise of their functions, the Official Representatives shall enjoy the right of free access to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the country, where they carry on their activity. They shall further be at liberty freely to communicate with their own Government, or with the representatives of their Government in other countries, by post, telegraph and wireless telegraphy, also in cipher, and to receive and dispatch diplomatic couriers with sealed bags, subject to a limitation of 10 kilograms per week, which shall be exempt from examination. Both Governments agree not to refuse transit visas to diplomatic couriers or members of official missions of the other party going via Sweden or Russia, respectively, to other countries and to allow them to carry with them—subject to due control that re-export is effected—their diplomatic bags, which shall be exempt from any examination. The telegrams and radio-telegrams of the Official Representatives shall enjoy any right of priority over private messages that may be generally accorded to messages of official representatives of other foreign governments in both countries, respectively.

4. The Official Representatives as well as their personnel, if they are not nationals of the country where they reside, shall enjoy—within the territory of the other country—such immunity to person, private property, residence and offices as is usually granted to diplomatic representatives and their personnel, in accordance with international law. Furthermore, they are to be exempt from taxation to the same extent as the personnel of other foreign representations. The Official Representatives of both countries will have quality and full power to act in the name of their Government.

5. The Official Representative of the Russian Socialistic Federative Soviet Republic in Sweden should be regarded as the only representative of the Russian State with all consequences deriving therefrom.

6. The Representatives of both countries shall have the right to use the flag and other official emblems, established by the laws of the respective countries.

Article II.

Both parties agree by every means to facilitate trade between the two countries. Such trade shall be carried on in conformity with the legislation in force in each country. They undertake not to exercise any discrimination against such trade as compared with the trade carried on with any other country. The monopolization of foreign trade by any party shall not be regarded by the other party as a reason for imposing any customs duties or claiming any compensation.

Article III.

For the purpose of furthering the commercial relations between the two countries, each party undertakes to grant

admittance to its territory to nationals of the other party for commercial and industrial activities, subject to the existing regulations regarding the admission of foreigners in the respective country and under observance of full reciprocity.

Nationals of the one party who have been admitted to the territory of the other shall have the right to carry on trade or industry, so far as permitted by the existing legislation and with the consent of the competent authorities.

Article IV.

Nationals of one of the contracting parties, having been admitted to the territory of the other for the purpose of trade, shall enjoy the same rights of protection to person and property as other foreigners and be exempt from naval and military service, or service in the militia, or compulsory service, as well as from any contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for such services.

Article V.

The Official Representatives, their assistants, trade agents, etc., and other persons in the service of the one party, having been admitted to the territory of the other party, shall abstain from conducting or supporting any political propaganda on its territory, and from entering into the service of or receiving any commission from the government, firms, or private persons of any other country than their own.

Article VI.

1. Both Governments declare that they will not initiate nor support any steps with a view to attach or take possession of any funds, goods, movable or immovable property or ships, belonging to the other party.

2. Both governments acknowledge each other's right of entering, with legal effect, into every sort of commercial, credit and financial transactions with the other country and with its nationals, within the limits of the laws of the respective country. Both Governments equally acknowledge each other's right to appear, with legal effect, before the courts of the other country as plaintiff and defendant as far as concerns rights and duties, originating after the entering into force of this Agreement, or from an earlier date in cases of legal suits pending for trial at Swedish courts at the moment of entering into force of this Agreement. Writs of summons and other documents shall be considered as duly served on each Government when delivered to a member of the staff of its Official Representation, denominated by the Official Representative, or in the absence of this member to any other member of the staff if not otherwise agreed upon.

3. Property of diplomatic character, belonging to the Russian Government, shall in Sweden enjoy the same rights as the property of other friendly foreign governments.

The Russian Government give a corresponding guaranty as regards diplomatic property, belonging to the Swedish Government.

Article VII.

Funds, goods, movable or immovable property, belonging to the nationals of the one country, lawfully imported into or acquired in the other country—in pursuance of this Agreement—shall not be subject therein—on the part of the Government or of any local authority—either to confiscation or to requisition without fair compensation.

Nationals, societies and firms belonging to one of the parties, shall have the right (subject to observance of the legislation in force) to appear before the courts as plaintiff or defendant and to apply to the authorities of the other party.

Article VIII.

Passports, powers of attorney and other documents, issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country, shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a formally recognized foreign Government.

The Swedish and the Russian Government will not refuse transit visas to Russian and Swedish citizens, respectively, wishing to go via Sweden or Russia to other countries, subject to the existing regulations regarding the transit of foreigners and under observance of full reciprocity.

Article IX.

Russian and Swedish merchant ships, their masters, crews and cargoes shall, in ports of Sweden and Russia, respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, facilities, privileges and protections, which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews and cargoes, visiting their ports, including the facilities, usually accorded in respect of coal and water, berthing, dry docks, cranes, warehouses, repairs and pilotage and generally all services, appliances and premises connected with merchant shipping.

Article X.

Both countries agree to permit the transit of goods from and to the other country in accordance with the laws of the respective countries. Such transit goods may be re-shipped, stored or re-exported in conformity with the regulations of the respective countries. They shall be exempt from customs duties and transit dues to the same extent as transit goods to or from any other country. Nothing in this stipulation, however, shall entitle either party to claim the benefit of special transit agreements made by the other party with any third country.

Article XI.

Swedish subjects staying in Russia, or being admitted into that country after the entering into force of this Agreement, shall be permitted to leave the country, when they so desire. They shall be entitled to import to Russia household goods, intended for their own use, and—when leaving the country—to export such goods, imported after the entering into force of this Agreement.

Article XII.

Each party undertakes when requested to assist to the best of its ability the Official Representative of the other party in finding premises necessary for living and carrying on his work.

Article XIII.

Both parties agree to renew—immediately after the entering into force of this Agreement—regular postal service

between the two countries in conformity with conditions that may be agreed upon between the postal administrations of the two countries.

Article XIV.

No claim may be made in view of the stipulations in this Agreement on any privilege that the Russian Government have accorded, or may accord, to the new boundary States, which constituted parts of the former Russian Empire as it existed January 1, 1917, as long as the same privilege has not been extended to any other country.

Equally no claim may be made on any privileges that the Swedish Government have accorded, or may accord, to Denmark or Norway, or both these countries, as long as the same privilege has not been extended to any other country.

Article XV.

Both parties declare that all claims of either party or of its nationals against the other party, in respect of property or rights or in respect of obligations incurred by the existing or former Government of either country, shall be equitably dealt with in the Treaty referred to in the preamble or in an international arrangement or in any other way mutually agreed upon.

Article XVI.

If either of the parties should wish to terminate the present Agreement such party should give three months notice thereof. In the event of this Agreement being terminated either by notice or mutual agreement, the Official Representatives with their personnel shall be allowed to remain in the country where they have been residing, during a period necessary for the complete winding up of commercial transactions and the disposal or export of the goods belonging to their Governments, such period not to exceed three months after the termination of the Agreement.

Article XVII.

The present Agreement shall be ratified by the Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, and by His Majesty the King of Sweden, subject to the consent of the Riksdag.

The ratifications of the Agreement shall be exchanged at Stockholm as soon as possible and the Agreement shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

Done in duplicate at Stockholm, March 1st, 1922.

P. M. KERGENTZEFF
(I. s.)

C. E. SVENSSON
(L. s.)

SOVIET RUSSIA

MAY DAY ISSUE

The issue of May 1 will contain, among other articles, the following:
ART MUSEUMS UNDER THE PROLETARIAT, by Jacques Mesnil.

The celebrated French critic, who recently visited Russia, sets down the first authoritative observations we have read in this field.

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS, by S. Stepniak. How the Revolutionists Worked in Russia in the days of Tsarism and tyranny.

METEOROLOGICAL CAUSES OF THE FAMINE. A Study of the Scientific Aspects of the Drought, Famine, and Disease in Russia. With several new charts.

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Relief Contributions, March 16-31

The following is a full list of contributions received by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York. Together with the Contribution List that was printed in the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA it includes all amounts received in March, 1922. Although we hope to have fully as large a list of these acknowledgments in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, it will not crowd out other matter to the same extent as in this issue, as the next number will have thirty-two pages, while this has only twenty-four. Abbreviations: R. C. (Contributions received in response to ROLL CALL), F. S. R. (Friends of Soviet Russia), S. T. A. S. R. (Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia).

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4895	E. Werner, New Orleans, La.	2.00	4965	J.P. Jensen, E. Bakersfield, Cal.	1.00	5036	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	1.00
4896	John Masarek, Swisvale, Pa.	5.00	4966	F. S. R. Branch, Two Harbors, Minn.	119.50	5037	Freeman Office, N. Y. C.	2.00
4897	O. Gustafson & Family, Fox Island, Wash.	10.00	4967	F. S. R. Branch, R. C., Reading, Pa.	26.25	5038	Prof. Herman J. Muller, Austin, Tex.	25.00
4898	Henri DeRider, N. Y. C.	5.00	4968	F. S. R. Branch, Battle Creek, Mich.	25.02	5039	U. M. W. of A. No. 2152, Terre Haute, Ind.	25.00
4899	C. M. Sherman, Vallejo, Cal.	5.00	4969	Alex Weas, R. C., Mountain Iron, Minn.	13.65	5040	Geo. T. Partridge, R. C., Rochester, Minn.	21.00
4900	Mary Robinson, Dunkerton, Iowa	8.00	4970	Blas Mesori, R.C., Girard, Kan.	12.75	5041	Zerlina Roefer, Kansas City, Mo.	20.00
4901	Eugenia Hauch, Alameda, Cal.	2.00	4971	Clarence G. Brey, R. C., Boston, 19, Mass.	12.50	5042	Otto Han, Groveland, Cal.	20.00
4902	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	2.00	4972	Frank Schmits, R. C., Albion, Minn.	11.50	5043	Tom Swain, La Jolla, Cal.	15.00
4903	George Mantich, Omaha, Neb.	3.00	4973	C. H. Loehner, R. C., Nelson, B. C., Canada	10.50	5044	Frank Bergman, R. C., Goldfield, Nev.	15.00
4904	J. H. Buttrick, J. Herman, F. Polehas, J. Simkus, Springfield, Ill.	170.00	4974	J.H. Antrobous, Montrose, Col.	3.45	5045	Herman Kats, R. C., Oakland, Cal.	13.00
4905	Lithuanian Workers, Johnston City, Ill.	55.00	4975	A. Kollman, R.C., N.Y.C.	14.25	5046	Hymen Dane, R.C., N.Y.C.	12.00
4906	H. Willman, R.C., Coeur D'Alene Idaho	27.00	4976	J.T. Malone, R. C., Warm Springs, Mont.	8.75	5047	H. Ostmark, R. C., Van Horn, Tex.	11.00
4907	Carl Bergfried, Berkeley, Cal.	25.00	4977	F. S. R. Branch, Hartford, Conn.	9.50	5048	C. P. Pafort, N. Y. C.	10.00
4908	Joseph Rose, Cleveland, O.	10.00	4978	I. Klawier, N.S. Pittsburg, Pa.	5.00	5049	W.S. & D.B.F. Br. 179, N.Y.C.	10.00
4909	Chas. Klings, Waycross, Ga.	10.00	4979	F.S.R. Branch, Brainerd, Minn.	56.05	5050	Dr. W.S. Fogg, Lockefort, Cal.	10.00
4910	Annie Bruce Carr Sterrett, Washington, D. C.	10.00	4980	S.A. Colach, Kansas City, Mo.	20.50	5051	Charles, Fisher, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00
4911	Mrs. J. Kahl, Armstrong, B. C. Canada	7.00	4981	Stanley Pavelka, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	19.50	5052	Gust Puolokka, Duluth, Minn.	10.00
4912	W. V. Compton, R. C., Danby via Goffs, Cal.	7.00	4982	Miners of No. 1 & 2 mines, Belleville, Ill.	16.50	5053	E.A. Hankey, Akron, Ohio	10.00
4913	W. Simonson, Larchmont, N.Y.	5.00	4983	John Smetit, R. C., Bethlehem, Pa.	16.50	5054	Joseph Niendle, R. C., Oregon, City, Ore.	8.00
4914	Peter Smer, Petersburg, Alaska	5.00	4984	John N. Patterson, R.C., N.Y.C.	13.50	5055	S. Garborg, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	6.00
4915	Chas. Ahlm, Spokane, Wash.	5.00	4985	Ole Hove, Templeton, Cal.	1.00	5056	F.S.R. Branch, Bay City, Mich.	8.00
4916	J. S. Beym, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	4986	I. Putnam, Templeton, Cal.	1.00	5057	Bohumil Bousa, Sr., R. C., Schenectady, N. Y.	6.00
4917	Lily R. Iverson, Marion, S. Dak.	1.00	4987	Edd Ryan, Glenfield, N. Dak.	1.25	5058	James Pepper, Beaufield, Sask., Canada	5.00
4918	I. A. M. Lodge No. 1236, List 14388, Roseburg, Ore.	15.75	4988	W.S. & D.B.F. Br. 25, N.Y.C.	1.00	5059	Jos. Dindiger, Coalings, Cal.	10.00
4919	J.E. McDonald, Roseburg, Ore.	19.55	4989	F.S.R Branch, Brockton, Mass.	250.00	5060	Dorothy Brewster, N.Y.C.	5.00
			4990	U.M.W. of A. No. 905, Reliance, Wyo.	164.00	5061	W. Theo. Woodward, Lewis Iowa	5.00
						5062	International Hod Carriers Loc. 459, Belleville, Ill.	5.00
						5063	R. B. Hayes, Redding, Cal.	5.00
						5064	W.E. Barker, Sequim, Wash.	5.00
						5065	H.J. Petric, Chicago, Ill.	5.00

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
5066	Mrs. Irene S. Durlean, Seattle, Wash.	5.00	5136	Hauden Hewitt, Oakland, Cal.	1.00	5199	Aug Peterson, Friday, Harbor, Wash.	2.00
5067	Mrs. Meta J. Ericson, Oakland, Cal.	5.00	5137	John Moline, Oakland, Cal.	2.00	5200	Mrs. M. Pecl, Lawrence, L. I., N. Y.	3.00
5068	Eva Keakinen, Omaja, Prov. Oriente, Cuba	3.00	5138	J. Grant, Oakland, Cal.	.25	5201	John McPhail, Evanston, Ill.	3.00
5069	James Anderson, Omaja, Prov. Oriente, Cuba	1.00	5139	Murlock McDonald, Oakland, Cal.	1.50	5202	Belle Oury, Cincinnati, Ohio.	2.00
5070	C.C. Lindquist, Memphis, Tenn.	4.00	5140	Charles Becker, Oakland, Cal.	1.00	5203	K. K. Berge, Granite Falls, Minn.	2.00
5071	Workmens Circle No. 408, Averno L. I.	2.00	5141	Chas. F. Sherlock, Harrisburg, Pa.	1.00	5204	Anna Hammer, Roslindale, Mass.	2.00
5072	C.W. Martin, Tonawanda, N.Y.	2.00	5142	F.E. Smith, Harrisburg, Pa.	1.00	5205	Mary Ragoza, New Haven, Conn.	1.00
5073	Wm. Hammack, R.C., Hagerstown Md.	3.00	5143	Anonymous	2.00	5206	Sam Abeshaus, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00
5074	F.S.R. Russian Division, N.Y.C.	89.50	5144	Ernest K. Fletcher, Harrisburg, Pa.	1.00	5207	Margaret M. Nelson, Urbana, Ill.	1.00
5075	International Youth Committee, N. Y. C.	20.00	5145	Mrs. Pearl Flass, Harrisburg, Pa.	1.00	5208	F.S.R. Branch, Puraglov, W. Va.	150.00
5076	F.S.R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	225.00	5146	Mrs. George Barringer, Harrisburg, Pa.	.75	5209	Coll. by Lawrence Potes, Seymour, Conn.	20.00
5077	Co-operative Store Co., Nefvs, Ohio	25.00	5147	Mrs. Rebecca Sherlock, Harrisburg, Pa.	1.00	5210	P. Harkoff, R. C., Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.	20.00
5078	Oscar Steinman, Goldfield, Nev.	10.00	5148	Harriet C. Flagg, Brookline, Mass.	100.00	5211	F.S.R. Branch, Peabody, Mass.	140.00
5079	Mrs. R. Schultz, Buffalo, N.Y.	10.00	5149	S. Amorosa, E. Weymouth, Mass.	50.00	5212	Nick Markoff, R. C., Rockport, Wash.	40.00
5080	M.A. Hoagland, Raymond, Wash.	10.00	5150	Lucy Hall, Watertown, Wis.	50.00	5213	Guido H. Marx, Stanford University, Cal.	25.00
5081	J. D. Layman, Reno, Nev.	5.00	5151	John Eagle, R. C., Nantucket, Mass.	45.00	5214	John Deikus, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	20.00
5082	George Eesenbuth E. Liverpool, Ohio	5.00	5152	A. A. Eldestat, R. C., Butte, Mont.	40.00	5215	H. Kasser, R. C., Daly City, Cal.	10.00
5083	A. B. Cohen, N. Y. C.	5.00	5153	Nettie A. Maurer, Hagerstown, Md.	20.00	5216	Albert Stenmo, Hatton, No. Dak.	10.00
5084	J. Hawke, Dayton, Ohio	5.00	5154	A. S. M. W. Local 324, Jamestown, N. Y.	10.00	5217	Dr. P. S. Haley, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
5085	C.W. Lund, Kalispell, Mont.	5.00	5155	W. S. Newlund, R. C., Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	5218	Charles Koerper, Oakland, Cal.	5.00
5086	Tulo Lahdi, R.C., Troy, N.H.	28.50	5156	Mr. & Mrs. A. Flehn, N.Y.C.	10.00	5219	Sam Milligan, Sault Ste Marie, Ont., Canada	5.00
5087	F.S.R. Branch, Hibbing, Minn.	16.30	5157	Dr. C.C. McIntyre, Sierra Madre, Cal.	10.00	5220	Max Hecht, R. C., N.Y.C.	5.00
5088	N.T. Herbat, R.C. N.Y.C.	14.50	5158	A.V. Omelka, Oakland, Cal.	10.00	5221	F. J. Ahbol, Fall River Mills, Cal.	5.00
5089	Stephanus, Fabyanovi, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	13.25	5159	Earl Holmstrom, R. C., Duluth, Minn.	10.00	5222	J. Turchich, Cleveland, O.	5.00
5090	Mrs. E. Henberg, McMinnville, Ore.	12.50	5160	N. Zhuck, Youngstown, Ohio.	10.00	5223	Collector No. 14791, Castle Rock, Wash.	57.00
5091	Sam Monty, R. C., Hartshorne, Okla.	8.30	5161	Rupert Klausner, San Pedro, Cal.	10.00	5224	F. S. R. Branch, Toledo, O.	186.25
5092	Louis Nordstrom, R. C., Spokane, Wash.	7.50	5162	George Gradier, Long Beach, Cal.	2.50	5225	Edwin Raal, R. C., Superior, Wis.	37.00
5093	S. Safrabeln, N. Y. C.	2.75	5163	U. M. W. of A. No. 3574, Klein, Mont.	15.00	5226	H. G. Ross, R. C., Glace Bay, Nova Scotia	22.35
5094	Mrs. Okaos, Takaahina & Shuji Matsui, Oakland, Cal.	2.50	5164	J. W. Peterson, Redmond, Ore.	5.00	5227	Cement Finishers Local 627, Los Angeles, Cal.	17.50
5095	H. Paul, Goldsboro, Md.	1.50	5165	E.T. Dooley, Atascadero, Cal.	5.00	5228	H. Eggerth, R. C., Minneapolis, Minn.	15.50
5096	F. S. R. Branch, Lynn, Mass.	202.00	5166	C.C. Sundby, Minburn, Iowa.	5.00	5229	F. S. R. Branch, Rock Springs, Wyo.	14.78
5097	A. Moliaoff, R. C., Woodridge, N. Y.	90.00	5167	Herbert D. Brown, Washington, D. C.	5.00	5230	Alonso S. Paul, R. C., Gertrude, Wash.	11.50
5098	B. Matienzo, Manati, Oriente, Cuba	75.00	5168	J.M. Naron, San Ysidro, Cal.	10.00	5231	F.S.R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	175.00
5099	Coll. by J. J. Mastin, Guthrie, Ky.	50.00	5169	Mrs. J. M. Naron, San Ysidro, Cal.	5.00	5232	A. Peterson, R. C., Finland, Ontario	11.48
5100	N.Y. Vegetarian Soc., N.Y.C.	50.00	5170	Anna H. Norblings, New Orleans, La.	5.00	5233	Scott Wilkins, R. C., Lima, O.	6.75
5101	S. Nap, R. C., N. Y. C.	25.00	5171	Geo. J. Keppler, Rocky River, Ohio	5.00	5234	C.W. Wallace, Jenner, Cal.	2.50
5102	Nat Kohn, Phoenix, Ariz.	25.00	5172	John Johnson, Deloro, Ont., Canada	5.00	5235	M. J. Nanworth, R. C., Cleveland, Ohio	6.00
5103	John Grant, R. C., Cortlandt, N. Y.	24.00	5173	F.S.R. Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.	183.19	5236	C. Hoeckner, Chicago, Ill.	3.00
5104	Elmer J. Beach, R. C., Williams-ville, N. Y.	15.00	5174	F. S. R. Branch, Kalamazoo, Mich.	113.40	5237	John Rose, Owings, W. Va.	3.00
5105	John Manus, R. C., Zanesville, Ohio	13.00	5175	A. Snidt, R.C., McDonald, Pa.	13.35	5238	Henry Marak, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00
5106	Joseph Reidle, Mineral City, O.	11.00	5176	Sick Benefit Alliance, Ambridge, Pa.	100.00	5239	S. Smith, N. Y. C.	1.00
5107	Michael Gold, N. Y. C.	10.00	5177	Isidore Kayfitz, R. C., Bklyn, N. Y.	50.00	5240	Logan S. Ellis, Kelo, Wash.	2.00
5108	Miriam Michelson, San Francisco Cal.	10.00	5178	A. Ottelin, R. C., Hoquani, Wash.	44.50	5241	W. E. H. Porter, Townener Co., No. Dak.	2.00
5109	Owen Greenan, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	5179	Louis Jurjevich, R. C., Benton, Ill.	28.00	5242	J.M.McGlynn, Greenwich, Conn.	2.00
5110	Dettmer & Handweek, Slatyngton Pa.	10.00	5180	Fred T. Hughs, R. C., Hillsboro, Ore.	17.00	5243	Mary Fitch, De Kalb, Ill.	2.00
5111	D.R. Bank, R.C., Denver, Col.	8.00	5181	Ludovic Gougery, R. C., Collinsville, Ill.	16.50	5244	Harvey Koch, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.00
5112	John Collier, Mill Valley, Cal.	5.00	5182	Norbert Aurdink, R. C., Farmersburg, Ind.	16.00	5245	F. S. R. Branch, Indianapolis, Minn.	78.00
5113	Olavus Jewett, Littlefork, Minn.	5.00	5183	A. Hoffman, R. C., Bethlehem, Pa.	9.35	5246	Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio.	.70
5114	E. C. Stumm, Berkeley, Cal.	5.00	5184	Frank Waechter, R. C., Vanada, Mont.	32.00	5247	Max Slobodnik, Lewiston, Me.	13.50
5115	Idefonso E. Mateas, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00	5185	Cijriel De Muidjt, R. C., Moline, Ill.	5.50	5248	I. Barnok, R. C., Scranton, Pa.	2.45
5116	S.G. Ries, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00	5186	Flat River S. P. Local (Flat River, Mo.	8.50	5249	August Chost, Rockaway, N. J.	17.00
5117	Walter L. Guest, Schenectady, N. Y.	2.00	5187	Andrew J. McDonald, List No. 13971, Flat River, Mo.	3.95	5250	Kasimer Gultaky, Whitinsville, Mass.	5.00
5118	G. A. Lighner & Family, Olatue, Okla.	2.00	5188	E. Shilbersky, R.C., N.Y.C.	4.50	5251	Waiter & Cooks, List No. 15767, Hotel Chatham, N.Y.C.	10.00
5119	Mrs. M. Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00	5189	Elias Molee, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	5252	Mr. & Mrs. Seifert, N.Y.C.	10.00
5120	Allen Z. Ragan, Millersburg, Ky.	2.00	5190	Gust Johnson, Sioux City, Ia.	16.00	5253	Louis Lipshitz, N. Y. C.	5.00
5121	Wm. Banman, Rochester, N.Y.	2.00	5191	D. Wilde, R. C., Cincinnati, O.	12.00	5254	F. C. Shallnberger, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	15.00
5122	Mrs. C. R. Cavins, San Francisco Cal.	1.00	5192	Joseph Rogers, San Diego, Cal.	12.00	5255	Geo D. Sauter, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00
5123	Tony Baronoff, Raymond, Wash.	80.00	5193	Jack Malner, R. C., Willard, Wis.	12.00	5256	B. B. Brummett, W. Vancouver, B. C., Canada	1.00
5124	Mrs. Lena Hakvest, Raymond, Wash.	10.00	5194	E. G. Krig, Coll., No. Dartmouth, Mass.	9.00	5257	Anonymous, Taft, Cal.	1.00
5125	John Bichek, R.C., Battle Creek, Mich.	37.25	5195	A. P. Johnson, Marshalltown, Iowa	9.00	5258	J. P. Grim, Kelo, Wash.	5.00
5126	John Bichek, R.C., Battle Creek, Mich.	37.25	5196	John Hoole, Detroit, Mich.	7.00	5259	J. Halblieb, Elizabeth, N. J.	2.00
5127	E. Kharaky, R. C., Wallingford, Conn.	29.40	5197	Wm. Bender, R. C., N. Y. C.	6.00	5260	A.H. Robinson, Pittsburg, Pa.	1.00
5128	K. Vilnasa, Cincinnati, O.	10.00	5198	Max L. Ariger, Friday, Harbor, Wash.	4.00	5261	M. Spahr, N. Y. C.	1.00
5129	M.A. Barshnikoff, R.C., N.Y.C.	9.75				5262	Chris Thompson, R. C., West Palm Beach, Fla.	7.00
5130	K. Romaniuk, R. C., Montreal, Canada	5.00				5263	George Weigand, Pasadena, Cal.	5.00
5131	S. Schultz, R.C., Phila. Pa.	4.50				5264	John Herderich, Schenectady, N. Y.	2.00
5132	John Bonamie, Oakland, Cal.	5.00				5265	Swan Johnson, Marysville, Wash.	2.00
5133	R. Johansen, Oakland, Cal.	2.00				5266	Mrs. C. Goldberg, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
5134	E.K. Liston, Oakland, Cal.	1.50						
5135	C. Conyers, Oakland, Cal.	1.00						

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5267	Master Robert Chiprin, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00	5331	Frank S. Houston, Anchorage, Alaska	20.00	5392	Edward Wall, R.C., Puente, Cal.	17.00
5268	Elson Jelling, N.Y.C.	6.00	5332	Dr. E. F. German, Anchorage, Alaska	15.00	5393	C. R. Cole, R. C., Sioux City, Iowa	16.00
5269	I. Planner, List 3371, Sterling, N. J.	16.00	5333	John Weber, R. C., St. Louis, Mo.	28.75	5394	Mrs. Nellie E. Gamble, Centralia, Wash.	8.00
5270	J. Rubesoff, I. Dublin, H. Solomon, M. Davis, R. Bersen & J. Teveloff, N. Y. C.	33.00	5334	W. W. Whalen, R. C., Buffalo, Okla.	19.39	5395	S. S. J. Osasto, R.C., Kenosha, Wis.	5.90
5271	Alfred W. Davis, N. Y. C.	5.00	5335	Geo. Renner, R. C., Springfield, Ohio	5.50	5396	Peter Frank, R. C., Lynn, Mass.	5.45
5272	Leopold Stein, List No. 1777, N. Y. C.	3.40	5336	Mrs. Geo. Gunder, Brownstown, Ind.	5.00	5397	Union County—Central Labor Union—Cancelled 3.00	
5273	Kathleen Dighton, Hartdale, N. Y.	1.00	5337	Harriet Curry Oleson, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	5398	Mrs. Wm. H. Weeden, Elizabeth, N. J.	3.00
5274	S. Bourgainm, Montreal, Canada, Canadian (\$2.00)	1.90	5338	V. Gronlund, Timmins, Ont., Canada	2.00	5399	Walter S. Mitchell, Encanto, Cal.	3.00
5275	J. Jensen, R. C., Bridgeport, Conn.	11.00	5339	Coll. by Jessie Slater Sachs, New Haven, Conn.	5.00	5400	Louis Hochheim, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	46.50
5276	George Biederman, R. C., Cincinnati, Ohio	7.50	5340	Arthur Koppisch, Elizabeth, N. J.	1.00	5401	Famine Relief Committee, Astoria, Ore.	933.49
5277	N. Larsen, R.C., Spirit Lake, Idaho	7.00	5341	B. of P. D. & P. of A. No. 261, N. Y. C.	400.00	5402	F.S.R. Branch, Elizabeth, N.J.	131.13
5278	Mary E. Boyd, Cleveland, O.	5.00	5342	F.S.R. Branch, Buffalo, N.Y.	400.00	5403	M. Michailovsky, R. C., South River, N. J.	18.50
5279	Chris Schneider, Sandusky, O.	5.00	5343	D. L. K. Vytanto Dronygrte of So. Boston, Mass.	100.00	5404	Mrs. Ella Stopson, R. C., Sisterville, W. Va.	5.50
5280	Sheridan Morse, Iliion, N.Y.	5.00	5344	F.S.R. Branch, Muskegon, Mich.	75.00	5405	Paolo Ficarotta, Tampa, Fla.	8.25
5281	John Pedrick, R. C., Scranton, Pa.	3.00	5345	Coll. Henry Joki, Antti Lempiinen, Fairbanks, Alaska	50.00	5406	M. Barracough, Keyser, W. Va.	3.50
5282	I. A. of M. No. 353, Belleville, Ill.	2.00	5346	Jas. P. Reid, R. C., Providence, R. I.	32.00	5407	E. D. Mitchell, R. C., Leese, Wash.	3.21
5283	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 345, So. Osone Park, L. I.	2.00	5347	George Schuchle, Seattle, Wash.	25.00	5408	Walter Butler, R. C., W. Duluth, Minn.	2.50
5284	B. Dallard, N. Y. C.	2.00	5348	Julius Deter, Louisville, Ky.	25.00	5409	T. Weingart, R.C., N.Y.C.	1.50
5285	A. Merkl, New Orleans, La.	1.00	5349	A. Judelovits, Denver, Col.	25.00	5410	Ernest Schwartz, Jr., R. C., St. Louis, Mo.	1.50
5286	Cleveland, Ohio	1.00	5350	H. B. Cooper, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone	22.00	5411	F.S.R. Branch, Cleveland, Ohio	238.00
5287	Anonymous, Mt. Vernon, Wash.	1.00	5351	Ivan A. Svidla, R. C., Newark, N. J.	22.00	5412	F.S.R. Branch, Schenectady, N. Y.	150.00
5288	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	10.00	5352	F. Friedfertig, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	22.00	5413	W. K. Gold & Frank Theobald, Youngwood, Pa.	7.00
5289	August Adamek, Eastington, Pa.	1.20	5353	F.S.R. Branch, Tiffin, Ohio	21.00	5414	Frank Stretsel, R. C., Sioux City, Iowa	7.00
5290	Morris Fire, N. Y. C.	3.00	5354	Kristo Masheff, R. C., Indianapolis, Ind.	13.00	5415	Herbert Mathwig, R. C., Oahkoah, Wis.	5.00
5291	L. Emery Ecker, R. C., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.	11.00	5355	John Krauen, San Francisco, Cal.	20.00	5416	Arbeiter Kranken & Sterbekasse Br. 299, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00
5292	Harry Nelson, Bay City via Ocosta, Wash.	4.00	5356	Chester Barr, Penticon, B. C. Canada—(Canadian \$2.00)	1.90	5417	Albert Keitel, John Rathlye, C. D. Schultz, Lacombe, Alberta.	8.00
5293	Carl H. Nelson, Snoqualmie Falls, Wash.	5.00	5357	Morris Watson, R. C., Toronto, Canada—(Canadian \$14.25)	13.54	5418	I. Perlestein, New York City	5.00
5294	Mrs. U. C. Norton, Homer, Alaska	5.00	5358	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich.	494.15	5419	Fred Belmas, White Blains, N.Y.	5.00
5295	Irving Millstein, R.C., N.Y.C.	2.00	5359	Hung. Sick Benefit Society 16, Detroit, Mich.	50.00	5420	A. Suikonen, Maynard, Mass.	5.00
5296	Xavier Woltzer, Paterson, N.J.	1.00	5360	F. S. R. Branch, Gary, Ind.	200.00	5421	F. O. Hyrari, R. C., Fort Bragg, Cal.	42.50
5297	Dominik Waltzer, Paterson, N.J.	1.00	5361	M. L. Lorents, R. C., N. Y. C.	18.00	5422	F.S.R. Branch, Everett, Wash.	39.37
5298	M. Middleton, Schenectady, N. Y.	1.00	5362	J. P. Haven, R. C., Casimilla, Cal.	14.00	5423	Cancelled, issued by mistake Felix J. Seachura, Waterman, Pa.	34.30
5299	Chas. Litz, Sandusky, Ohio	1.00	5363	Mrs. Estelle Sedgwick, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	5424	David T. Ross, Coll. San Joaquin Co., Cal.	32.50
5300	Milton Harlan, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00	5364	F. S. R. Br. Providence, R. I.	450.00	5425	Waino National Home Ass'n, Brule, Wis.	56.87
5301	Art Waechter, Racine, Wis.	1.00	5365	Helen Freeman, N. Y. C.	200.00	5426	The Future's Hope, Rockford, Ill.	87.10
5302	I. Furman, R.C., N.Y.C.	11.00	5366	Wm. C. Weber, Detroit, Mich.	90.00	5427	Cancelled, issued by mistake Tony Baronoff, List, Raymond, Wash.	45.50
5303	Vladimer Sencuk, N.Y.C.	5.00	5367	Henry A. Gorin, N. Y. C.	80.00	5428	Georges Brunel, R. C., Rosedale Camp, Alberta, Canada	37.50
5304	Thos. Otzarik, Livingston, Ill.	5.25	5368	Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia, Pa.	35.00	5429	Ruth Bluhm, Baltimore, Md.	1.25
5305	Carl Engelis, R. C., Lewiston, Me.	7.00	5369	Retail Clerk's Union No. 219, Belleville, Ill.	25.00	5430	Dennis Kokalis, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	2.25
5306	N. Shaahock, N.Y.C.	5.00	5370	Jeff Thompson, R. C., Stege, Cal.	10.00	5431	L. I. Fortin, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
5307	Annette J. Roberta, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00	5371	Chas. C. Land, Ferguson, Mo.	10.00	5432	Cancelled, issued by mistake F.S.R. Branch, Fargo, N.D.	22.88
5308	Anton Lellup, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	3.00	5372	E. Fuog, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	5433	F.S.R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	18.25
5309	Crawford Bone, Fort Landerdale, Fla.	1.00	5373	J. T. Sunderlan, N. Y. C.	10.00	5434	F.S.R. Branch, Centralia, Wash.	16.01
5310	Frank Voigt, Fort Landerdale, Fla.	1.00	5374	Alex J. Paulh, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	5435	Members of B. S. & A. U. No. 12646, N. Y. C.	18.75
5311	Elmer Kline, Indianapolis, Ind.	1.00	5375	Dr. A. P. Shultz, N. Y. C.	10.00	5436	S. Grishko, Chicago, Ill.	16.50
5312	J. J. Kashekevich, R.C., Newark, N. J.	100.00	5376	George A. Pfeiffer, Palisade, N. J.	10.00	5437	I. W. Coleman, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	23.50
5313	Russian Ed. Club, Lynn, Mass.	50.00	5377	J. F. Ritt, N. Y. C.	5.00	5438	Cancelled, issued by mistake Bakery & Conf. Workers Int. Union, Newark, N. J.	12.50
5314	Julius Parfenowich, R. C., Elwood City, Pa.	24.00	5378	Dr. Sidney B. Levy, N. Y. C.	15.00	5439	J. L. Sharp, R. C., Live Oaks, Cal.	10.15
5315	Andrew Vertunoff, R. C., Belmar, N. J.	22.00	5379	Vladimir Baritsky, Chicago, Ill.	15.00	5440	S. A. Stockwell, R. C., Minneapolis, Minn.	32.00
5316	H. Chulman, R. C., Phillippi, W. Va.	56.28	5380	Dr. William Thalimer, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00	5441	E. Gurveytch & A. Steed, Waco, Texas	10.50
5317	Sara Drenuk, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	23.25	5381	M. Egoridck, Lists No. 15048-61, Flint, Mich.	83.9	5442	A. Lundberg, R. C., Minneapolis, Minn.	4.25
5318	Vincent Levcowich, R.C., West-terly, R. I.	21.50	5382	S. Boyko, R.C., Kent, Ohio	3.00	5443	Jos. Moran, R. C., Richmond, Cal.	2.50
5319	John Koshel, Whiting, Ind.	14.50	5383	Labor Lyceum Ass'n, Bethlehem, Pa.	10.00	5444	S. Hammersmark, R.C., Chicago, Ill.	3.50
5320	M. Skaly, R. C., Central Falls, R. I.	10.00	5384	Women's Club of the People's Church, Cincinnati, Ohio	5.0	5445	S.V. Merle, R.C., Hoff, Ore.	2.50
5321	John M. Jkoch, R. C., Manville, N. J.	31.50	5385	F. Merewether & Jas. J. Dunn, R. C., Riverside, R. I.	5.00	5446	Christian Fehler, R. C., Earli- mart, Cal.	12.50
5322	Frank Chomietzky, R. C., Lyndora, Pa.	19.25	5386	David F. Hall, R. C., Turlock, Cal.	5.00	5447	Armas Randall, R. C., Aberdeen, Wash.	103.06
5323	D. Sirridon, Ashley, Pa.	137.00	5387	Dr. Fred E. Conover, R. C., West New York, N. J.	5.00	5448	Edward Ring, R. C., Downs, Wash.	5.50
5324	S. Kasperovich, Meriden, Conn.	44.00	5388	G. E. Finch, Grand Rapids, Mich.	5.00			
5325	E. Bondorev, R. C., Esmond, R. I.	21.00	5389	John Linde, R. C., Minneapolis, Minn.	24.00			
5326	Vincent Fursio, R. C., Dickson, Pa.	15.20	5390	Amer. Fed. of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, Fort Wayne, Ind.	-18.78			
5327	Koenia Frus, Sault Ste Marie, Ont. Canada	15.00	5391	Dan Danielson, R. C., Mora, Minn.	18.00			
5428	Dan Belokon, R. C., Niagara Falls, N. Y.	6.50						
5329	Geo. P. Griffiths, Anchorage, Alaska	2.50						
5330	Donald MacDonald, Anchorage, Alaska	5.00						

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5453	W. O. Benthin, R. C., Camas, Wash.	4.00	5512	A. N. Poesner, R. C., Montreal, Can. (Can. \$10.00)	9.50	5571	Emma B. Waters, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
5454	I. Kulik, R.C., N.Y.C.	7.75	5513	W. E. Lack, Revelstoke, B. C., Canada (Can. \$5.00)	4.75	5572	Dolores Johnson, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
5455	W. R. Chermak, R. C., Hopkins, Minn.	10.75	5514	Dr. James J. McVey, Haverhill, Mass.	5.00	5573	Elizabeth Heuron, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00
5456	H. D. Harkness, R. C., Liberty, Wash.	10.50	5515	Elias Avrnitzky, Brooklyn, N.Y.	2.00	5574	J. R. Roming, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
5457	Theodore Nyman, List, Ironwood, Mich.	10.05	5516	Henri De Ridder, N.Y.C.	3.00	5575	Hanna Jensen, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
5458	William Mesey, R. C., Turtlecreek, Pa.	11.50	5517	K. H. Labgard, Litchfield, Neb.	2.00	5576	L. M. Whitade, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
5459	M. Krycki, R. C., Sacramento, Cal.	12.25	5518	Thomas Holmes, Pasadena, Cal.	1.00	5577	G. F. Walker, R. C., Lorraine, Cal.	3.00
5460	S. Sjostrand, R. C., Terrace, B. C., Canada	17.40	5519	Mary Gerencser, N.Y.C.	2.00	5578	Chas. M. Suit, R. C., Lomita, Cal.	1.00
5461	Henry Blugerman, R. C., Toronto, Ont., Canada	29.75	5520	Zack Holson, Canton, Ohio	1.00	5579	H. D. Marth, R. C., Redondo Beach, Cal.	1.00
5462	Mike Vidakowich, R. C., Ziegler, Ill.	29.50	5521	Marie Fjerli, E. Stanwood, Wash.	1.00	5580	A. F. Forquhas, R. C., Lomita, Cal.	1.00
5463	George Bolder, R. C., Gleason, Wis.	20.35	5522	Clara Cox, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	5581	J. Willacy, R. C., Lomita, Cal.	1.00
5464	John Kurall, Panama, Ill.	10.00	5523	Mrs. Emil Pearson, Cook, Minn.	1.00	5582	L.J. Huber, R.C., Lomita, Cal.	1.00
5465	John O. Krofchick, Springfield, Ill.	9.00	5524	Vasily Sursky, N. Y. C.	5.00	5583	G. A. Crettinden, R. C., Lomita, Cal.	1.00
5466	August Brockman, D. H. Crook, Mrs. Pyrot, Riverside, Cal.	11.00	5525	International Youths Committee, N. Y. C.	22.00	5584	State Bank of Lomita, R. C., Lomita, Cal.	1.00
5467	Henry Baer, York, Neb.	1.00	5526	John Sutarak, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	5585	Stephen Vigh, R. C., Vallejo, Cal.	25.00
5468	Patrick Kearns, Forks, N.Y.	1.00	5527	S. E. Weisfeld, R. C., Brooklyn, N. Y.	25.00	5586	G. Shucoff, Whiting, Ind.	24.00
5469	F. E. Smith, R. C., Tucson, Arizona	1.00	5528	Henry Golsch, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	25.00	5587	Frank A. Pitt, R. C., Cleveland, Ohio	21.00
5470	A. Kampmeier, Iowa City, Iowa	1.00	5529	Chas. Henrick, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	5588	O.R. Riser, R.C., Baltimore, Md.	20.00
5471	John Lehtinen, R. C., Chisholm, Minn.	1.0	5530	Wm. Galits, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	8.00	5589	John A. Gustafson, R. C., Fort Bragg, Cal.	20.00
5472	Int. Moulder's Union No. 220, Belleville, Ill.	1.00	5531	F. H. Sanderson, R. C., Lynn, Mass.	5.00	5590	C.C. Kinsley, Kenwood, N.Y.	25.00
5473	W. A. Maerts, Antigo, Wis.	2.00	5532	Peter Rosche, Massillon, Ohio	5.00	5591	C. B. Arnheim, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	20.00
5474	I. Benjaminsen, R. C., Minneapolis, Minn.	2.00	5533	S. Davis, R.C., N.Y.C.	3.00	5592	Geo. Whiting, Lost Creek, Wash.	4.00
5475	Austin Boudreau, Attleboro, Mass.	2.00	5534	C.W. Hinneberg, Albany, Cal.	3.00	5593	H.M. Knudson, Parlier, Cal.	5.00
5476	William Bradley, R. C., Buffalo, N. Y.	2.00	5535	Gus Wagner, Huntingburg, Ind.	2.00	5594	O.P.Walden, Spokane, Wash.	5.00
5477	M. Bartnick, R. C., Memphis, Tenn.	2.00	5536	J. E. Keniston, R. C., Berkeley, Cal.	2.00	5595	E. B. Vaughan, Coeur d'Alene, Ida.	5.00
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5481	Yetta Land, R. C., Cleveland Heights, Ohio	43.50	5540	Casimir Kostrzewski, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	2.00	5599	V. Laffargo, R.C., Barro, Vt.	18.00
5482	George Doblinsky, Moline, Ill.	62.50	5541	Eugene B. McClure, R. C., Fremont, Neb.	2.00	5600	W. G. Kidwell, R. C., Jackson, Mich.	17.00
5483	Andrew C. & Isabel Paynton, Newport, Wash.	2.00	5542	J. F. Nugent, R. C., Baltimore, Md.	2.00	5601	A. Nelson, R. C., Sioux City, Iowa	16.00
5484	Maude L. R. Kaufman, Bellingham, Wash.	2.00	5543	E.E. Aldrich, Brattleboro, Vt.	2.00	5602	Paul Shappek, R. C., Seamon, Pa.	15.00
5485	C. Schaler, R. C., Little Rock, Ark.	2.00	5544	Stanley C. Williams, Chevy Chase, Wash. D. C.	1.00	5603	A. M. Gunneson, R. C., Oakland, Cal.	15.00
5486	G. O. Werth, R. C., Bandon, Ore.	2.00	5545	A. Arbogast, Bickmore, W. Va.	1.00	5604	Mrs. Burton Kneisly, Los Angeles, Cal.	15.00
5487	Thomas Coon, Wharton, N. J.	2.00	5546	A. Munkens, Newark, N. J.	1.00	5605	B. Wyman, R. C., Cleveland, Ohio	15.00
5488	Walford Johnson, R. C., Danville, Wash.	2.00	5547	Ernes Fishar, Newark, N. J.	1.00	5606	D. Christensen, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	12.00
5489	C.F. Deykin, R.C., Fort George, B. C., Canada	2.00	5548	Mrs. Anna Burk, R. C., Washington, D. C.	1.00	5607	F. M. Dormedont, R. C., Alameda, Cal.	12.00
5490	F.W. Weiss, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	5549	Erland Gilberg, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	1.00	5608	Miss Aldona Minkus, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	11.00
5491	W.J. Arthur, R.C., Portage Wis.	2.00	5550	Anonymous, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00	5609	R. J. Lifman, R. C., Arborg, Manitoba, Canada	11.00
5492	Clara R. D. & A. W. O'Connell, R. C., Portland, Ore.	10.00	5551	Velia Johnson, R. C., Arnold, Mich.	1.00	5610	Dean R. Brimhale, N.Y.C.	10.00
5493	Frances Turkut, N.Y.C.	3.00	5552	L. Sachs, N. Y. C.	2.00	5611	W. Fruch, R.C., Bell Air, Md.	10.00
5494	Abraham Rosenbaum, R. C., N. Y. C.	3.00	5553	Angust Miller, Omaha, Neb.	1.00	5612	S. Christensen, R. C., Oakland, Cal.	10.00
5495	J. J. Masten, Contr. from School Children, Gascow Junct., Ky.	3.00	5554	T. W. Morgan, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00	5613	Frank Plag, R.C., Modesto, Cal.	10.00
5496	Mrs. A. C. Otto, Otto Schuman, R. C., Grand Rapids, Wis.	3.00	5555	Benj. Smith, R. C., Charlotte, N. C.	5.00	5614	M. S. Hirschfield, M. D., Duluth, Minn.	10.00
5497	Arthur Andriessen, R. C., Cincinnati, Ohio	3.00	5556	Benj. Smith, R. C., Charlotte, N. C.	9.00	5615	Chas. Foster, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	10.00
5498	Sara V. Scheinberg, R. C., N. Y. C.	3.00	5557	Anonymous, Bethlehem, Pa.	1.00	5616	Wm. P. Starr, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	10.00
5499	Askel Larsen, New Bedford, Mass.	3.00	5558	Arthur Lovac, Cicero, Ill.	1.00	5617	The House of Naimon, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	10.00
5500	Mrs. Annie Davis, Cumberland, B. C., Canada	3.00	5559	F. S. R. Branch, Rochester, N. Y.	150.00	5618	Isabel J. Clark, Cleveland, O.	10.00
5501	A. Wayteck, N. Y. C.	2.00	5560	S. A. Stockwell, Minneapolis, Minn.	100.00	5619	A. B. Hayes, R. C., Redding, Cal.	10.00
5502	Rose I. Zelterman, R. C., Chelsea, Mass.	20.00	5561	Fred Lapple, R. C., So. Pasadena, Cal.	75.00	5620	R. G. McVilvie, Bonner, Mont.	10.00
5503	E. Raps, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00	5562	S. A. Lubin & Wife, Vancouver, B. C., Canada	50.00	5621	Robert Coleman, Leavenworth, Wash.	10.00
5504	Theodore Lund, Minneapolis, Minn.	1.00	5563	G. Drauberick, R. C., Caspar, Cal.	50.00	5622	F. S. R. Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.	8.00
5505	J. A. Robinson, Tampa, Fla.	2.00	5564	Wendell Hoss, Cleveland, Ohio	50.00	5623	John Michaelson, List, Duluth, Minn.	8.00
5506	Anonymous, proceeds of German Coupons, Arlington, Mass.	.40	5565	Alex Muhlberg, R. C., San Pedro, Cal.	35.00	5624	Chas. T. Williams, R. C., Hilltop, Nev.	8.00
5507	Marguerite McNally, Rock Island, Ill.	.50	5566	I. Levine, R. C., Edgewater, Col.	17.75	5625	W. S. & D. B. F., Springfield, Ill.	7.00
5508	Coll. by Nettie Moscow, R. C., N. Y. C.	7.50	5567	I. Levine, Edgewater, Col.	16.25			
5509	Wm. J. F. Haneman, R. C., Pompton Plains, N. J.	4.50	5568	J. W. Kirk, R. C., Sask., Canada	32.00			
5510	J. Bobakineff, Astoria, L.I.	20.00	5569	S. A. Crane, R. C., Lomita, Cal.	1.00			
5511	C. A. Brown, Pinkham, Sask. Canada (Canadian \$11.00)	10.45	5570	J. Pratinzky, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00			

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5627	Fred De Boyer, R.C., San Pedro, Cal.	6.00	5686	Harry E. Olenler, R. C., Los	2.00	5743	W. Gembarowski, R. C., Fisherville, Mass.	6.70
5628	W. E. Wienekamp, Toledo, O.	5.00	5688	Oscar Wiltaniemi, List, Clinton, Ind.	76.75	5744	Paul Dubrowski, R. C., Akron, Ohio	17.50
5629	A. Fergin, R.C., Detroit, Mich.	5.00	5689	Geo. A. Louthan, R. C., Troy, Ohio	33.50	5745	Anton Vasilen, R. C., Esmond, R. I.	22.50
5630	R. Techules, R. C., Cincinnati, Ohio	5.00	5690	Joseph Abazorius, R. C., Nanticoke, Pa.	27.50	5746	M. Baborick, R. C., Kent, O.	10.85
5631	P.F. Brisenden, R.C., N.Y.C.	5.00	5691	5691 Clara Shipkin, R.C., N.Y.C.	23.00	5747	J. Kotick, Farrell, Pa.	18.27
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5634	I. H. Nosovitch, R. C., Cotate, Cal.	5.00	5694	5694 Leon Leighton, Turlock, Cal.	7.50	5750	Phillip Petroff, Lists, Manville, R. I.	252.65
5635	H. Asson, R. C., Port Moody, B. C., Canada	5.00	5695	5695 S. Huchnik, N. Y. C.	5.00	5751	Fire Steel S. S. Osasto, Ontonagon, Mich.	19.40
5636	Boot & Shoe Workers Union, Sheboygan, Wis.	5.00	5697	5697 E. A. Lincoln, Arlington, Mass.	2.00	5752	John H. Kelly, R. C., Bellingham, Wash.	1.00
5637	Edwin C. Balzin, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	5.00	5698	5698 Rev. L. Huendling, R.C., Breda, Iowa	1.00	5753	John A. Allen, Billings, Mont.	51.50
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5639	T. J. Wagner, R. C., Duluth, Minn.	5.00	5700	5700 N.J. Baranchuk, Olean, N.Y.	2.00	5755	S. A. Nelson, R. C., Gallitua, Pa.	3.00
5640	Dr. P. S. Haley, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	5701	5701 J. Earl, Heinisch, Millvale, Pa.	1.00	5756	F.S.R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	200.00
5641	John Brunzell, R. C., Oakland, Cal.	5.00	5702	5702 O. Carlson, R. C., Concord, N. H.	11.50	5757	F.S.R. Branch, Quincy, Mass.	100.00
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5643	H.J. Moore, Oakland, Cal.	5.00	5704	5704 Belle Robins, Coll., N.Y.C.	7.00	5759	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	50.00
5644	J. V. Kalachny, Fort Cobb, Okla.	5.00	5705	5705 Leo Paulcer, R. C., Alice Arm, B. C., Canada	89.50	5760	L. Tilley, R. C., Ramson, Kans.	50.00
5645	Jos. Shomta, Vallejo, Cal.	5.00	5706	5706 Max Slobodnick, Lewiston, Maine	3.75	5761	Dr. E. J. Rahrer, Los Angeles, Cal.	50.00
5646	Bishop Brown, D. D., Gallon, Ohio	50.00	5707	5707 Susan E. Penson, R. C., Isle of Wight, England	6.45	5762	Wm. S. U'ren, Portland, Ore.	25.00
5647	T.M. Nagle, Wesleyville, Pa.	10.00	5708	5708 John Olson, R. C., Crawford Bay, B. C., Canada (Can. \$1.00)	.95	5763	Workmens Circle Br. 116, New Rochelle, N. Y.	18.00
5648	Hra Olga Krause, E. Everett, Mass.	10.00	5709	5709 Peter Knight, Wm. Kenedy, R. C., Radway Center, Alberta, Canada	.95	5764	F.S.R. Branch, Bronx, N.Y.C.	17.00
5649	Henry A. Dolge, Dolgeville, N.Y.	5.00	5710	5710 Theoline Scott, R. C., Terrace, B. C., Canada	32.00	5765	John Kadla, R.C., N.Y.C.	14.00
5650	A.J. Wright, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	2.00	5711	5711 Henry Jorgensen, S. Holt, R. C., Seal, Alberta, Canada	119.00	5766	Otto A. Kocer, R.C., Squantum, Mass.	13.00
5651	John Kadla, R.C., N.Y.C.	7.50	5712	5712 Matti Lehtinen, Aahatabula, O.	41.45	5767	Charles Baer, R. C., Rico, Col.	11.55
5652	Chas. Eisenberg, R. C., Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	5713	5713 F. S. R. Branch, East Liverpool, Ohio	12.75	5768	William Fleming, R. C., Morningside, Alberta, Canada	10.00
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5654	Rich Boecker, R. C., Rochester, N. Y.	1.25	5715	5715 Martha Rydell, R. C., Hoquiam, Wash.	25.00	5770	Nicolas Keller, R. C., Mexico City, D. F., Mexico	10.00
5655	H. A. Rothmund—Memory of B. M. R., Rochester, N. Y.	8.25	5716	5716 Wasley Yonko, R. C., Hartshorne, Okla.	40.00	5771	Judith Kakonen, List, Quincy, Mass.	8.00
5656	Benj. Harrow, R.C., N.Y.C.	41.50	5717	5717 Kiprian Kuritchek, R. C., Cedar Rapids, Iowa	35.00	5772	Wm. M. Krumbalts, Buffalo, N. Y.	7.00
5657	Victor Maki, R. C., Dunbar, Minn.	5.50	5718	5718 Joseph Koatovich, R. C., Newport, N. H.	33.00	5773	Nick Cvjetkovich, Lilly, Pa.	5.00
5658	Chas. Palmiter, Stoneboro, Pa.	1:50	5719	5719 Alfons Shtandion, R. C. & Coll. Millford, Mass.	32.00	5774	Dr. Fay Swearingen, Salina, Kans.	10.00
5659	Steven Hornick, R.C., Neffa, O.	32.92	5720	5720 John Nicholls, R. C., Grant Town, W. Va.	29.00	5775	M. H. Livingston, R. C., Roxbury, Mass.	5.00
5660	Anton Holtz, R.C., N. Y. C.	10.75	5721	5721 John Leona, R. C., Galveston, Tex.	30.00	5776	Richard Petschlu, Camden, N.J.	5.00
5661	Samuel I. Gellens, R.C., N.Y.C.	5.00	5722	5722 S. G. Wolkoff, R. C., Munising, Mich.	21.00	5777	Ide H. Williams, Greensburg, Pa.	5.00
5662	Joseph Polanshek, R.C., San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	5723	5723 C. E. Gobnis, List No. 9383, Eureka, Cal.	20.00	5778	Mrs. Ellen R. Nagle, Wesleyville Pa.	5.00
5663	Wm. Kley, Denver, Col.	5.00	5724	5724 S. Gurin, R.C., Fall River Mass.	17.00	5779	C. Kohler, West Valley, N.Y.	5.00
5664	Chas. Shestokos, R.C., San Fernando, Cal.	3.00	5725	5725 Phillip Nester, R. C., Saginaw, Mich.	17.00	5780	F. H. Steinmetz, R. C., Berkeley, Cal.	5.00
5665	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 259 R. C., Syracuse, N. Y.	2.00	5726	5726 F. S. R. Branch, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	16.00	5781	Mrs. A. Cohen, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
5666	J. Dubek, R. C., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	1.00	5727	5727 I. Mamk, Battle Creek, Mich.	15.00	5782	Mrs. Clara Kuenzi, Watertown, Wis.	5.00
5667	Kathleen Dighton, Hartdale, N. Y.	1.00	5728	5728 George Campaine, R. C., Manhattan Beach, B'klyn, N.Y.C.	8.00	5783	C. Jensen, Oakland, Cal.	5.00
5668	A. Gottlich, R.C., N.Y.C.	1.00	5729	5729 Fcodor Olmashkin, R. C., Melrose Park, Ill.	7.00	5784	H. C. Mitchell, R. C., Cumberland, B. C., Canada	5.00
5669	W. C. Pierce, R. C., Carlinville, Ill.	1.00	5730	5730 Nesefor Tereshkov, R. C., Georgianville, R. I.	21.25	5785	Louis Miller, R. C., Peterson, N. J.	4.00
5670	Adrian Leuyendyk, R. C., Zeeland, Mich.	1.00	5731	5731 Fedor Martesuh, R.C., Ellwood City, Pa.	29.75	5786	F. Solomon, R. C., Everson, Wash.	4.00
5671	A. Bankowski, R. C., Akron, O.	14.75	5732	5732 Parry Stadnick, R. C., Blamie, Ohio	84.60	5787	Union Labor Advocate, Elizabeth, N. J.	3.00
5672	William Semchuk, R.C., N.Y.C.	62.75	5733	5733 Philip Linovich, R. C., Herrick, Ohio	17.75	5788	M. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.	3.00
5673	August Mencke, R.C., Cleveland Ohio	15.00	5734	5734 Victor Miskow, Lists, Saginaw W. S., Mich.	52.91	5789	Perry Kipp, R. C., Dayton, O.	3.00
5674	Elizabeth R. Fondiller, R. C., N. Y. C.	10.00	5735	5735 G. Wolkoff, R. C., Ellwood City, Pa.	22.75	5790	L. I. Burke, R. C., Schenectady, N. Y.	3.00
5675	Dorothy Kenyon, N. Y. C.	10.00	5736	5736 Jos. Wolkow, R. C., Timmins, Ont. Canada	58.60	5791	J. Burisch, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	2.00
5676	John Seppahammer, R. C., Prince Rupert, B. C., Canada	76.00	5737	5737 Trofim Paschuk, R. C., Lincoln, Pa.	16.75	5792	Mrs. Mary Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00
5677	F.S.R. Branch, West Frankfort, Ill.	20.00	5740	5740 Jacob Kinboff, R. C., Sharon, Pa.	27.25	5793	Joachim Tansar, Comstock, N.Y.	2.00
5678	John S. Cookerly, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	20.00	5741	5741 John Chotik, R. C., Willimantic, Conn.	49.30	5794	Robert Catke, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00
5679	Mrs. F. H. Page, R. C., Cantuar, Sask. Canada	9.00	5738	5738 E. Pechkoroff, R. C., Indianola, Pa.	5.50	5795	C. M. Fraelich, R. C., Clinton, N. J.	1.00
5680	W. S. & D. B. F., San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	5739	5739 W. Sikorsky, R. C., Mill Hall,		5796	Mary Frank, N. Y. C.	1.00
5681	Thos. Stevenson, R. C., Atascadero, Cal.	5.00				5797	B. F. Jones, Weldon, Mont.	10.00
5682	Wisually, Tacoma, Wash.	5.00				5798	Maty M. Entin, R.C., Elizabeth, N. J.	10.00
5683	Frank J. Roubal, Woodstock, Ill.	5.00				5799	B. Stein, R.C., Elizabeth, N.J.	1.00
5684	Valeria Melta, R. C., So. Holland, Ill.	5.00				5800	S. T. Gerson, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50
5685	H. England, R. C., Oakland, Cal.	5.00				5801	Jennie Buslow, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50
						5802	Anna Barnes, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50
						5803	J. Brown, R. C., Carteret, N.J.	1.00
						5804	William Lief, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	1.00
						5805	M. Suluner, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	3.00
						5806	Frieda Doffe, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
5807	Ida Kurtzman, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50	5861	E. Shoetak, R. C., Duluth, Minn.	4.00	5920	Joe Komer, R. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	15.00
5808	Roe Reifman, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50	5862	John Shubat, R. C., Great Falls, Mont.	3.00	5921	Will, Effie & Virginia Rowley, R. C., Naturita, Col.	15.00
5809	Beasie Meinsterman, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.25	5863	J.C. Lockeman, Bedford, Ind.	3.00	5922	J. L. Bennett, R. C., Arnold, Md.	11.00
5810	Miriam Sacman, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50	5864	H. S. Jordan, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	5923	Dr. Frank C. Kloos, R. C., Chicago, Ill.	10.00
5811	E. Katzman, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50	5865	J. Hauser, Melbourne, Iowa	2.00	5924	N. De Roche, R. C., Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00
5812	Marie Kahn, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.25	5866	Peter Lipnicki, R. C., Madison, Wis.	7.50	5925	Mary L. Blasing, Eveleth, Minn.	5.00
5813	Saul Epstein, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	1.00	5867	Gladys E. Karcher, R.C., Ollala, Wash.	9.2	5926	J. C. Meyer, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
5814	B. L. Zeisel, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50	5868	Stanley Spruns, R. C., Dowell, Ill.	10.25	5927	Christ Delch, Jacksonville, Fla.	5.00
5815	A. Boroff, R. C., Elizabeth, N.J.	1.00	5869	John D. Eilers, R. C., Hawthorne, Cal.	23.20	5928	John D. Pearmain, Framingham, Mass.	5.00
5816	Nathaniel Kahn, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	1.00	5870	Bert McGaw, R. C., Carmangay, Alberta, Canada	22.25	5929	Charles Anderson, R. C., Livingston, Mont.	4.00
5817	S. W. Kahn, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.5	5871	Geo. Tamberg, R. C., Stettler, Alberta, Canada	17.25	5930	Nick P. Kodrea, R. C., Warren, Ohio	4.00
5818	Morris Bar, R.C., Elizabeth, N.J.	.50	5872	James W. Marshall, R. C., Coshocton, Ohio	15.50	5931	Wm. Manne, R. C., Holyoke, Mass.	3.00
5819	Paul Walter, R. C., Elizabeth, N. J.	.50	5873	H. Friedman, R. C., Sault Ste Marie, Mich.	18.50	5932	F. Hirsch, Detroit, Mich.	2.00
5820	B. A. Knapp, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	6.00	5874	P. Falkoff, Corvallis, Ore.	5.10	5933	L. G. Denbach, St. Louis, Mo	2.00
5821	Frank Dinkfolt, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	10.00	5875	N. H. Tallemire, St. Louis, Mo.	10.00	5934	Mrs. F. H. Benner, Campbell, Cal.	1.00
5822	Geo. W. Hoffer, R. C., Royal Oak, Mich.	2.00	5876	O. E. Bannister, R. C., Rosalia, Wash.	10.00	5935	J. B. Gard, Campbell, Cal.	1.00
5823	Thos. J. Johnston, R. C., Royal Oak, Mich.	2.00	5877	Chas. Rogers, R. C., Yarrow, B. C., Canada	10.00	5936	L. M. 220 C. W. I. U., Dillonvale, Ohio	16.75
5824	F. E. Shultz, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	2.00	5878	Louis Karon, Jr., R. C., Detroit, Mich.	10.00	5937	Karl Godum, R. C., Orient, Ill.	14.50
5825	Ray Mair, R. C., Highland Park, Mich.	1.00	5879	C.F. Sturman, Detroit, Mich.	5.00	5938	R. W. Giles, R. C., Bow Skagit Co., Wash.	12.75
5826	Thos. N. Krechlich, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	5.00	5880	Pittsburgh Relief Conf., Pittsburgh, Pa.	399.65	5939	M.Fegde, R. C., Richmond, Va.	45.25
5827	K. M. Knapp, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	4.00	5881	F.S.R. Branch, Baltimore, Md.	241.61	5940	J. S. Elliot, R. C., Yeoford, Alberta, Canada	3.00
5828	C. Hultman, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	5.00	5882	J. M. Johnson, R. C., Metaline Falls, Wash.	11.00	5941	George Drosdew, R. C., Barrackville, W. Va.	36.00
5829	E. C. Evans, R. C., Royal Oak, Mich.	1.00	5883	Chas. Kinnch, R. C., Fremont, Ohio	10.50	5942	Geo. Drosas, R. C., Talameen, B. C., Canada	7.00
5830	H. Scott, R. C., Royal Oak, Mich.	2.00	5884	B. F. Nixon, R. C., Elkhart, Tex.	8.00	5943	Alex Allamanno, Richmond, Cal.	6.00
5831	F. H. Johnson, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	5885	C. L. Hougard, R. C., Elmwood Park, Ill.	7.0	5944	Percy Heist, R. C., Sallenville, Ohio	6.00
5832	W. Benson, R.C., Detroit, Mich.	.50	5886	Ph. Beaudan, R. C., Abita Springs, La.	1.00	5945	W. S. & D. B. F., Woodhaven, N. Y.	5.00
5833	W. Bell, R.C., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	5887	J. Merkl, R. C., Abita, Surings, La.	1.00	5946	Michel Millet, Hollywood, Cal.	5.00
5834	S. H. Fondren, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	.50	5888	Hardwin, R. C., Abita, Springs, La.	1.00	5947	E.W. Collins, Addy, Wash.	2.00
5835	F. C. Davey, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	5889	R.H. Parr, R.C., Carthage, Mo.	2.50	5948	Anna Hammer, Resindale, Mass.	2.00
5836	Karol Rybinski, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	5890	Andrew Anderson, R. C., Lisbon, Ohio	2.00	5949	Elizabeth C. Young, Berkeley, Cal.	1.00
5837	Wm. Dinkfolt, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	10.00	5891	Ferguson Sunday School, Belleville, Ark.	1.50	5950	F.S.R. Br., Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
5838	Wm. Cooper, R. C., Royal Park, Mich.	2.00	5892	Albrecht Bros., Columbus, O.	1.00	5951	Dorothy Mogal, R. C., N.Y.C.	1.00
5839	M. Hemrick, R. C., Highland Park, Mich.	1.00	5893	O. K. Sweeping Compound Co., Oklahoma City, Okla.	2.00	5952	Thru 'The Voice of the Worker' N. Y. C.	46.25
5840	Anonymous, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	2.00	5894	W. N. Ackart, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1.00	5953	O. Wilson, R. C., Kearney, N.J.	30.25
5841	Wm. Vortex, R.C., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	5895	T. D. Jones, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1.00	5954	F.S.R. Br., Chelsea, Mass.	72.62
5842	Frank Schrats, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	5896	A Friend, Oklahoma City, Okla.	.75	5955	E. Koskley & B. Arglewicz, Detroit, Mich.	25.50
5843	A. Loeall, R. C., Highland Park, Mich.	3.00	5897	Ing thru T. D. Jones, Oklahoma City, Okla.	.50	5956	F. S. R. Lithuanian Section, N. Y. C.	2,090.93
5844	Harry Stephenson, R. C., Royal Oak, Mich.	1.0	5898	J. Kula, Oklahoma City, Okla.	.25	5957	Samuel Ticer, R. C., Childress, Tex.	16.75
5845	John Rushten, R. C., Detroit, Mich.	3.00	5899	S. H. Hanson, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1.00	5958	W. Novitzky, R. C., Montreal, Canada	13.75
5846	W. E. Smith, R. C., Highland Park, Mich.	2.00	5900	G. Harris, Oklahoma City, Okla.	.50	5959	Herman Fiedler, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	12.50
5847	M. Sundstrom, R. C., Cleveland, Ohio	10.00	5901	Joalyn, Oklahoma City, Okla.	.50	5960	Nick Vinate, R. C., Franklin, Kans.	1.70
5848	Anthony Novak, R. C., New Philadelphia, Ohio	10.00	5902	Chas. T. Foster, Oklahoma City, Okla.	.50	5961	B. Strmota, R. C., Sunnyvale, Cal.	69.00
5849	A. Brenner, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	5903	G. F. Wilson, Oklahoma City, Okla.	.50	5962	Robert Gordon, R. C., Hugo, Okla.	50.00
5850	D. H. Howell, R. C., Quay, Fla.	5.00	5904	M. Picow, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1.00	5963	T. & Mrs. Kramin, Sacramento, Cal.	25.00
5851	Anne Withington, R. C., Boston, Mass.	5.00	5905	A. Welcovitch, R. C., Maynard, Mass.	61.70	5964	John Marten, R. C., San Francisco, Cal.	11.00
5852	S.W. Keaton, R.C., Agnew, Cal.	5.00	5906	T. Chernyskiok, R. C., Milburn, W. Va.	42.00	5965	Alice E. Harrington, Fairhope, Ala.	5.00
5853	S. Hilkowita, R. C., San Diego, Cal.	53.00	5907	Kornily Zadiraka, R. C., Waverly, Pa.	41.50	5966	John Kelley, List 1654, Rochester, N. Y.	17.65
5854	Paul Ozandch, R. C., Center ville, Iowa	22.00	5908	A. Kobrin, R. C., Daltystown, Pa.	20.50	5967	Am. Hung. S. B. & E. Fed. No. 87, Coll. Farrell, Pa.	1.60
5855	J. A. Modin, R. C., Byron, Cal.	116.00	5909	Constantin Shevchuk, Medway, Mass.	7.75	5968	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	100.00
5856	W. H. Lemich, R. C., Youngstown, Ohio	18.00	5910	Amal, Food Workers (Hotel & Rest. W. Br.) Chicago, Ill.	25.00	5969	Max Oxott, New Orleans, La.	1.00
5857	A. Langendorfer, R. C., Newport, Ky.	13.00	5911	W. M. Gejewaki, Newark, N.J.	25.00	5970	S. Ronwal, New Orleans, La.	1.00
5858	Nick Hrisin, R. C., Parsglowe, W. Va.	11.00	5912	L. E. Seney, R. C., Roseland, B. C. Canada	23.00	5971	Lawrence Narrod, New Orleans, La.	2.00
5859	O. Bodeen, R. C., Part Wing, Wis.	9.00	5913	E. A. Stewart, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	5972	Platon Sorokaty, New Orleans, La.	2.00
5860	M. Sodal & M. Wilk, R. C., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	4.00	5914	B. Benson, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	5973	Victor Sieku, New Orleans, La.	1.00
			5915	Alex Mattson, R. C., Hibbing, Minn.	8.00	5974	Frlin Stutas, New Orleans, La.	1.00
			5916	Robert E. Weaver, R. C., Reading, Pa.	23.00	5975	Alexander Jodejoks, New Orleans, La.	1.00
			5917	Emil Hedberg, R. C., Sioux City, Iowa	15.00	5976	Paul Makarevich, New Orleans, La.	2.00
			5918	Cancelled, issued by mistake. 820		5977	S. Sokoloff, New Orleans, La.	1.00
			5919	H.H. Davis, R. C., Willits, Cal.	15.00	5978	Michael Dubrovio, New Orleans, La.	1.00
						5979	People of Brule, Wis.	52.85
						5980	F. S. R. Br., R. C., Chisholm, Minn.	48.50

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
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5982	Peter Antonioti, R. C., Astoria, N. Y.	9.25	6009	John K. Blucis, Sr., Grand Rapids, Mich.	2.00	6041	Thos. S. McMillan, R. C., Salsheville, Ohio	5.00
5983	L. J. Poentrek, List 5325, West Park, Ohio	8.80	6010	Vasily Tanasief, N. Y. C.	3.00	6042	Geo. W. Lindsay, R. C., Evanston, Ill.	5.00
5984	Dr. Wm. Billnab, Racine, Wis.	1.00	6011	J. Milligan, Swisvale, Pa.	1.00	6043	J. Efreas, R. C., Newark, N.J.	5.00
5985	Mr. & Mrs. C. Bagnckia, Worcester, Mass.	2.00	6012	Leopold Gottsammer, N. Y. C.	1.00	6044	W. Davis, R. C., N. Y. C.	3.00
5986	C. G. Serra, R. C., Virginia, Minn.	28.00	6013	M. Pitela, R. C., Easton, Pa.	6.00	6045	Agate Lodge No 519 Br. of Locomot. Fire & Eng., Duluth, Minn.	10.00
5987	U. M. W. of A., Local 4371, Clinton, Ind.	25.00	6014	H. L. Anderson, Mankate, Minn.	1.00	6046	Mrs. Arminta Hoar, R. C., Denver, Cal.	5.00
5988	Women's F. S. R., R. C., Butte, Mont.	25.00	6015	F. Rock, Hurleyville, N. Y.	1.00	6047	Wazel Bahan, R. C., Pittsburg, Pa.	2.00
5989	W. Grobelny, R. C., Fairpoint, Ohio	21.00	6016	Anna K. Bill, Cincinnati, Ohio	10.00	6048	J. A. Robinson, Tampa, Fla.	2.00
5990	V. Alto, R. C., Reloro, Ont., Canada	20.00	6017	Mytro Wialacki & Jim Vealcke, R. C., Hartford, W. Va.	5.00	6049	Andrew Olekuk, R.C., Oelwein, Iowa	1.00
5991	John A. Nordlund, R. C., Evanston, Ill.	20.00	6018	Carmelo Profeta, Bklyn, N.Y.	3.00	6050	Dr. P. E. Gold, Cuthand, Tex.	2.00
5992	Mrs. Johanne Rae, Great Falls, Mont.	20.00	6019	Henry Prime, R. C., Utica, N.Y.	2.00	6051	Ouler Finnish Workers, Iroa River, Wis.	20.00
5993	H. Mogavero, R. C., Schenectady, N. Y.	20.00	6020	Jas. A. Boyle, R. C., Kingman, Kans.	1.00	6052	A. W. M., Chicago, Ill.	10.00
5994	L. Kvarnstrom, R. C., Superior, Wis.	16.00	6021	P. J. Riedel, Wa Keeney, Kans.	1.00	6053	J. F. Kaiser, Bartlesville, Okla.	5.00
5995	Hale P. Dougherty, N. Y. C.	10.00	6022	Mrs. C. Reiss, N. Y. C.	1.00	6054	Mr. & Mrs. E. & Miss T. E., Hukkala, Sointula, B. C., Can.	5.00
5996	Carrie D. Denton, Wellesley, Mass.	7.00	6923	Charles Johnson, Staten Island, N. Y.	4.00	6055	Frank J. Milefchik, Fairhope, Ala.	5.00
5997	Wasly Hutnik, R. C., Indianola, Pa.	7.00	6024	F. Killian, Hoboken, N. J.	3.00	6056	W. H. Aggus, Norwalk, Ohio	2.00
5998	Barney Cohen, Peoria, Ill.	5.00	6025	Harry Spiegler, R. C., N. Y. C.	6.00	6057	Walter Richardson, Meeting, Deer Lodge, Mont.	14.31
5999	Arbeiter Kranken & Sterbekasse, Oakkoah, Wis.	5.00	6026	J. Hrabouski, R. C., Transcona-man, Canada (Can. \$11.75)	11.16	6058	Mrs. S. A. Herrington, R. C., Plummer, Ida.	18.50
6000	Casimir Kostrzewski, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	6027	Ernest W. Nelson, Vancouver, B. C., Canada (Can. \$2.00)	1.90	6059	Paul Baltutis, Lyman, Neb.	5.00
6001	Geo. Baechlin, Centralia, Waah.	10.00	6028	Rex Conrad, R. C., Wanhams, Alta., Canada (Can. \$11.00)	10.45	6060	D. N. Semenuck, Lyman, Neb.	5.00
6002	W. Pilctsky, Jackson, Mich.	10.00	6029	Wm. Hannusch, R. C., Bembroke, Ont., Canada	31.82	6061	H. J. Gorning, Detroit, Mich.	5.00
6003	J. Striga, R. C., Newmarket, N. H.	6.00	6030	Virginia Work People's Trading Co., W. Virginia, Minn.	500.00	6062	Gustave E. Hult, N. Y. C.	2.00
6004	C. A. Shepard, Lynn Haven, Fla.	5.00	6031	F. S. R. Branch, Cincinnati, O.	100.00	6063	Salomie Jackson, Flourtown, Pa.	1.00
6005	R. J. Hill, Wichita, Kans.	5.00	6032	Miss Barbara Haas, Newark, N. J.	100.00	6064	Petersburg Unit, O. B. U., Petersburg, Alaska	10.00
6006	Mike Busko, Osceola Mills, Pa.	5.00	6033	Carl Stavitsky, List 15970, Cornupia, Wis.	73.00	6065	L. C. Valere, E. Akron, Ohio	1.00
6007	Geo. Aabel, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	6034	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	2,110.04	6066	Franco-Belg. Propa. Club., Lawrence, Mass.	170.60
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May 1, 1922

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Semi-Monthly Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia

Famine in Russia and Capitalism abroad



THE BLOCKADE AND ITS VICTIMS

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Our Stand at Genoa

By N. LENIN

(A speech delivered before the Congress of Metal Workers, Moscow, March 6, 1922.)

YOU all know, of course, that Genoa still occupies the first place among all the problems of international policy.... We must say to ourselves as well as to all those who are in any way interested in the fate of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic that our attitude as to the Genoa conference has from the very beginning been firmly determined and has remained so. And it is not our fault if others lack not only firmness, but even the most elementary determination, the most elementary capacity to put their intentions into effect. We have declared from the very beginning that we welcome Genoa and that we will go there; we understood very well and did not at all conceal the fact that we were going there as merchants, for the reason that trade relations with capitalist countries are absolutely necessary to us, and that we are going in order to be in a position to consider in the most regular and adequate manner the politically advantageous conditions of these commercial relations, and nothing else. This is of course no secret to those capitalist countries whose governments drafted the first plans of the Genoa Conference. These governments know very well that the number of trade agreements connecting us with the various capitalist countries is increasing, that the number of business transactions is growing, and that the number of commercial enterprises, Russian as well as foreign, which are being considered in the most detailed way, in all sorts of combinations of various foreign countries and various branches of our industry—is at present enormous. For this reason the capitalist countries know mighty well the practical bases of what is going to be the main subject of the deliberations at Genoa. And if as a complement to this basis there appears a superstructure of all kinds of political conversations, propositions, projects — then this must be understood to be only a little superstructure devised and created by those who were interested in it.

In the more than four years that the Soviet Government has been in existence, we have of

course acquired a sufficient amount of practical experience (though we knew enough about it theoretically) to be able to form a correct opinion of the diplomatic game which the representatives of the bourgeois countries have developed, in accordance with all the rules of the antiquated diplomatic art of the bourgeois system. We understand very well what is the basis of this game; we know that its essence is trade. The bourgeois countries need trade with Russia; they know that without some kind of mutual economic relations their decay will continue progressing as heretofore; in spite of all their great victories, in spite of all the bragging with which they are filling the papers of the whole world, their economic life is decaying more and more, and even now, in the fourth year after their victories, they cannot accomplish even the most simple task, namely, the reconstruction of the old (not to speak of the creation of anything new), and they are still ruminating the question of how three, four, or five of them might come together (as you see, the unusually large number is making the possibility of an agreement very difficult) and bring about such a combination as would render trade relations possible. I understand that time is really necessary if Communists are to learn to trade, and that anyone wanting to learn to trade will make great mistakes for several years, and history will forgive him because he is doing something new. We shall have to make our minds more flexible and put aside all our Communist, or rather, our Russian apathy and sluggishness, as well as many other things.

But it is strange that the representatives of the bourgeois countries should have to learn anew the principles of a trade which they have been conducting for hundreds of years, and on which their entire social existence is based. Besides, it is not so strange for us. We long ago said that their judgment of the world war was less correct than ours. Their judgment was entirely near-sighted, and three years after their gigantic victories they cannot find a way out of the situation. We Com-

munists said that our estimate of the war was deeper and more correct, that its contradictions and calamities would have incomparably more far-reaching consequences than was supposed by capitalist governments. And, looking from the outside at the victorious bourgeois countries, we said: they will many a time have cause to remember our predictions and our judgment of the war and of its consequences. We are not surprised that they have gotten into a blind alley. But at the same time we say: We need the trade with the capitalist countries as long as they exist as such. We are negotiating with them as merchants, and the fact that we can accomplish this is being proved by the ever increasing number of trade agreements with capitalist countries, as well as by the number of transactions effected. We cannot publish them as long as they have not been finally concluded. When a capitalist business man comes to us and says: as long as our negotiations have not been terminated, the matter must remain confidential—it is understood that we cannot refuse this request from a business point of view. But we know very well how many agreements are in preparation: the list alone is several pages long, and among them there is a great number of practical business propositions with important financial groups. It is understood that the representatives of the bourgeois countries who are going to assemble in Genoa know this just as well as we do; for these governments have remained in constant touch with the activities of their capitalist concerns.

The Threats of European Diplomacy

Therefore, if in telegrams coming from abroad we find repeated news to the effect that they have no exact idea what is going to go on in Genoa, that they are inventing something new, that they intend to surprise the world by presenting new terms to Russia, then let me tell them (and I hope that I may be able to say this personally to Lloyd George at Genoa): "You will not surprise anybody. You are business men and are doing business well. We are still learning business and are doing it very badly. But we have hundreds of agreements and draft agreements from which it can be seen how we are doing business, what transactions we have concluded and are concluding, and on what terms. And if we find in the newspapers all kinds of news items the intention of which is to frighten some one, reports that we are to be put on some sort of probation, then we coolly smile at such reports. We have heard many threats, more serious than the threats of a merchant who is preparing to bang the door while he submits what he calls his bottom price. We have heard threats uttered by the mouth of cannon on the part of the allied governments who now hold practically the whole world in their hands. We were not frightened by these threats. Please don't forget that, you gentlemen of European diplomacy. We are not at all anxious to keep our own diplomatic prestige, our repute—the thing that is so extraordinarily important for the bourgeois

governments. Officially we will not talk about it at all, but we have not forgotten it. Not a single worker, not a single peasant, has forgotten, he cannot forget and will never forget, that he fought in defense of the Workers' and Peasants' Government against the alliance of all, even the most powerful countries, which were engaged in intervention. We are in possession of an entire collection of agreements which these governments in the course of a number of years, concluded with Kolchak and Denikin. They have been published, we know them, the whole world knows them. Therefore why should we play hide and seek as if we had forgotten everything? Every peasant and every worker knows that he fought against these countries and that they did not vanquish him. And if it please you, representatives of the bourgeois countries, to amuse yourselves and to waste your paper (you have more of it than is necessary) and ink, and overload your wires and radio stations, in order to inform the whole world that you are going "to place Russia on probation", then we must still see who will place the other on probation. We have been already put on probation, not with words, not with trade or with money, but with arms. And by heavy, bloody and painful wounds we have deserved to have applied to us, even by our foes, the proverb: "A man who has received blows is worth two who have not."

We have deserved this in the military field. But in the sphere of commerce, it is unfortunate that we Communists have not received many blows as yet, but I hope that in the near future this deficiency will be remedied.

I have mentioned that I hope to speak personally with Lloyd George in Genoa on the above subject, and to tell him that it is useless to frighten us with child's play, because only those who are doing the frightening will lose their prestige thereby. I hope that in this I will not be prevented by my sickness, which has been preventing me for several months from participating directly in political affairs, and in general does not allow me to carry on my work as a Soviet official. I have grounds to think that in a few weeks I shall be able to return to work. But will they in the course of the next few weeks be able to come to an agreement—three or four of them among themselves—as to the matter about which they announced to the whole world that they have come to an agreement—of this I am not quite sure. I even venture to state that no one in the world may be certain of that, and, more than that, that they themselves do not know. For, when the victorious countries in whose hands is the power over the entire world met at Cannes, after they had met many times before (the number of their conferences is endless and the bourgeois press of Europe is already making fun of them), they were still unable to state definitely what they wanted.

Trotsky's Order

From the point of view of practical problems and not from the point of view of the diplomatic

game the situation has been most correctly outlined by Comrade Trotsky. On the day after the information had come that the Genoa Conference had been finally decided upon, that there was full agreement as to Genoa, and that only the instability of one of the bourgeois governments (they have become suspiciously unstable) had brought about a slight delay, he published the following army order: "Let every Red Army soldier become familiar with the international situation; we know with certainty that there is a strong group which would like to try intervention; we will be on the look-out, and let every Red Army soldier understand the meaning of the diplomatic game as well as the meaning of the force of arms which up to the present has decided all class conflicts."

Let every Red Army soldier know what this game means, what is the significance of the force of arms, and then we will see. However capitalism may have decayed in many capitalist countries, this adventure might be tried by several parties not without influence. And if the governments are so unstable that they cannot call a conference in time, then who knows in whose hands these governments will find themselves. We know that they have influential parties that want war, as well as influential personages and powerful capitalists; we know this very well, and we know also everything about the present state of affairs which is the basis of the economical agreements. We have overcome many hardships and know what calamities and sufferings a new resort to warfare may bring us, and we say that we will bear it once more—let them only try it.

The deduction made by Comrade Trotsky, who instead of declarations of diplomatic character published his firm appeal, was that the international situation should be explained anew to every Red Army soldier, that the postponement of the Genoa Conference because of the Italian Governmental crisis—means the danger of war. We will see to it that every Red Army soldier becomes acquainted with the facts. This will be all the easier to attain, because it would be hard to find a single family, a single Red Army soldier in Russia, who is not fully aware of this situation, not only from the newspapers, circulars or orders, but even from his own village, where he sees cripples, where he sees families who passed through the trials of this war, where he sees the bad harvest, the terrible hunger, the ruin and destitution, and knows what brought them about, even though he does not read the Paris newspapers of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists, who place the responsibility for all these things on the bad qualities of the Bolsheviks. The sentiment that pervades his entire being with the greatest force is the sentiment of resistance—resistance to those who imposed upon us and supported against us the war of Kolchak and Denikin. On that account we do not need to call to life new committees for agitation and propaganda. As to the Genoa Conference, it is necessary to distinguish between its essence and the newspaper canards

launched by the bourgeoisie; they think them to be terrible bombs, but they do not frighten us, and we have seen many of them, and they do not always deserve that even a smile be wasted on them. All attempts to impose upon us terms as if we were vanquished, are outright nonsense to which it is not worth while to reply. We are entering relations as merchants and we know what you owe us and what we owe you, and what legitimate and even exorbitant profit you may derive from us. We have a great number of proposals, the number of agreements grows and will grow, whatever the relations between the three or four victorious powers; a postponement of this conference will be a loss for yourselves, because by postponing it you will prove to your own people that you yourselves do not know what you want and that you are suffering from a disease of the will. This sickness consists in your inability to understand the economic and political situation which we have judged better than you did. Soon ten years will have passed since we sized up this situation correctly, while all this destruction and decay have not yet become clear to the bourgeois governments.

Stopping the Retreat

We already see clearly the situation which was brought about in our country and we can say with firm determination that the retreat which we have begun can now be stopped and that we are stopping it. It is enough. We are fully aware—and do not conceal the fact—that the new economic policy is a retreat. We had gone so far that it was not possible to maintain everything; but such is the logic of the struggle. He who remembers what happened in November, 1917, or, if at that time he was politically immature and did not become acquainted until later with the situation prevailing in 1917, he now knows how many compromise proposals the Bolsheviks at that time had made to the bourgeoisie. They said: "Gentlemen, everything is falling to pieces in your hands, but we will seize the power and will keep it. Could you not find a way to arrange things, as the peasant would say, without too much fuss? We know that there was not only a fuss, but even attempts at revolts provoked by the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists. First they said: "We are ready to hand over the power immediately to the Soviets." Recently I had an opportunity to read an article of Kerensky against Chernov in a paper published in Paris: Kerensky says, "We did not cling to power; already at the time of the Democratic Conference I declared that if persons could be found who would take upon themselves the organization of a homogenous government, the government would be transmitted to the new government without any violent commotions."

We did not refuse to take over the government all by ourselves. We declared that as far back as June, 1917. In November, 1917, at the Congress of the Soviets, this became a fact—the Soviet Congress had a Bolshevik majority. Thereupon Kerensky asked for the help of the military cadets,

he galloped off to Krasnov, and was about to order the entire army to march on Petrograd. We upset them a little, and now they are sore and say: "What ruffians, what usurpers, what hangmen!" Our reply is: "Blame yourselves, friends! Do not think that the Russian peasants and workers have forgotten your actions! You challenged us to a desperate fight in November, 1917, and in reply we took recourse to terror, and again to terror—and will use it still again if you try it again. Not a single worker, not a single peasant doubts that it is necessary; with the exception of some hysterical intellectuals, nobody doubts it." Amid unheard of hardships on the economical field we had to conduct war with an enemy whose forces were a hundredfold superior to ours; it is obvious that under these circumstances we had to take recourse to extraordinary communist measures—going further than was necessary; we were forced to do so; our enemies thought that they would force us to surrender. They said: They will not make any concessions. We answered: If you think we will not decide upon extremely communist measures, you are mistaken. And we decided to take them; we did; and we won.

At present we say that we cannot maintain these positions; we are retreating because we have conquered enough to maintain the necessary positions. The entire White Guard crowd headed by the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists is triumphant and says: "We told you so! You are retreating." But we answer them: "You may exult—if this gives you any consolation. We are quite satisfied if our enemy, instead of doing real work, is concerning himself with self-consolation. Triumph! You are placing us in a still more convenient position, if you console yourselves with delusions. We have conquered important positions, and if between 1917 and 1921 we had not conquered these positions, we would not have had a place to which to retreat—either geographically, or economically or politically. We are maintaining the power in alliance with the peasantry, and if you do not wish to agree to the terms which were offered to you before the war, then after the war you will get conditions which are much worse." This has been fully recorded in the diplomatic, economic and political history from 1917 to 1921, so that it is not mere boasting. It is simply the statement of a fact, a reminder.

If in November 1917 the capitalists had accepted our proposals, they would have at present five times as much as they have now. You (the bourgeois) were fighting for three years. What did you get for it? Do you want to continue fighting? We know very well that by far not all of you desire to fight. On the other hand we know that on account of the terrible hunger, on account of the present state of industry we will be unable to maintain all the positions which we kept from 1917 up to 1921. We have given up a great number of them. But we can say now that this retreat as far as concessions made to the capitalists are concerned, is now ended. We have

considered our forces and those of the capitalists. We have made a number of investigations concerning the conclusion of agreements with Russian and foreign capitalists and we say—and I hope and am convinced—that the Congress of the Party will declare it officially in behalf of the ruling party of Russia: We can stop our economic retreat now. It is enough. We will not retreat any further, and we now will proceed to a regular development and grouping of our forces.

The Famine and the Financial Disorganization

When I say that we are stopping our economic retreat, this does not mean that I am in any way forgetting the incredible difficulties in which we find ourselves at present, and that I want to soothe and to console you in this respect. The question concerning the limits of our retreat, as well as that of whether or not we are going to stop it, is not the same question as that of the difficulties before us. We know what difficulties we have to face. We know what a famine in a peasant country like Russia means. We know that we have not succeeded yet in remedying the calamity brought about by the hunger. We know what a financial crisis means in a country which is forced to do business and in which such a tremendous amount of money has been issued as the world had never seen before. We are aware of these difficulties and know that they are tremendous. I am not afraid to say that they are infinite. But this does not frighten us at all. On the contrary, we draw our strength from the fact that we frankly declare to the workers and peasants: These are the difficulties facing us, this is the danger menacing us on the part of the western powers. Let us work and face soberly the tasks before us. If we are discontinuing our retreat, this does not mean that we do not know these dangers. We are looking straight at them. We say: here is the main danger; the calamity brought about by the famine must be remedied. We have not remedied it yet. We have not yet overcome the financial crisis. Thus, our words as to the discontinuance of our retreat must not be understood as signifying that we are of the opinion that we have established the foundation of our new economy and that we can proceed safely. No, the foundation has not been established yet. We cannot yet look calmly into the future. We are surrounded by military dangers, of which I have spoken sufficiently, and we are surrounded by still greater dangers from within, dangers in the economic field, as expressed in the terrible ruin of the peasantry, in the famine and the financial crisis. These dangers are very grave. We must exert all our forces. But if a war is imposed upon us, we shall know how to fight.

But the conduct of war is not an easy matter for them either. In 1918 it was easy for them to start a war, and to continue it, in 1919. But many things happened before 1922. The workers and peasants of western Europe are by no means what they were in 1919. And to cheat them—telling them "we are fighting against the Ger-

mans and the Bolsheviks are only the agents of the Germans"—is not possible. We are not panicky on account of our economic situation. We are at present in possession of a great number of agreements that were concluded with Russian and foreign capitalists. We know what difficulties were and are still confronting us. We know why the Russian capitalists have made these agreements. The majority of these capitalists conclude these agreements as practical men, as merchants. We, too, enter into such agreement as merchants. But to a certain degree the merchant takes politics into account. If he is a merchant of a country which is not entirely savage, he will not conclude an agreement with a government which apparently is not stable. A merchant who would do that is not a merchant but a fool. But among the merchants he does not represent the majority because the logic of commercial competition removes him from the commercial battlefield. If formerly we said: "Denikin has beaten us, let us prove that we can beat him," at present we must say: "The merchant has beaten us, let us prove that we can force him to make good terms with us." We have proved that. We have already a number of contracts with the biggest firms of Russia and Western Europe. We know what they are after. They know what we are after.

An End to Concessions—But an End Also to Our Inefficiency

At present the problems confronting us have somewhat changed. In connection with the present situation, we must say that after having made so many concessions, we are going to stop and make no more concessions. If the capitalists think that we can be induced to make further and further concessions, we must tell them: "Enough, tomorrow you are not going to get anything." If the history of the Soviet Government and of its victories has taught them nothing, let us leave them to their fate. As far as we are concerned, we have done what we could and we have announced it to the whole world. I hope the conference will also indorse our abandonment of further concessions. The retreat has come to a close, and at this stage our activity must change.

I must point out that up to the present a certain nervousness, almost a disease, is noticeable in the discussion of this subject; all kind of plans are made and all kinds of resolutions are adopted. In that connection I would like to relate the following incident. I accidentally read yesterday in *Izvestya* a poem of Mayakovsky on a political subject. I am not among the worshippers of his poetical talent, although I fully admit my incompetence in this field. But for a long time I have not enjoyed such a pleasure from the political and administrative point of view. In his poem Mayakovsky thoroughly derides conferences and sneers at the Communists for their endless conferences and conferences. I don't understand anything about the literary value of the poem, but as far as politics is concerned he is perfectly

right. We are really in the situation of people (and it must be admitted that this situation is very silly) who are all the time having conferences, forming commissions, making plans, *ad infinitum*. There was once a certain character in Russian life named Oblomov.* He always lay in bed forming plans. Much time has elapsed since, Russia has had three revolutions, but for all that Oblomov was not only a nobleman, but also a peasant, not only a peasant but also an intellectual, and not only an intellectual but also a worker and a Communist. It is enough to consider how we hold our sessions, how we work in our commissions, in order to be justified in saying that the old Oblomov is still alive, and it will be necessary to wash, to clean, to pound and maul him for a long time, if anything is to be made of him. We must consider this thing without any illusions. We did not imitate those who write the word "revolution" with a capital "R", as do the Social-Revolutionists. But we may repeat the words of Marx, that in the time of revolution not less stupidities are committed, but sometimes even more. It is necessary to consider these stupidities soberly and fearlessly—we, the revolutionists, must learn that. We accomplished during this revolution so many things that will stay, that have finally conquered and that are known to the whole world, that at any rate you do not have to be disturbed or to become nervous. At present the situation is such that, basing ourselves on the investigation made, we may review now what we have accomplished; this examination is of great importance; after it we may take a further step. And if we are to hold our own in the struggle against the capitalists, we must decidedly follow a new path. We must establish our entire organization in such a way that at the head of our commercial organizations there shall be no men without experience in this field. Everywhere, at the head of every department there is a communist, a man known for his honesty, tried in the struggle for communism, a man who has spent time in prison but who does not understand anything about business and who has been placed at the head of a State Trust. He has all the necessary qualities for a Communist, but any merchant can get the better of him, because it is useless to put the most worthy, the most excellent communists, whose honesty only a madman could contest, in a position to which it would be proper to appoint a circumspect salesman, whose attitude towards his work is conscientious and who would do his work much better than the most devoted Communist. But here our Oblomov enters. For practical work we have nominated Communists who, with all their excellent qualities, were absolutely unfit for that work.

How many Communists are employed in our governmental institutions? We have collected tremendous materials which would bring joy to even the most pedantic German professor; we have mountains of papers, and fifty years of work of

*A character in Goncharov's novel, *Oblomov*.

our Institute for the Party's History, multiplied by fifty, would be necessary in order to see one's way through it, and in practice you will not get anything done in the State Trust and you will not find out who is responsible for anything. The practical execution of the decrees of which we have more than sufficient and which we are producing with that eagerness described by Mayakovsky, is not being checked up. Are the decisions of the responsible Soviet workers being carried out? Do they know how to organize that work? No, that is not the case and that is why we must change our internal policy. What is the matter with our conferences and commissions? They are often a joke. After we began to clean up the party and said to ourselves: "Out with the grafters and thieves who have smuggled themselves into the party"—conditions improved. We have thrown out one hundred thousand—and this is very well, but this is only the beginning. At the party congress we shall discuss this matter at length. And then I think those tens of thousands who at present are only concerned with organizing commissions and are not occupied in any practical work and cannot do any, will undergo the same fate.

Only when we have cleaned up in this way, will the party do real practical work and understand it in the same way as it understood the military struggle. Of course this is not work for a few months or even for a year. We must show hard determination in this question. We are not afraid to say that the nature of our work has changed. Our worst enemy is the interior enemy—the Communist who occupies a responsible (or even an ordinary) Soviet post and enjoys general esteem as a conscientious person. He has not learned how to fight against inefficiency, he does not know how to fight against it, he condones it. We must free ourselves from this enemy, and with the help of all the conscious workers and peasants we will succeed in doing so. The entire mass of the workers and peasants not belonging to any party will follow the advance guard of the Communist party in its struggle against this enemy. There must be no hesitation as to this point.

Let me sum up. The game of Genoa, the stage play that is taking place about Genoa will not make us waver. They will not "get" us this time. We are going to talk to merchants and we are ready to make concessions, continuing our policy of concessions, but the limits of these concessions have already been determined. Whatever we have given the merchants up to the present in our agreements, we have done as a step backward in our legislation, and we will not go any further.

In this connection there is a change taking place in the tasks confronting our internal, and especially our economic policy. What we need is not new decrees, not new institutions, not new methods of struggle. What we need is to verify the ability of the people, to check up the accomplishment in practical work. The next cleaning up will hit at all the Communists who call themselves administrators. It would be better that all those who

conduct these commissions and conferences and do not do any practical work, should concern themselves with agitation and propaganda. They get up something extraordinary and find an excuse for themselves by saying that this is the new economic policy and that it is necessary to invent something new. But the work which is entrusted to them is not being done. They are not interested in saving a kopeck wherever possible and in turning it into double the amount if possible, but they waste time in making plans and estimates for Soviet millions and even trillions. It is against this enemy that we must wage war. To verify the abilities of the people and to check up the practical execution of the work—this is—we must repeat—the central point of our whole work, of our whole policy. This is not a matter of a few months, not a matter of a year, but of several years. We must officially state in the name of the Party, in what the most important part of our work consists, and reform our ranks accordingly. Then we will be as victorious in this new sphere as we have hitherto been in all the other tasks which the Bolshevik proletarian government, supported by the peasant mass, has undertaken.

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The New Constructive Phase in Russia

By A. A. HELLER

(The Representative in America of the Supreme Council of National Economy gives the results of his studies of Russian industry on the spot.)

IN the Tretyakov Galleries in Moscow there is a painting by Maikov called *Vikhr—The Cyclone*. It represents a young peasant boy and girl dancing. The picture is hung on the wall farthest from the entrance. When you first look at it as you enter the room you are almost blinded,—it seems as if a splash of vivid red had struck your eye. You perceive nothing clearly about the picture, except that it is full of life, that it is predominantly bloodred, that it is powerful. When you approach the painting more closely you distinguish the two figures in a mad dance, the brilliant red skirt of the girl whirling in the air, the man accompanying her with equal abandon. You make out details of the costumes, the faces, the movements, the background. When you stand very near the picture you are again confused. You see nothing but large blotches of paint, apparently laid on in meaningless disorder.

So it is with the Russian Revolution. Some who are too far away conceive it as red nightmare, while to others, who cannot see the picture for the paint, it seems to be nothing but meaningless disorder. But neither view is correct. It is a tremendous event in the history of the world, too big for us to appreciate, just because we are too close to it. It is a revolution, great, profound and deep, that has toppled over one order and is building a new one on the ruins. The work of construction is going on before our eyes. It seems badly organized; there is lack of bricks in one place, and of mortar in another; here and there parts of the wall are tumbling; but the building is making progress nevertheless. Some people may like it and others may not; but it is there as a living fact.

This is the impression which I carried away from Soviet Russia after a visit of nearly five months, from June to November, 1921. During this time I traveled through Russia and Siberia, visiting many out-of-the-way places and talking with men and women of all classes, peasants, city workers, engineers and dispossessed bourgeois. It cannot be doubted that the power of the Soviet Government is firmly established. Every town, every village offers decisive proof of this fact. The Soviet power reaches the smallest settlements; and everywhere it is represented by well organized local administrations. In the country districts peasants are at the head of the local government organs; in the towns the officials are recruited mainly from the manual workers.

These proletarian governors are usually cast in a strong mold; energy and determination are their outstanding qualities. Most of them have passed through the school of active struggle, either at the front in the civil war, or, if they are older men,

in the labor movement, in exile, in Siberian jails. Such a man is Kaveshnikov, the chairman of the executive committee of his village soviet. Kaveshnikov is a peasant, self-educated and fully in touch with conditions in his district. He is a devoted Communist, proud of the fact that he raised the largest amount in taxes of any county in his province. Another typical soviet official is Abramov, the head of an important department in the Siberian Government. Abramov was a Petrograd workman. Joining the Red Army he rose to a position of leadership in the campaign against Kolchak. Now he says he would like to go back to his bench, at least for a year, in order to rest from the unaccustomed worries of administering a large department.

In all my travels I became firmly convinced of two things: the extent and depth of the Revolution and the strength of the Soviet Government. In spite of the long period of turmoil and civil war life and property are as safe in Russia to-day as in any so-called civilized country in the world.

At the same time living conditions in Russia at the present time are very hard. Such elementary articles as medicaments, soap and sugar are lacking. Of course most things can be bought in the market for money, and trade is steadily increasing. When I left Moscow on October 31 the city was unrecognizable, compared with its aspect when I arrived in June. Stores and shops were open, doing a lively business, buildings were being repaired and painted, theatres were filled. But the average workman and employe still finds it difficult to obtain decent clothing and housing and sufficient food. The general food situation is aggravated by the terrible famine in the Volga district. The calculations of the Government regarding the tax in kind, made in the spring, when the new tax law was introduced, are upset; and the bread which was originally destined for the industrial workers must be sent to the famine region. Many industrial establishments which were to be put in operation this fall will not be able to open; and many government departments are sharply reducing the number of their employees. Russia is facing a serious unemployment situation.

I found, however, that the general confidence in the possibility of Russia's economic recovery had been greatly strengthened by the new economic policy, which was formally decreed by the Soviet Government last spring, and which was gradually receiving practical application during the summer and fall. This new policy marks a turn in the direction of state capitalism, and implies the return of some features of the capitalist economic system, such as production for profit, private ownership of property, use of money, a

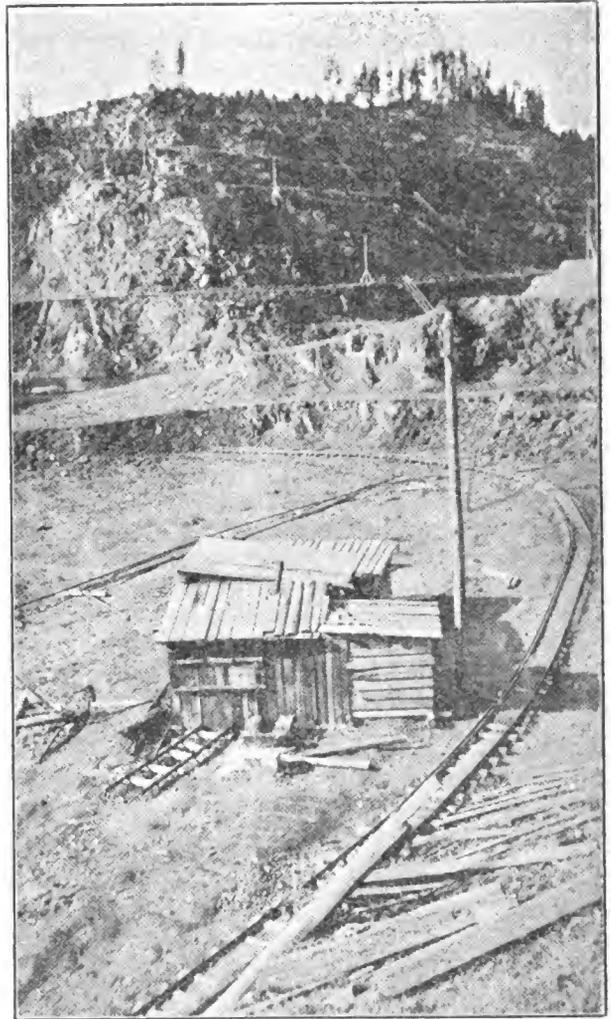
banking system, credits, interest, inheritance rights, civil courts, collection of rent and taxes and concessions to capitalists. It is expected that many factories and houses will be returned to their former owners, and individuals and associations are encouraged to engage in manufacture and trade. The effects of this change of policy are becoming apparent throughout the Republic. Peasants are bringing their products to market; factories are organized on a basis of self-supply, instead of depending upon the government for their requirements; warehouses are being opened; many plants are being leased to co-operative organizations.

The factories are very well preserved. Their equipment is in good order; and they frequently possess considerable stores of raw material. I inspected perhaps fifty large industrial establishments; and I was surprised to find them in such excellent shape. Most of them are in need of repairs; but the defects are usually of a minor nature. Such things as repair parts, electric lamps, and belting are apt to be missing. While production in Russia has fallen sadly, in some cases to 2.2 per cent of the pre-war volume, the plants themselves seem to have suffered very little.

Some interesting figures on Russia's industrial production are furnished by E. Preobrazhensky, a well-known Soviet economist, in a pamphlet entitled: *Paper Money in the Period of Proletarian Dictatorship*.* Preobrazhensky's figures are based upon the production statistics for the months January-July, 1920; but I think they hold good, with some minor exceptions, for the present time. Naturally, the industries which were least essential to the prosecution of the war have suffered the most. The production of paint and varnish declined to 2.2 per cent of the 1913 volume. Soap and candles, with 2.8 per cent, showed an equally catastrophic falling-off. Glass is reckoned at 13 per cent, paper at 15 per cent, matches at 16 per cent, tobacco at 17 per cent, and oil at 33 per cent, of pre-war production.

The primary causes of Russia's industrial debacle are the World War, the civil war, and the blockade. These are over now; but their evil effects remain. During my travels I was especially impressed by two outstanding handicaps under which Russian industry is now laboring: the shortage of skilled workers and the lack of an adequate and regular food supply for the industrial population. The decimation of the skilled workers is one of the tragedies of the intervention and civil war. It was from this class that the Communist Party recruited a large part of its membership. It furnished proportionally by far the largest share of volunteers for the Red Army. Many of the skilled workers were killed in the long civil war; many were called to fill government posts. An effort is now being made to give technical instruction to as many of the younger workers as possible; and this should produce good results in the future.

*Reviewed in SOVIET RUSSIA, May 14, 1921 (Vol. IV, p. 487).



A COAL MINE NEAR CHELIABINSK

The coal is here taken right off the surface, as in a quarry. The terraces in the background show the method of work.

But just now the absence of skilled men is keenly felt in the Russian factories.

Equally disastrous is the lack of any effective scheme for provisioning the industrial workers. Time after time in the Urals I found factories with excellent equipment and a large labor force closed simply because there was no way of guaranteeing the workers a regular supply of food. If the Government could accumulate only six months' stock of food for the industrial workers the productivity of the Russian mines and factories would increase, I am convinced, at an amazing rate. This problem is, of course, complicated by the famine. Whatever the Government planned to do in the direction of improving the condition of the workers was nullified by the necessity to feed the millions of starving peasants in the Valley of the Volga.

In its efforts to re-establish industry the Soviet Government is offering very liberal contracts, both

to foreign and to domestic entrepreneurs. A lessee may take over a plant in good condition with available equipment and raw materials, and in some cases also receive an advance of funds against future payments, in return for which he is required to turn over to the government a part of his product. The terms and details of these contracts depend upon the nature of the proposition; but generally they are very advantageous to the lessee. In the case of concessions the terms may be even more liberal: for the government is very anxious to build up industry in the shortest possible time, and is willing to let the concessionaire have the bulk of the gains.

I happen to be acquainted with the details of two concessions which have actually been granted. A Swedish company which operated a ball-bearing factory at Yaroslav before the Revolution has agreed to reopen the plant and restock it with tools and equipment. In return it receives a long lease of the factory, together with priority in the transportation of its raw materials, permission to sell part of its product abroad, and the assurance that the government will pay in gold for a specified amount of product.

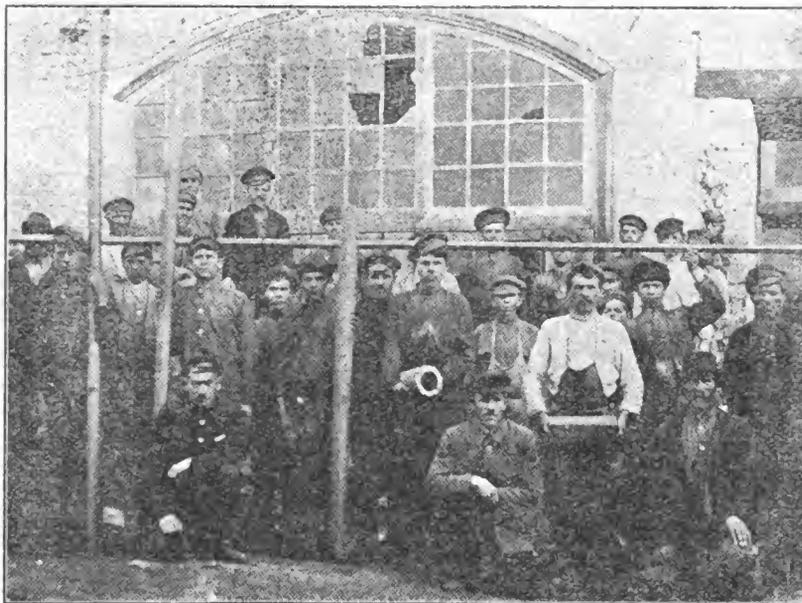
An American company has secured a concession of some asbestos mines in the Urals. The lease is to run for twenty years. The concessionaire engages to furnish the necessary equipment, to employ Russian workmen and pay them according to union standards, and to turn over to the Government 5 per cent of the gross product of the mines. The company is also given transportation priority, together with the right to sell part of the product abroad. The clause regarding the government's share of the gross production is subject to readjustment at the end of five years, and there

is also a provision that the concessionaire may be bought out for a sum calculated to cover the investment and the anticipated profits. In both these concessions the company is obliged to produce a certain quantity of goods within a definite time limit.

Leaseholds for farm colonies on government land are also offered. Any responsible individual or group, native citizens or foreigners, may apply for leases on factories or lands; preference is given to those who can demonstrate their ability to carry out the contract and establish production in a businesslike manner. It may be said in this connection that, while the Soviet Government's present policy of shutting the frontiers to immigration will be continued as a necessary consequence of the appalling shortage of things in Russia, groups and individuals going on definite errands—leasing factories or farm lands, seeking concessions, offering technical service—will be permitted to enter Russia. In fact, foreign cooperative and industrial associations of all sorts and organized farming groups are invited to come and take part in the development of Russian industry and agriculture.

Soviet Russia to-day, like the United States after the Civil War, is a land of opportunity. A modern Horace Greeley might say: "Go to Russia, young man, and grow up with the country." Russia is a wonderfully rich land. In the Urals, for instance, every foot of ground literally covers some hidden wealth: coal, iron, copper, gold, platinum, graphite, quartz, limestone, asbestos, salt. The wealth of Siberia has hardly even been investigated. In many localities there are enormous deposits of copper, mountains of coal, silver and gold, excellent iron ore—just waiting for human hands and capital to develop them. It would take too long to describe in detail the mineral wealth of the South of Russia, of the Caucasus with its oil wells, of the North with its timber. There are unlimited opportunities for agriculture and for cattle and sheep raising, both in European Russia and in Siberia.

It may seem strange to speak of profits, opportunities, growing up with the country, in a land ruled by Communists, where the first phase of a social revolution has been accomplished. But there can be no doubt that both the leaders and the rank and file of the Russian Communist Party are reconciled to the necessity of postponing the introduction of complete communism and calling in the aid of private initiative to restore Russia's productive capacity. Discussing the desirability



A GROUP OF URAL FACTORY WORKERS

This photograph of workers in the Shaitanka Seamless Tube Works, near Cheliabinsk, was taken by Comrade Heller.

of interesting the large merchant in the new economic policy, Lenin recently said:

"He (the merchant) is a type as far removed from communism as earth is from heaven.... But this is just one of those contradictions which in actual life lead from petty peasant economy through state capitalism to socialism; individual interest raises production. At all costs, no matter how severe may be the pains of the transition period, poverty, hunger, collapse, we shall not fail in spirit and we shall carry our work to a victorious end."

The Soviet leaders do not regard the new economic policy as an abandonment of their communist ideals. Even before the November Revolution Lenin predicted in his writings that a period of state capitalism must precede the introduction of communism in such an economically backward country as Russia. It is now generally recognized that the "war-time communism" which was a necessary characteristic of the struggle against internal and external enemies is not practicable in time of

peace. I also found that many non-Communist engineers and technical experts believe that the best hope for the speedy economic regeneration of Russia lies in the continued application to the service of the Republic of the splendid drive and energy and executive ability which so many of the Communists displayed in the civil war.

Whenever I think of Russia I am reminded of a good old peasant woman, the mother of one of the ablest of the Communist leaders, who is much amused to see her son holding a high government post. "Look at these boys," she says, referring to her son and his comrades, "just a few years ago they carried around proclamations, and now they want to rule the whole country." It is true that the Communists dared much. But they also achieved much. The world may not be willing to concede this yet. But the Russian people, the vast majority of them, have consciously accepted the Soviet regime as a government which will be theirs for a long time. And they will build up the economic system needed by their country.

Art Under the Proletariat

By JACQUES MESNIL

(The distinguished French critic takes up in this article the preservation of past beauty; an article from his pen in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will take up the future of art in Russia.)

IN speaking of art in present day Russia one must guard against a failing common to many of the advocates and opponents of the Soviet system, a state of mind altogether too common to-day, as in all moments of great convulsion: the tendency to expect miraculous things, the belief in marvels, not as it was held in the middle ages, in a juvenile form, in its direct material aspect, but, in accordance with the character of our knowing age—at least such the age considers itself to be—in a more abstract, more spiritual, more symbolic form.

To-day, people believe in the possibility of radical and sudden transformations in the psychology of an entire nation, in the instantaneous creation, by the mere fact of revolution, of an artistic renaissance, in the spontaneous generation of works of art bursting from a socially convulsing soil. And this state of mind is characteristic both of the defenders and adversaries of the regime that issues from the Russian Revolution. Some time ago I read in *Le Flambeau*, a magazine appearing in Belgium, a long article by Boris Sokolov, a well-known anti-Bolshevik, who made use of the absence of a great rebirth of artistic creation in Russia since the November Revolution in order to blacken the regime which resulted from the Revolution and to prove its sterility from the standpoint of general culture. To speak in this fashion is to show that one has no historical knowledge whatsoever, that one has never reflected on the past: I do not know of any great artistic awakening which was contemporary with a violent movement of social transformation. Not to go

too far afield in our search for examples, let us ask whether the French Revolution immediately produced anything really new or powerful in art, comparable with the great social convulsion brought about by the Revolution? It did not. People then admired classic art, the revival of the Greeks and Romans; not only their form, but even their subjects and myths were imitated and adapted more or less to the ideas of the day: Republican fancies were manufactured, of no greater or less artistic value than most of the propaganda posters put out to-day.

The great change in literature and in art was not to come about until thirty years later, and was destined to be the work of the new generation, born after the Revolution, who had breathed its air and absorbed its dominant ideas from childhood, who had grown up in the midst of the immediate memories of its heroic struggles and in the atmosphere of the great events that followed upon it: in France it is the Romantic movement which represents the revolution in art. And the forces released by the revolution find their artistic expression in this movement; when they ceased actively to influence the masses and to bring about new uprisings, in this moment of calm these forces developed all their dynamic power in the domain of the spirit.

Consider also other great social transformations, such as the formation of Communes in the middle ages, and you will find that there also the blossoming of art follows at a certain distance upon the political events, and that they continued

far beyond the culmination of the economic development.

Particularly when we consider a Communist society, as was the Commune of the middle ages, and as will be the society toward which the Russian revolution is working, there is a further material cause preventing the immediate blossoming of a new art; this is the fact that in any Communist society the predominant art is necessarily architecture, which is the immediate and direct response to the common life, while sculpture and painting are as it were the adornments of architecture, calculated to complete the total impression. And the great works of architecture cannot be created except in periods of comparative calm, when the wealth of the community is large enough and the labor forces numerous enough to make the erection of buildings possible.

My task will therefore be limited by the very nature of the case, and when I start out to speak of the present day art in Soviet Russia I shall be obliged to consider particularly the two modes of action that are now possible; the preservation of the monuments of existing art, and the effort to educate, to prepare for the creation of new works; preservation of the past and preparation for the future, these two ideas fully embrace the tasks now facing the guiding spirits of the Russian Revolution. I shall take up these two points in order.

I.

When you travel in Russia you are struck by the fact that the Revolution has destroyed so little, even in the places where it was most active; there are the traces of machine gun bullets on the facades of public structures and even on houses that served as shelters for one hostile faction or the other; some houses were burned down, very few of them to be sure, much fewer than the houses that deteriorate and go to pieces because of the economic poverty of the country, blockaded and unable to make the necessary repairs, even such as are indispensable in the case of a city built on marshy soil, as is Petrograd.

But nowhere is there anything comparable to the destruction produced by the war, anything that would even remotely resemble Reims or Arras.

The only city in which art monuments have been seriously damaged is Yaroslav, and here we are dealing not with the work of the revolution, but with that of counter-revolutionists in the pay of the Entente Governments, whose official representatives had leisure to carry on their plots under the cover of diplomatic immunity, ready to starve the Russian people, in the hope of overthrowing the Soviet Government, as clearly appears from the facts as reported by René Marchand.

The iconoclastic tendencies observable in the French Revolution are not to be found in the Russian Revolution: there is nothing here resembling the destruction of statues representing personages of the Old Testament, in the galleries of Notre-Dame-de-Paris, which were destroyed be-

cause they were taken for statues of the kings of France. To be sure, emblems of the tsarist regime have been torn down in certain places, but Lunacharsky, People's Commissar for Public Instruction, has succeeded in having all those objects spared which had any historic or artistic value, and the double eagles of the Russian Empire are still perched over the Kremlin.

Certain modern statues of Russian generals that were particularly hated as representatives of the tsarist régime of oppression of the people have been destroyed, but none of them was of any real artistic value. The painted and carved effigies of the former rulers were saved wherever they had any esthetic value, and the losses in this field are insignificant.

Even the opponents of the Government recognize this fact. You should read in this connection the curious book of Polovtsev: *Art Treasures in Russia under the Bolshevist Regime*. The author is a savage opponent of the Bolsheviki, as is proved by that sentence in his book in which he rebuts the excellent good taste displayed by Lunacharsky. Polovtsev, visiting the old imperial palace at Pavlovsk, cries out: "I could never understand how a man of such fine discrimination and such highly developed esthetic culture could voluntarily become a member of this gang of savage orang-outangs who had seized the power and were abusing it in order to destroy everything that makes life tolerable." Polovtsev was in Russia for about a year after the Revolution of November, 1917, and he was engaged chiefly in guarding the imperial palaces in the neighborhood of Petrograd, particularly at Pavlovsk. His testimony is one-sided but not dishonest. From the facts which he himself observed, and which he recounts with precision, it is clear that he always received the assistance he asked from the authorities, and that his petitions to the Bolsheviki, superiors as well as assistants, were always finally granted. "They fully understood," the author himself writes, "that my work was based on an abstract idea, and they always yielded to this idea." Would he have found under other systems of government so many superior and subaltern officials who were inclined to yield to an abstract idea? I doubt it.

The old palaces and Summer residences of the tsars in the neighborhood of Petrograd have therefore not only not been destroyed or pillaged, but much encouragement has been given to the work of cataloguing their furnishings and collections, and the palaces have been turned into museums, open to the public since June, 1918. Before we take leave of Mr. Polovtsev, let us borrow from him also an account of the impressions he received from these first visits, which are so indicative of the serious and reflective character of the Russian people (pages 273-274):

"In June, 1918, we opened to the public the palaces of Tsarskoye Selo, Pavlovsk, Gatchina and Peterhof, two or three days each week, and there were immense crowds to visit them. At Tsarskoye more than eight thousand persons came on Sunday,

and, in order to save the floors, Lukovsky had slippers made out of some old matting which would fit over any size of shoe. We were afraid that the soldiers would never consent to put on these slippers, but we were mistaken. Once, when a man refused to put them on, all those who were grouped around the guide declared that they would not enter the museum until this person had submitted to the rules. At Pavlovsk, I had broken in a certain number of guides, but as they were sometimes overworked, I used to help them on holidays. We had to remind the public that they must not touch objects or furnishings, but if there were any infractions they were due only to oversight, and I have never met with a single case of intentional vandalism. In all the Summer there was only one case when a visitor had to be expelled from any of these palaces, and although we often heard such exclamations as: 'That's the way they lived,' or: 'I can see that their life must have been pretty soft in halls like these!' I was especially struck by the number of intelligent questions that were addressed to me and the desire to learn shown by many persons. Teachers' Congresses, Art History courses, organizations of all kinds, arrange excursions to these palaces; but we always prepared in advance to receive these floods of visitors, and I have often been much touched by letters from persons whose names I have forgotten, who asked me for some information, and who referred to the explanations I had given them in the apartments at Pavlovsk." Another characteristic which distinguishes the Russian Revolution from the French Revolution and which has aided in preserving works of art is the absence of any strong anti-religious current; the Revolutionists showed themselves to be quite tolerant toward the clergy: the churches remain open and have retained all the ostentatious splendor that is characteristic of the orthodox worship: the priests continue to display their rich trumpery, and not only the works of art but also objects of worship which are precious only for their materials are preserved in a nation which could make excellent use of these materials in barter with foreign countries.

Another cause for astonishment in my eyes was to find the personnel of the museums almost unchanged. After reading the newspapers in Western Europe, I had imagined that all the intellectuals, the whole "Intelligentsia," had been exiled or had refused to cooperate with the new system.

As far as the custodians of art museums and art objects are concerned, this is entirely untrue: the first historian of Russian art, the painter Igor Grabar, is stationed at the Tretyakov Museum, devoted to Russian painting in Moscow, and has charge of the whole museum; the staff of the Ermitage Museum at Petrograd is almost intact. "The Master of the Ceremonies," Count Tolstoy, who managed this museum under Tsarism, has fortunately been replaced by the custodian of the section of Ceramics and Goldsmith Work, the young and energetic Troinitsky, who continues to devote immense energy to the conservation, increase, and reorganiza-

tion of this museum, one of the finest in the world; the Ermitage also has obtained an excellent addition to its forces in the person of the painter Alexandre Benois, who is very well known in Russia, the founder of the society *Mir Iskusstva* (The World of Art), who had an exposition this Summer in Paris and who also had some pictures in the Autumn Salon. Alexandre Benois, who had always been unrecognized under the tsarist régime, has become the chief custodian of the section of painting. Count Zubov, who founded an Institute for the History of Art in 1911, remains at the head of his "Socialist" Institute. I have spoken to all these scholars and have had an opportunity to converse with them at length. I spent a day with Zubov at Pavlovsk in the Palace and in the splendid park of which Polovtsev speaks at such length; I visited the gallery of the Ermitage several times, accompanied by its custodians. I may therefore speak with full knowledge of the condition of these museums, of the changes through which they have passed in these latter years, of their present organization, and of the circumstances of the custodians.

From Petrograd, when it was exposed to an attack from the sea, when Russia was still at war with Germany, a portion of the Ermitage collections were evacuated, particularly the precious objects and a great number of the Southern Russian antiquities. Under the Kerensky régime, it was decided to transfer all the rest to Moscow. In September and October, 1917, two trains, bearing more than 800 cases, were dispatched from Petrograd. A third consignment was to complete the transfer, but did not take place because of the Bolshevik Revolution, which came at just that time.

There remained at the Ermitage only the ancient sculptures, and almost all the modern sculptures, the prints, and the glasses.

At Moscow, where the cases were piled in the Kremlin and in the Historical Museum on the Red Square, contiguous with the Kremlin, these masterpieces were exposed to great danger during the November Revolution, in the midst of street fights and bombardments that were concentrated precisely on these points, but fortunately nothing was damaged.

Plan to Divide Up Collections

Later, the Ermitage collections, in their Moscow shelter, were exposed to another risk: that of being divided among various Russian cities; in certain circles, which had great influence on the Commission for Museums and Monuments, attached to the Commissariat of Public Instruction, the idea of decentralization was very strong, with the object of creating a great number of centers of culture. It was pointed out, not without reason, that the predominance granted to Petrograd as an intellectual center was quite artificial. Created at the whim of an autocrat who doted on Western civilization, this city had usurped the place of Moscow, the ancient capital, and the tsars who succeeded Peter the Great had made every effort to accumulate

at Petrograd all the art treasures which they were able to purchase with the wealth produced by the exploitation of the people. But in 1905, Petrograd had revealed itself as a revolutionary city; it had been abandoned by the Court, which no longer felt secure in this city, becoming more and more modern, and where the industrial element was beginning to acquire immense importance, and had gone to live in the palaces of the environs during the Summer, and on the shores of the Black Sea in the Winter.

A strong feeling was aroused in certain circles at that time, in favor of bringing the seat of the Government to Moscow, and the Bolsheviki have not done anything more revolutionary in this respect than carry out intentions which in their origin were not of a revolutionary nature at all.

Having become a capital, Moscow, of course, sought to obtain institutions of culture, particularly museums, that were more complete than those that they already had, particularly in the matter of European art up to the end of the 18th century, for the Rummyantsev Gallery of paintings is quite inadequately supplied in this field.

Furthermore, the Bolsheviki are inclined, as I have said above, to multiply the numbers of centers of culture and to make of the museums above all establishments for popular instruction and education. Among the museum custodians on the other hand, there predominates the idea of preserving art works and engaging in special studies, to be carried out by connoisseurs and technical men: they naturally are in favor of an accumulation of works in a single place, and to retaining them in the place that is traditionally theirs. Besides, there is a great number of museum officials in Russia, as one may learn from Polovtsev's book, who have a certain affection for the historical memories under which the collections were accumulated and for the princes who collected them.

The Ermitage Collections Returned in 1920

The result is two diametrically opposed points of view, and a struggle between the custodians representing the old régime and the new Central power. In the specific case of the Ermitage, more for material than for spiritual reasons; there was not sufficient space available at Moscow, any more than in any of the provincial cities; it would have been necessary to construct buildings, and in view of the famine of materials and foodstuffs, in the midst of the political preoccupation with the defense of the Government, attacked from all sides, this was impossible. It was therefore decided that the Ermitage collections should again take their place in their traditional home as soon as Petrograd should no longer be menaced by bands armed by counter-revolutionaries.

The operation of transfer was carried out efficiently and with dispatch, thanks to the intervention of the Commissariat of War. In two days, November 15-17, 1920, all the cases were put on special trains, which arrived at Petrograd on the 18th. On the morning of the 19th, the Ermitage was again

in possession of its treasures, and beginning with November 28, the Rembrandt Gallery was again open to the public. By January 1, 1921, the gallery of paintings had been completely restored to its former state and has since been regularly open to the public on Thursdays and Sundays.

This shows how much truth there is in the legends concerning Bolshevik vandalism and the uses to which the canvasses of Rembrandt were said to have been put.

As to the attitude taken by the learned staff of the museums toward the Central Government, this has certainly been much improved by the change in government: under Tsarism their dependence was very definite and they were much more subject to arbitrary acts on the part of the central authority. The Ermitage at present has a supervisory council consisting of all the custodians, members of the Academy, and professors, a body which appoints the new custodians or assistants by election, makes transfers, in short, itself regulates internal affairs. The custodians enjoy a great degree of independence, each in his section, and they are dependent on the director only in administrative matters.

From the start, the custodians very definitely announced their intention not to meddle in politics, but to remain independent as to the technical affairs in their specific branches. The speculation cherished by certain artists, after the revolution—as we shall see below—to profit by the confusion due to the analogous names of certain political and art tendencies, in order to have a preponderant influence granted them officially, led at first to conflicts with the custodians of the Ermitage, who held their ground and refused to admit cubists, futurists, or suprematists, to install themselves as masters in a museum intended primarily for the works of the old art (although it has since become accessible to 19th century works that were formerly excluded).

The socialization of great private estates, the seizure of the most important private collections, as well as imperial palaces, residences and parks, has considerably increased the number and the extent of the public museums: the Ermitage has grown by two kilometers of galleries borrowed from the Winter Palace, permitting a much better hanging of its collections, which have been increased by new specimens, obtained chiefly from the imperial palaces, where many works were buried, and from private collections. But in general, the great private collections have been retained as characteristic units, in their former state. Thus the Yusupow and Stroganov palaces at Petrograd have preserved, in the framework of their 18th century architecture, almost all the paintings belonging to them, which constitute an integral portion of their furnishings.

Private Collections at Moscow.

Similarly, the very modern collections gathered by the great Moscow industrials, Morozov and Shchukin, have remained intact, and it is still p...

sible to see the Maurice Denis and Matisse canvases in the places originally assigned them.

Moscow thus possesses two really great museums of modern French painting, from Manet to Picasso and the cubists, such as may not be found even in Paris, and you must now go to Moscow if you would fully appreciate the work of Gauguin.

The owners of collections who have remained in Russia have not been driven from their homes; they have remained as custodians of their collections on the condition that they make them accessible to the public at regular intervals; they have simply been limited to a smaller number of dwelling rooms. Morozov himself tells this in an interview published some time ago by Felix Fénéon in the *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, issued by the Bernheim Galleries, Paris.

The museums are becoming centers of artistic education, connected with the organization of proletarian culture that will be spoken of later; they give courses and lectures; the custodians and assistants serve as guides to groups of workers and pupils.

All this is necessarily still at a rudimentary stage. For the most part the professors and guides are people of the old régime who are more inclined to maintain ancient memories than to open up the souls of their hearers in the spirit of the tasks of the new time. Comrade Nathalie Trotsky, who is particularly busy in this department, and with whom I had a long conversation on this subject, is fully aware of the necessity of educating a new staff, which, while completely equipped with the necessary technical knowledge, will have a different mentality and will not speak to the people with melancholy longings for the splendor that has been handed down from the old régime, but will bring out the full human value of the art works and will interest the public in the creative artist and in the very source of his inspiration as found in the life around him and in the soul of the people.

Comrade N. Trotsky, who is imbued with the new spirit, frequently encounters the resistance and the misunderstanding of the "specialists" in this matter. Here, as in all other things, the work of revolutionary creation cannot be accomplished in one day nor brought about by any sudden shock. The good will of the people will not be found lacking: in its desire to obtain instruction and develop its mind, it will respond enthusiastically to every attempt in this direction. Although the population of Petrograd has gone down more than half, and although the Ermitage is now open only twice a week (instead of six times before the war), the number of visitors is about ten thousand a month, while it was eighteen thousand before the war; in other words, the relative number has increased considerably.

In spite of economic difficulties, poverty, the lowered vitality necessarily resulting from insufficient nutrition, the Russian people are hungry for knowledge, for experience, for acquisition of the things of which they have been too long deprived, in the domain of the spirit.

ENDORSED BY LABOR BODIES

The past week has brought the endorsement of several central labor bodies to the F. S. R. These are: Everett, Wash., Central Labor Council; Elyria, Ohio, and Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union; Passaic, N. J., Trades and Labor Council; and the Lynn, Mass., Chamber of Labor.

The support of organized labor to the F. S. R. is growing daily. The workers of America are realizing more and more that the fight of Soviet Russia against famine is the fight of the workers of the world.

WORKING GIRLS RAISE \$3,400

The working class enthused with its work can do anything. Thus, the working girls of the Unity House of New York City raised the magnificent sum of \$3,400 for famine relief, as the result of eight weeks' work on the part of forty girls.

Having decided that it was the duty of all fellow workers to do their utmost for the suffering millions in Russia, these girls gave up their bedrooms, their dining room; they sacrificed every comfort for eight weeks. During this time, they worked in their shops in the day time, and returned at night to work at the many bits of artistic creations that later sold at the bazaar for large sums of money.

FROM A LITTLE GIRL

"Dear little Russian children: I am a little girl at eleven years. My name is Lucile Arterburn. I am in the sixth grade at school. I am awful sorrow you all are on starvation. I wish you children were here to go to school. They are making up some money for you all here in town. And the school is making up some money too so you all can get some bread and something to wear. The March flowers are in bloom here now. My father gave you all \$5. I go to school every day.... I hope how soon you all get this letter. And I also hope how soon you all get the money we have made up for you here. We have made up somewhat about \$60 here in town. You little American friend, Lucile."

THE ROLL CALL

The Roll Call is becoming the biggest thing that the working class of America has undertaken in the matter of famine relief. Every week, the National Office of the F. S. R. must order more Roll Calls. The demand is growing; everybody wants to help. Everybody wants to inscribe his name on the Roll Call, as a testimonial of sympathy and solidarity with Soviet Russia. Ministers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers and then the whole American working class—all in a body are doing their utmost at this crucial moment in the life of 30,000,000 human beings in Soviet Russia. This hour and this situation are the test of the sincerity of a man's protestations!

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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RAPALLO, fifteen miles from Genoa, is the scene of a new treaty signed April 16, Easter Sunday, by Soviet Russia and Germany. We cannot immediately present our readers with the text of this important document, which enlarges and replaces the provisions of the treaty signed between the two countries at Berlin on May 7, 1921, with which our readers already are acquainted (see SOVIET RUSSIA, July, 1921). But we hope that some other periodical of more frequent appearance may secure this text and publish it before our next issue. Last year's treaty with Germany was ignored by the general reader for the reason that the press was still dominated by a desire to print nothing but slanders about Russia at that time. The importance of the Genoa Conference and the impossibility of doing anything serious at the Conference without a full consideration of Russia's position and Russia's claims make it probable that the new document may receive full and early publication and study in America.

THE scant details printed in the afternoon dailies of April 17 permit us to infer that the signing of the new treaty is a step in advance. In our last issue we were still pointing with pride to the modest achievement of the Preliminary Trade Agreement with Sweden as a thing of great importance. We now face the fact of a full recognition of Soviet Russia by the Republic of Germany, while the Republic of the United States still carries the name of Boris Bakhmetiev as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" on its Diplomatic List, although the government which sent him over died nearly five years ago after an existence of but a few months. Many indications in the relations between Russia and Germany will now be interpreted as harbingers of the full treaty just signed. But a few weeks ago the old Tsarist

Embassy at Berlin was turned over to the Soviet Representative and occupied by him and his staff. Commercial transactions of great volume have taken place between the two countries in recent months, and the interference with the business of Russian delegates in Germany, once a characteristic of these activities, had practically ceased.

BREST-LITOVSK is annulled. The peace which the German people had made with its imperialistic government, over the heads of the Russian people,—a peace which Miss Emma Goldman the other day declared had been made by the Bolsheviki with the German imperialism over the heads of the German people—has been replaced, in spite of the sluggish course of the German workers and the desperate resistance of the German reactionaries, by a peace that begins to approach at least the interests of the workers both of Russia and Germany.

THE Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was forced upon the unwilling leaders of the Russian proletariat at a moment when they knew they were unable to offer any serious resistance. It was signed March 3, 1918. It took away from Russia the old provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, Kurland, Lithuania, and Poland, in addition to Ardakhan, Kars, and Batum in Caucasasia, and obliged Russia to evacuate such portions of Anatolia as it had under occupation, as well as all of Armenia. Of course the Republic of the Russian workers and peasants had no intention of forcing its rule on outside territories, and therefore had no reluctance to overcome in relinquishing the lands of other races. The Soviet Government was obliged to clear of Red Guards all the territory over which it had been forced to retreat during the last German advance, to cease all hostilities against Finland and Ukraine, and to recognize the treaty of the Central Empires with the "Ukrainian Republic". For the Germans were about to aid in wiping out the Red Republic of Finland, and wanted their troops to encounter no resistance from the Russian Red Guards, and Ukraine was to be the catspaw of Germany and Austria for the purpose of completing the economic strangling of Russia. But Soviet Russia was forced to renounce all intervention in the future organization of the lands detached from Russia by the treaty, and Germany and Austria rather vaguely declared that they would regulate the future lot of these provinces in "agreement with their populations". Germany was practically permitted by the treaty to continue the blockade in the Baltic Sea against Russia; Esthonia and Livonia (now Latvia) were to continue under German occupation until "the establishment of law and order", and a special agreement was provided for a later date, between Russia, Germany, Finland, and Sweden, to which other Baltic countries might also be invited. All war indemnities were declared waived, it was mutually promised to exchange all prisoners of war, and economic matters were set aside as the subjects of later agreements.

BUT the agreement to waive indemnities provided by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty turned out to be illusory as far as any advantages to Russia were concerned. It was not the Brest Treaty itself which prescribed certain payments in gold to be made by Soviet Russia to Germany, but a set of new agreements ratified at Berlin on September 6, 1918, between the Russian Soviet Government and the German Imperial Government, including, together with supplementary provisions of a political nature and matters connected with exchange, patents, and arbitration, also a series of clauses constituting practically a "Supplementary Financial Treaty". This treaty assigned to Germany a sum of 6,000,000,000 marks, declared to be due (a) for the war losses of German subjects on Russian territory or through Russian occupation, and (b) for the expenses incurred by Germany in housing and feeding her Russian prisoners. Possibly for the reason that Russia did not hold an equally large number of German prisoners of war, no provision was included for indemnifying Russia for the care of such German prisoners. Stipulations for payment of these 6,000,000,000 marks by Russia were made under the following four distinct heads:

1. 2,500,000,000 marks to be floated as a 6 per cent Russian loan.

2. 1,000,000,000 marks to be delivered in goods, not later than March 31, 1920 (the cash payment being increased by this sum if the goods provided for should fail to be delivered).

3. 1,500,000,000 marks in cash. This sum was divided into two portions: (a) 545,000,000 rubles in Tsarist paper money, then valued at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ marks to 1 ruble; (b) 245,564 kilograms of fine gold, estimated as worth 683,000,000 gold marks. The first instalment, 42,860 kilograms in gold, and 90,900,000 paper rubles was to be paid September 10, and was actually paid on that date. The second instalment was declared due on September 30, after which there were to be three more instalments, payable at intervals of one month.

4. The balance of 1,000,000,000 marks was to be paid to Germany by Finland and Ukraine.

But shortly after these provisions were ratified by Russia and Germany, came the abortive German Revolution. After November 8, 1918, of course the Soviet Government made no further payments to Germany, and even the German imperialists—who remained in the saddle in spite of the "Revolution"—had sufficient sense of humor not to demand further payments, which would only have been appropriated under the Armistice terms imposed by the Allies. For now the "scrap of paper" practice was being turned against the Germans—they were being treated to their own medicine. But Russian diplomacy was under no obligation to offer posthumous explanations of why they were treating the Brest-Litovsk Treaty as a "scrap of paper". The Russians had made it perfectly clear in advance that they would honor the terms of this "Peace of Tilsit", the "brigand peace", as it was universally designated among Russian

leaders, only so long as their enemy still held them by the throat and still had the power to enforce their compliance with its brutal terms. Lenin, for instance, less than two weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, declared in a speech delivered at Moscow before the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets (March 14-16, 1918), that "we have been compelled to sign a Peace of Tilsit; we must not deceive ourselves; we must have the courage to face the bitter, unembellished truth."

"We have signed a Tilsit peace. When Napoleon I. forced Prussia in 1807 to accept the Tilsit peace, the conqueror had defeated all the German armies, occupied the capital and all the large cities, established his police, compelled the conquered to give him auxiliary corps in order to wage new wars of plunder for the conquerors, and he dismembered Germany, forming an alliance with some German states against other German states. And, nevertheless, even after such a peace, the German people were not subdued. They managed to recover, to rise, and to win the right to freedom and independence.

"To any person able and willing to think, the example of the Tilsit peace, which was only one of the many oppressive and humiliating treaties forced upon the Germans in that epoch, shows clearly how childishly naive is the thought that an oppressive peace is ruinous under all circumstances, and that war is the road of valor and salvation. The war epochs teach us that peace has in many cases in history served as a respite to gather strength for new battles. The Peace of Tilsit was the great humiliation for Germany and at the same time the turning point to the greatest national awakening. At that time the historical environment offered only one outlet for this awakening—a bourgeois state. At that time, over a hundred years ago, history was made by a handful of noblemen and small groups of bourgeois intellectuals, while the mass of workers and peasants were inactive and inert. Owing to this, history could crawl only with awful slowness.

"Now capitalism has considerably raised the level of culture in general and of the culture of the masses in particular. The war aroused the masses, awakened them by its unheard of horrors and sufferings. The war has given impetus to history and now history is rushing along with the speed of a locomotive. History is now being independently made by millions and tens of millions of people. Capitalism has now become ripe for Socialism.

"Thus, if Russia now moves—and it cannot be denied that she does move—from a Tilsit peace to a national awakening and to a great war for the fatherland—the outlet of such an awakening leads not to the bourgeois state but to an international Socialist revolution. We are 'resistants' since November, 1917. We are for the 'defence of our fatherland'. But the war for the fatherland towards which we are moving is a war for the Socialist fatherland, for Socialism, in which we fight as a part of the international army of Socialism."

The Allies are perhaps "a portion of that force that ever works for ill and yet produces good." At any rate, they have worked so hard to reduce both Russia and Germany to a condition where there was little left for them to do, aside from taking this step of making a joint demonstration against their oppressors. This step was certainly "disloyal" according to the expression of Lloyd George—who had accustomed himself to think of these two countries in terms of British dependencies. The treaty of Rapallo seems to indicate that Germany and Russia have not yet undergone that "change of heart" that would enable them to appreciate the blessings of real freedom and democracy as expressed in British overlordship.

Hoover's View on Russian Transportation

BY PAXTON HIBBEN

(The Secretary of the Near East Relief's Special Russian Commission here compares Secretary Hoover's estimates with those of other relief authorities.)

MR. HOOVER, it seems, is determined that no one shall save the starving Russians but himself. This might be all right, if he would only save them. But the peculiar attitude which he has taken recently that the Russian railways either cannot or will not deliver the American grain laid down in Russian ports for the famine sufferers and that therefore it is useless either for Congress to appropriate further funds for the shipment of food to Russia's starving millions or for private relief committees to solicit contributions for the same purpose, distinctly is not feeding the starving Russians. It is, one might say, rather talking them to death. Mr. Hoover's position is the more remarkable in that his own representatives in Russia do not seem to agree with him as to the service of which Russian ports and railways are capable, while chairman Albert A. Johnson, of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief, as well as myself, testifying before the Senate Committee on Agriculture as to our own personal observation of transport conditions in Russia, put ourselves on record as believing that the Russian railways and, shortly, when spring breaks up the ice in the Don and the Volga, Russian waterways, can handle all the food Mr. Hoover's \$20,000,000 will buy and as much again, besides.

In this connection there are some very curious results to be obtained from a comparison of Mr. Hoover's statements to the press with statements from members of his own organization, as well as from other informed sources. Thus:

Mr. Hoover:
Associated Press dispatch,
Washington, March 6:

"The number of persons who will die from starvation in famine-stricken Russia is almost wholly dependent on the Russian railways now transporting grain for the American Relief Administration, Secretary Hoover declared today.

"During the past thirty days 100,000 tons of seed wheat and foodstuffs have been delivered to seven different ports on the Baltic and Black Seas, but only 25,000 tons has been transported over Russia's demoralized rail system.

"American relief ships have delivered the seed and foodstuffs to Reval, Riga, Libau and Danzig, on the Baltic, and Novorossiisk, Theodosia and Odessa on the Black Sea. From 120,000 to 140,000 additional tons of stuff, according to

American Relief Administration publicity release 105,
March 6:

"Incoming cablegrams Moscow: Unloading of ships of corn at Novorossiisk and dispatching trains into Russia proceeding not only satisfactorily but beyond all expectations. S. S. Winnebago finished unloading February 19. No train delay. Altogether 8 out of 18 trains with corn purchased with Congressional appropriation of \$20,000,000 already dispatched into famine region. Following location of trains en route: Trains 1 and 3 now between Penza and Samara; trains 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13 between Kozlov and Dubasova, which is junction point southwest of Penza. Trains 10, 12, and 14 are at Balashev. Train 16 at Tsaritsin, train 15 at Likhaya, train 17 on way to Rostov and 18 on way to Tsaritsin."

Mr. Hoover, will be delivered at these same ports during the next thirty days and the prospects are that shipments will continue to pile up at the ports, with very little chance of the Russian railroads being able to transport to the famine area much more than the amount shipped during the last thirty days.

"The best shipment in one day into the famine area was 1,400 tons. Normally the Russian railroads to those regions should be able to transport 20,000 tons, Mr. Hoover said, attributing the difficulty experienced in handling the grain in Russia to lack of fuel, dilapidated equipment and incompetent management of the railways."

American Relief Administration publicity release 107,
March 6:

"Incoming cablegrams. Moscow: Following additional unloadings of corn at Novorossiisk..... Shipped into Russia: Feb. 23, 1,383 tons; Feb. 21, 1,269 tons; Feb. 22, 1,069 tons." Telegram from "Vestnik":

"Moscow, Feb. 21: The first A. R. A. steamer 'Winnebago' at Novorossiisk, in spite of storms, etc., was discharged 29 hours before the appointed time. The A. R. A. eulogises the intelligent enthusiasm of the Novorossiisk dockers for exerting their utmost to relieve their Volga brothers. A. R. A. steamers are expected to arrive at Odessa shortly. The Constantinople authorities have promised to advise Odessa of the passage of A. R. A. steamers to enable their speedy discharge. The Nikolaiev port is fully equipped to accommodate and discharge 20 steamers simultaneously."

It is interesting to note that the ports of Reval, Riga, Libau and Danzig, which Mr. Hoover mentions, are, none of them, in Russia. The port of Nikolaiev, where according to Russian official information, twenty ships can be discharged simultaneously, was not being used so far as may be learned from Mr. Hoover's statement. Of Theodosia, a "Vestnik" dispatch from Moscow, of February 10, quoted Colonel Haskell, after inspecting the port, as having "declared himself fully satisfied with the port facilities available, the supply of dock labor, the railway connections, etc." Besides the three Black Sea ports mentioned by Mr. Hoover, there are seven others of which he says nothing. The *Christian Science Monitor* on February 24 quoted Dr. Nansen as saying that he "had computed that, using the full capacity of the railways, 600,000 tons of grain could be carried in before May, by which time it must be finished. This was enough to save 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 people. But from this 600,000 tons must be taken the spring sowing, 400,000 tons, which left only 200,000 for food." On the showing of the American Relief Administration's publicity, Novorossiisk alone, at the average daily rate established at the beginning, without improvement, would handle more tonnage in a month than Mr. Hoover says all the ports used by the A. R. A. handled in February. What then is the prospect "that shipments will

continue to pile up at the ports", as Mr. Hoover puts it?

But there is a more serious parallel to be drawn between Mr. Hoover's position and that of others on this head. It is evident in the following:

American Relief Administration's publicity release 110, March 6:

"Incoming cables. Moscow: Sir Benjamin Robertson, Director of three recently amalgamated British Relief Societies—the Russian Famine Relief Fund, Save the Children Fund and the Society of Friends, and the world's foremost famine authority, who for 35 years has been with British Government of Central Province of India, in a speech at Liverpool February 25, declared that even if the British Government gave one million pounds sterling it would be impossible to spend it usefully in the next two months. His visit to Russia was with concurrence of British Government on behalf of Imperial War Relief Fund. He said that the Russian railways are strained to breaking point by American effort, and he advised leaving the Americans unhampered to get foodstuffs in Russia. He further said that America's is the big effort that is going to save Russia."

Note: The sum of £1,100,000 has since been appropriated by the British Parliament for Russian relief.

Of course Mr. Hoover has said nothing about ice obstructing the Northern ports—not an unusual phenomenon, after all—to which he has consigned so large a part of his relief supplies for Russia during these winter months. The impression is left with the public that it is the Soviet Government which is to blame for delays in shipments through these ice-bound harbors. But even aside from this, there would appear to be something manifestly queer about these two quotations from Sir Benjamin Robertson. It is hardly conceivable that between February 18 and the Liverpool meeting of February 25 (which the A. R. A. publicity man ingeniously lays in Moscow), Sir Benjamin Robertson could so completely have changed his mind as would appear from a study of the two quotations above. Comparatively few people read the *Christian Science Monitor*, but the publi-

Christian Science Monitor, February 18:

SIR B. ROBERTSON HOPES TO RAISE 500,000 POUNDS FOR RUSSIA

London, Feb. 18 (Special cable).—Sir Benjamin Robertson, interviewed here last night on behalf of *The Christian Science Monitor* on the subject of his recent visit to Russia. . . It is in this respect he holds that the British effort in the Russian area has most to learn from Americans. The most recent news he received points out that the Baltic ports are now so much obstructed with ice as to interfere greatly with the import of grain on that side of Russia. In any case, he thinks that the entire capacity of the Russian railways ought to be devoted to the heavy task of transporting 350,000 tons of food which Americans are already bringing in. This must take at least six weeks, as the entire Russian railway system has been reduced by revolution to a lamentable state of disorder. He is now himself taking up the practical work of improving the organization on the British side and hopes to raise £500,000 and to have grain on the spot in Russian ports ready for transport up country early in April, when the Russian railways may be sufficiently clear to handle it, without interfering with transport consignments for the American mission."

city matter of the American Relief Administration is sent at vast expense broadcast to newspapers throughout the United States. Technically, perhaps, Sir Benjamin Robertson is not misquoted; but the purpose is plain to give the copyreader a fine opportunity to head the article emanating from the American Relief Administration,

**"USELESS TO SEND FOOD TO RUSSIA
BRITISH FAMINE AUTHORITY DECLARES"**

or something of the sort. By a similar manoeuvre, the *New York Evening Journal* was induced, on February 17, to put the head

"RUSSIAN FAMINE DANGER NEARLY ENDED"
on a statement issued by Mr. Hoover on that date.

It would seem fairly evident that the aim of the A. R. A. publicity matter, as the purpose of Mr. Hoover's own declaration of March 6, is plainly to discourage any attempt on the part of Congress to appropriate further funds for famine relief in Russia, and the effect is, of course, to discourage private individuals all over the United States from giving money to save the starving of the Volga valley. In carrying out this purpose, Sir Benjamin Robertson is quoted in a sense wholly at variance not only with his own efforts to raise funds in England to feed Russia's starving, but Dr. Nansen's efforts to the same end. If Mr. Hoover is right, then Sir Benjamin Robertson and Dr. Nansen are gulling the European public in asking further aid for Russia's famine stricken millions.

But if Mr. Hoover is wrong, and aid can be got to the famine region in time to save more than the 8,000,000 people it is his program to feed, then some 11,000,000 others, who will face starvation through Mr. Hoover's efforts to discourage further relief from the United States, may well haunt Mr. Hoover's dreams for the remainder of his days.

READ OUR NEXT ISSUE

It will contain several new and striking articles: one on the Future of Art in Russia, by Jacques Mesnil; another by S. Stepniak, an analysis of the great Nihilist movement in Russia, which helped to prepare the minds of the people for the Revolution.

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Is Russia Turning Capitalist?

By LEONID

Questions are often asked abroad as to whether the Soviet Government is preparing for a complete reintroduction of capitalism in Russia. The author of this article, who is a frequent contributor to "Die Rote Fahne", Berlin, thinks not, as may be learned from the article itself, which appeared in his journal on March 16. The fact that Leonid is here writing for German workers will not render his remarks out of place when read in other countries.

THE bourgeois press is full of reports of the "resurrection of private capital in Russia." Factory owners are reported as again obtaining possession of their concerns, the eight hour day is to be abandoned, and the Russian worker again to become a slave of capital.

The Social-Democratic and Independent leaders in Germany, particularly the trade union leaders, are now exploiting this "information" for their purposes. In their press, in meetings, wherever they have an opportunity, they refer the worker to the rebirth of private capital in Russia and make the remark: "See to what the communists have brought Russia in their struggle against capitalism—they are now returning to private industry. If you do not wish to suffer the same fate in Germany, you must cast out the communists and follow our advice." These trade union leaders, by their false interpretation of Russian conditions, are exploiting these conditions in order to deter the German workers from any real struggle against German capitalists, and to induce them to join with Stinnes in working out his plans.

It is therefore urgently necessary to point out in all clarity what is the actual state of the workers in Russia, and whether the many reports of a new enslavement of the Russian working class are true or not.

Why Was Private Industry Encouraged?

Half a year ago a portion of the Russian industries was denationalized and handed over in part to the cooperatives, in part to private owners, in the form of leaseholds. What is it that induces the Russian workers to take this apparently "un-communistic?" step?

The experience of the last few years in Russia has shown that a complete transition to socialist economy is not possible at the present time. Russian industry is far too weak, the semi-capitalist peasantry and petty capital are far too strong. The Russian working class, left in the lurch by the international proletariat, cannot wage war alone against capital, with any chance of success. It is apparent in Russia that a transition period must still be passed through, in which the Proletarian State will permit private capital to develop freely, within certain limits, without however giving up the political domination by the proletariat. Mean-

while, large scale industry, which remains in the hands of the State, will develop and form a basis for the future socialistic economy. Recognizing this historical necessity, the Russian proletariat grimly determined to lease out a portion of their industry, particularly the petty concerns, under specific conditions, to private entrepreneurs. This was done particularly with those industries which could no longer be maintained by the State because of the lack of foodstuffs, fuel, and technically trained labor, and were therefore doomed to an early collapse. In leasing out these concerns, the State practically attains three ends. In the first place, the concerns themselves are preserved for the future, i. e., for a future resocialization. In the second place, the lessees oblige themselves to repair the production instruments and to deliver a portion of their product to the State. In the third place, the leasing of these small concerns relieved the national provisioning organs of a certain load and made certain the supply to nationalized industry.

The Struggle with the New Industrial Capitalists

A new form of private capital thus arises in Russia. He is in error who believes that this fact is taken lightly in Russia. On the contrary: the significance of a strengthening of private capital in the Proletarian Soviet State is by no means underestimated in Russia.

After a defeat, the bourgeoisie always becomes discouraged and cowardly. After a victory—and it is thus that the bourgeoisie regards the admission of private industry to Soviet Russia—it becomes impudent and picks up its courage for new efforts, for new exploitation. There is no doubt that the new private owners will begin to feel their oats in Russia. The first form of their new arrogance will be a sharpened exploitation of the workers in private industries.

The workers will have to resist most emphatically. But how?

Let us take a concrete case. In a new Russian private factory, the owner undertakes to exploit his workers more severely. He does not observe the Soviet laws, his treaties with the national offices and with the workers themselves ("Collective Contracts"), he does not provide the prescribed safeguards for labor, he does not enforce an eight-hour day. The workers prepare to fight these encroachments. At first, they seek protection from the State. The authorities bring the responsible owners before the courts and punish them.

Several such court procedures against owners have already taken place in Russia and will be of great interest for every German working man. In the Russian Province of Vitebsk, a large number of owners faced a grave accusation. The trial showed that a number of serious violations of the Laws on Labor Protection had taken place.* The

*An article by S. Kaplun, of the Commissariat of Labor, on the subject of these laws will be found in "Labor Laws of Soviet Russia", published by the Friends of Soviet Russia.

eight-hour day was often exceeded; young workers were much exploited. What was the decision of the court? It sentenced several owners to prison terms, others to heavy fines, half of which sums went to the Volga famine sufferers and half for the erection of vacation homes for the workers.

This example, taken from a large number of such cases, will show the German worker most clearly what is the difference between a Soviet State and a Democratic German Republic ruled by Social-Democrats. In Russia, the owners get jail sentences from the State for violations of the eight-hour day; in Germany it is the State itself which violates the eight-hour day (as in the case of the Labor Time Law for the railroads), and leaves the workers to the mercy of their employers.

But in the struggles against the owners there will no doubt also be cases in Russia (for instance, when the workers in the private industries make new wage demands) in which the conflict will assume sharper forms, and the support of the State will no longer be sufficient, and will make necessary an independent and militant action of the workers. What then? Shall the workers then stand alone in their struggle, in the private industries? No, they will have a powerful support in the trade unions.

New Tasks of the Trade Unions

Until recently, there was a profound difference between Western Europe and Soviet Russia both in the content and in the objects of the trade union struggle. After the November Revolution, the old purpose of the trade union movement, i. e., economic class struggle for the workers, was no longer valid. For the rule of the bourgeoisie had been eliminated, all industry nationalized, the private owner deposed. Did it follow that the trade unions from then on no longer had any right to exist in Russia, and should be dissolved? By no means. New times mean new tasks. And if there no longer remained any private industry in Russia, the trade unions still had the task of organizing the national industry and taking over the management of the entire economic process, hand in hand with the Proletarian Government apparatus. And besides, the trade unions still retained their old task of labor protection, of regulating wage scales, etc., in which the trade unions no longer functioned as opponents, but as functionaries, as instruments, of the State.

Now that private capital is being resuscitated, the trade unions will lose their government character and recover their former significance for the most part. As the Russian trade unions are again facing an exploiting class, a capitalist class, they will return to the main task still assumed by the trade union movement in capitalist Europe: the organization and systematic guidance of the working class against private owners. The trade unions in Russia will see to it that not a single worker in any private industry will become a helpless victim of capitalist exploitation. They will always aid the workers with every means at their

command in securing their demands. They will even carry out strikes in private enterprises, if no other remedy should be of avail.

The Russian trade unions therefore have the same struggle to wage today as have those in Germany. And yet there is a mighty difference between the two countries. In Germany, we behold a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and a persecution of all trade union class struggle (for instance, in the latest railroad strike). In Russia the proletariat rules, and the battling trade unions will have the most complete support of the State. In Germany: trade union leaders allied and co-operating with capital; in Russia: trade union leaders are actual functionaries of the revolutionary working class, and the trade union organizations are a school for the training of a new industrial proletariat.

Books Reviewed.

Although one of the books reviewed below appeared several years ago, we think the name of its author will still entitle it to the attention of our readers.

THE JAPS IN SIBERIA: A Record of Repression, Outrage, and Murder. An Appeal to International Organized Labor, by Robert Williams, Ben Tillett, M. P., J. Bromley, Neil Maclean, M. P., J. E. Mills, M. P., Robert Smillie. London, 1922. 8-page leaflet.

This leaflet, issued by the English labor leaders enumerated above, and circulated by the British "Hands Off Russia" Committee to all Socialist, Labor, Trade Union Central Organizations, and to the press of the working class movement throughout the world, is an admirable supplement to the interesting article by Max Stryppansky which appeared in *SOVIET RUSSIA* for March 1, 1922. It will be recalled that the material for this article was drawn chiefly from two pamphlets issued by the Special Delegation of the Far Eastern Republic at Washington, D. C., in January and February of this year. Soviet Russia must be defended at all costs from invasion both from the West and from the East, and in the East the first bulwark the enemy will have to surmount is the Far Eastern Republic. That Republic, based on a political philosophy far different from that of the Proletarian Dictatorship, is nevertheless, in spite of its retention of the institution of private property and of a number of other time-dishonored vestiges, so great an advance over the reactionary feudalism of Japan, that the Japanese Government is determined not to tolerate it as a neighbor. The Japanese plan to absorb Siberia must begin by swallowing the Far Eastern Republic, and it is easy therefore to understand that Soviet Russia must hope to see this bulwark maintained as long as possible. After the Japanese hunger for the fisheries and mines of the Maritime Province has dined luxuriantly on these littoral resources, the next gulp will probably aim to include forestry and cattle morsels farther to the westward, and then Soviet Russia will have to act, for west of Chita is Irkutsk, and then you are already in Soviet Siberia.

J. W. H.

THROUGH SIBERIA, THE LAND OF THE FUTURE. By Fridtjof Nansen, G. C. V. O., D. Sc., Ph. D., Professor of Oceanography in the University of Christiania. (London. Heinemann. 1914).

Is there a practical all-water route from Petrograd to Yeniseisk? In August, 1913, the steamer *Correct* sailed from Tromsø, Norway, carrying three representatives of the Siberian Company. Their object was "nothing less

than another serious attempt to open up a regular trade connection with the interior of Siberia via the Kara Sea and the mouth of the Yenisei." Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was the company's guest of honor, though he remarks that it was a riddle to him why he was made one of the party unless it might be that he was interested in Siberia and had "had some little experience of going through the ice." To us it is no riddle. They wisely invited Nansen—Arctic explorer, oceanographer, geographer, ethnologist, statesman. We are fortunate in having his account of that journey by water and land from Tromsø to Vladivostok. In wealth of information "Through Siberia, the Land of the Future" is premier among works on Siberia, while it possesses all the charm of description of those earlier books, "First Crossing of Greenland" and "Farthest North". As a lifelong student of out-of-door Nature Fridtjof Nansen sees what he looks at and makes scientific inferences from what he sees; his inferences reach into deep waters and beneath tundra and mountain; they connect the present with a prehistoric past.

On August 25, twenty days after leaving Tromsø, the *Correct* reached the Yenisei Estuary, thirty miles wide. "What a huge broad mass of water flows out into the Arctic Ocean here; it makes a powerful impression. It gives one the feeling of being at the entrance of one of the great water-arteries of the world." Much of this water has come all the way from the mountains of Mongolia. The Yenisei, including its tributaries the Selenga and Angara (outlet of lake Baikal) is about 3000 miles long with a drainage basin of 970,000 sq. miles.

Before going far the *Correct* met a steamer and two lighters from up river with cargoes to be taken in exchange for the cement with which the *Correct* was loaded. On board one of the lighters were two camels from Mongolia, two bears from the Siberian forests, a wolf and a roebuck, all going to Europe to be sold. "The deck of the other lighter was filled with great beams of Siberian cedar, deal and pine. In the hold they had bales of flax and hemp, hides, wool and hair. Then there were quantities of reindeer and elk horns, and about thirty tons of graphite, etc. It gave one a sense of standing at the gate of an immense country which contained everything from the tundra and forests of the north to the deserts of Mongolia far to the south." Changing to a much smaller boat, the *Omul*, the party proceeded on the up-river trip of more than a thousand miles. This afforded Dr. Nansen opportunity to study the chief of Siberia's most northern industries: the fishing carried on every summer in the lower part of the Yenisei; this stream, turbid yet unpolluted, is one of the great fishing-rivers of the world.

On they go through seemingly endless tundra, then gradually into wooded land. The first trees are small larches in lat. 69° 43' N., growing in soil underlain by permanently frozen earth. But imperceptibly there is increase in size and variety; they are slowly gliding into the most extensive forest in the world. "From here it spreads unbrokenly to the cultivated tracts and steppes of the south, and far to the south of lake Baikal—an extent of more than 1200 miles in a straight line from north to south—and from the Ural Mountains on the west to the Pacific and Kamchatka on the east, more than 3700 miles, a single continuous mantle of forest, only broken by the broad waters of quiet-flowing rivers. This is the Siberian *taiga*." Room, plainly, for the making of wide meadow-lands and hence for the rearing of horses and cattle. At length an actual agricultural region. "There is a splendid deep soil, rich in mould. . . . What a rich country, what immense future possibilities." September 21 Dr. Nansen reached the city of Yeniseisk, where he left the river to travel more than two hundred miles in a four-wheel tarantass, going — as is usual in Siberian travel—night and day, the horses on a gallop, over good roads and bad; hence a fearful jolting. "I never expected to hold together so long." Then by rail to Vladivostok. At each important point Dr. Nansen was met by geographic societies, officials and crowds of people—all interested

in the object of the journey; for, in spite of the trans-Siberian railway, the people feel that their most important products are shut in. "These great rivers seem made for the traffic. . . . They all seem to point to the Arctic Ocean as the solution." Dr. Nansen makes it clear that the call of the soil—crying for the plough—is reinforced by the lure of mineral wealth, especially in the Ural region: gold, iron, copper, silver, lead, coal, and oil; though the real gold of Siberia is her rich black soil.

"Through Siberia" is well indexed, while three maps and over 150 illustrations add greatly to the interest of the text. It closes with a valuable appendix on the navigation of the Kara Sea. In summing up, the author points out that "the difficulties of navigation from Europe to the estuaries of the Yenisei and Obi lie almost exclusively in the ice conditions of the Kara Sea, between Novaya Zemlya and Yamal, and we must be prepared in some years to find the passage of this sea difficult, occasionally very difficult, while the season during which navigation is possible is always short." But he indicates that a degree of mastery of the Kara Sea may be achieved through a systematic study of its oceanographic and meteorological features; knowledge so gained—supplemented with continuous yearly surveys of ice conditions by means of the wireless telegraph and the aeroplane or hydroplane—will be indispensable to a successful development of the sea route in question.

One closes this book with the conviction that Siberia is, indeed, as Dr. Nansen so felicitously terms it, "The land of the future".
E. H.

Branch Activities

SUPERIOR, Wis., recently held a most successful tag day, netting \$864. When the F. S. R. organizer reached Superior, and asked permission to speak to the high school pupils on the matter of relief, the request was readily granted by the principal.

BALTIMORE, Md., has held a very successful bazaar that enlisted the activity of the whole branch.

BROCKTON, Mass., conducted a house-to-house collection. The comrades received a donation from the well-known manufacturers, the W. L. Douglas Shoe Co., in the form of 100 pairs of shoes.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, is conducting a food and clothing drive. This is the largest thing that the Columbus comrades have attempted and they promise to excel.

EUREKA, Cal., held a fine entertainment, and reaped a neat sum for relief.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., is arranging a concert with volunteer artistic talent. A well-known Minneapolis painter has contributed a work of art to the Minneapolis branch.

CHICAGO, Ill., has an insatiable appetite for Roll Calls. The comrades are sending out 37,500 Calls and promise to make the record during the campaign. Chicago has despatched a carload of shoes, clothing, seed wheat, medicines, tools, etc.

The *Volkszeitung*, New York City, has contributed two truckloads of clothing. Clothes continue to come in from all parts. Canada is about to make a large shipment.

Financial Statement, Friends of Soviet Russia

For Period August 9, 1921—February 28, 1922.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
National Office, New York, N. Y.
201 West 13th Street

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to February 28, 1922.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from Local F. S. R. Conferences and Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received. Receipt Nos. 1 to 3379 for income received to January 31, 1922 have been previously reported in detail, a total of.. \$371,098.26 (Receipt No. 3380 issued for valuables received, and not for cash, was omitted from the February list in error but will be published subsequently). Receipts Nos. 3381 to 4053 for income received during February are reported in detail in our official organ "Soviet Russia" dated March 1 and 15, 1922, a total of..... 46,864.60

Total received and acknowledged..... 417,962.86

The above income was deposited in a bank account, and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to.... 183.13

Making a TOTAL INCOME of..... 418,145.99

From which must be DEDUCTED the following items:

- (1) Remittances received as contributions which the bank refused to honor (Receipt Nos. 1 and 214)..... \$274.25
- (2) Remittance addressed "Soviet Russia" received by us in error (Receipt No. 1900)..... 17.94
- (3) Checks temporarily returned by bank to be signed (Receipt No. 2820, 3364 and 3732)..... 181.60
- (4) Exchange and discount on checks received..... 10.94
- (5) Expenses incurred and charged to National Office by Locals 270.93
- (6) Lawyer's fees and bail premium for Local workers arrested for making appeals 425.00

1,180.66

Leaving the INCOME RECEIVED by National Office..... 416,965.33

HOW THE FUNDS AND CLOTHES WERE COLLECTED:

In order to assist Locals and Workers' organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and supplied buttons for sale and contribution lists for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for this purpose is explained in Statement "B" below. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. But it is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred these expenses themselves. But because this money was paid to help Locals and Workers' Organizations raise the money which they send to the National Office it is deducted from the amount which they sent in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after deducting all expenses paid by Locals and all publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office, Thus: Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office..... 26,054.00

Leaving INCOME received by National Office LESS COST OF COLLECTING FUNDS AND CLOTHES 390,911.33

EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent \$2.86 for each \$100 of funds remaining after deducting the cost of appealing for funds and clothes. They amount to..... 11,165.39

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of Soviet Russia of 379,745.94

Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:

- Food Shipments, direct..... \$ 2,185.73
- American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for F. S. R. food and equipment..... 328,200.00
- Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I.L. G. W. U. 2,288.94
- Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, and cartage charges on old clothes contributed 2,493.93
- Federated, International and Russian Conference expenses 825.33
- Bail, Legal fees and relief for delegate from Workers' International Famine Relief Committee detained on Ellis Island..... 1,251.25

337,245.18

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of 42,500.76

Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds of FOR EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank.....	34,102.43	
Petty Cash on hand.....	1,001.00	
Advances to Sections, Locals and Speakers.....	2,970.22	
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost).....	1,165.86	
Deposits for Electricity, Gas, and Lease.....	245.00	
Books purchased for Sale, less Sales.....	3,116.25	42,500.76

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES

*Wages:		
Speakers and Organizers.....	\$ 3,252.43	
Publicity	480.00	
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers.....	6,590.26	
Postages	2,488.28	
Envelopes and Wrappers.....	223.95	
Official Organ "Soviet Russia"—subsidy.....	1,300.00	
Bulletins and Financial Reports printed and distributed	1,422.02	
Advertisements	1,909.70	
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed.....	2,596.59	
Posters, window cards, etc.....	347.00	
Motion Picture and Stereopticon Equipment.....	2,660.95	
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc.....	941.79	
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.....	1,128.49	
Racial and Language Sections preliminary expenses	625.00	
Printing pamphlets and cards for Sale.....	886.62	
		26,853.08
Less sale of pamphlets and cards.....		799.08
		TOTAL..... \$ 26,054.00

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

*Wages:		
Secretary	\$ 1,280.00	
Office Staff	5,812.48	
Office Rent	615.00	
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat.....	779.58	
Office Furniture Rent.....	20.00	
Office Supplies, etc.	718.65	
Printing and Stationery.....	1,112.82	
Telegrams	319.79	
Telephone	53.77	
Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc.....	110.05	
Auditor's charges	343.25	
		TOTAL..... \$ 11,165.39

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the period from the date of organization, August 9, 1921 to February 28, 1922, a period of nearly seven months.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statement, "A", "B", and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B", and "C" are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period, February 28, 1922.

2764 Creston Avenue
New York, N. Y.
March 31, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Relief Contributions, April 1-15

Here is a complete list of contributions received by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., from April 1 to 15, inclusive. The size of this list make it seem probable that the total for April will come up to that of our best month in 1921 (October, \$93,000). Is your contribution listed here? The following abbreviations will be easily understood: "F. S. R., Friends of Soviet Russia; RC, Contribution received in response to "Roll Call".

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
6071	Sympathizer, N. Y. C.	1.00	6135	Workmen's Edu. Assn., Inc., RC San Francisco, Cal.	42.75	6194	Tacoma Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	29.50
6072	Cancelled		6136	Ed. Saavisto, Lutsi 15643-4-6-7, Eveleth, Minn.	32.10	6195	F. S. R. Branch, RC Gary, Ind.	85.75
6073	John Zabruk, Luzerne, Pa.	25.00	6137	A. Yordock, List 12121, Kulpmont, Pa.	29.50	6196	Workers Relief Club, Portland, Ore.	1035.00
6074	C. Ivanow, Napoleon, N. Dak.	25.00	6138	C. Cecil Rhodes, RC Janesville, Wis.	15.50	6197	Swedish Aid Society, Portland, Ore.	25.00
6075	Wm. Speck, RC Buffalo, N. Y.	10.00	6139	Dramatic Club & Workers Gymnastic Union, Cleveland, Ohio.	15.10	6198	F. Johnson, RC Port Essington, B. C., Canada	17.00
6076	Timoselj Dairchuk, RC Montreal, Canada	7.00	6140	Lith. Lit. Soc. Br. 62, Stoughton, Mass.	11.85	6199	Coppermith's Union No. 95, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00
6077	L. Joba, RC Lynch Mines, Ky.	36.50	6141	Ida Wilson RC Duluth, Minn.	11.70	6200	Ermine Kohn, RC N. Y. C.	10.00
6078	L. Krena, RC Bellavia, Ohio	9.25	6142	Cancelled, Issued by mistake		6201	K. Poltauski, RC New Castle, Pa.	20.00
6079	R. L. Bensinger, RC Success, Saak., Canada	24.46	6143	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	3468.23	6202	F. W. Mayer, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00
6080	Bror Akerson, At Little Falls, Minn.	4.75	6144	C. Christades, RC Newark, N. J.	6.83	6203	E. R. Bobb, Enderly, B. C., Canada	5.00
6081	M. Keely, Dagus Mines, Pa.	5.00	6145	Frank Kosa, Terre Haute, Ind.	2.50	6204	W. H. Daugha, Princeton, Ida.	5.00
6082	Leo. Hoffman, Elyria, Ohio.	3.75	6146	Bert Chata, Terre Haute, Ind.	2.50	6205	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 133, Dayton, Ohio	5.00
6083	F. S. R. Branch, RC Hartford, Conn.	15.66	6147	A. E. Anderson, Butte, Mont.	1.00	6206	E. M. Curry, Kalamazoo, Mich.	5.00
6084	Philip Crywyway, RC Nanty Glo, Pa.	12.75	6148	M. P. Stone, Silverton, Texas	1.00	6207	Mary E. Miller, Coll., Miami, Fla.	7.35
6085	Mrs. M. Semben, N. Y. C.	1.00	6149	W. S. Holcomb, Imperial Cal.	1.00	6208	Albert Keitel, RC Lacombe, Alta, Canada	5.00
6086	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	6150	H. S. Wilkin, Magnolia Beach, Wash	1.00	6209	J. Etheridge, Lockney, N. M.	5.00
6087	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	150.00	6151	F. S. R. Branch, Superior, Wis.	1000.00	6210	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 175, Erie, Pa.	5.00
6088	F. S. R. Branch, Bridgeport, Conn.	60.00	6152	F.S.R. Branch, Lawrence, Mass.	250.00	6211	Max Aben, Prince Rupert, B. C., Canada	5.00
6089	Ernest Guenter, RC Santa Cruz, Cal.	50.00	6153	Young Peoples Int'l. League, Lawrence, Mass.	19.06	6212	Aiden P. Ripley, Boston, Mass.	5.00
6090	Eustace Seligman, N. Y. C.	10.00	6154	Bro. of Painters No. 1251, B'klyn, N. Y.	100.00	6213	Fred A. Smith, Goldfield, Nev.	5.00
6091	Evelyn, N. Hughan, N. Y. C.	10.00	6155	Closson & Emilie Gilbert, Randolph Ctr., Vt.	50.00	6214	F. J. Eimert, Miles City, Mont.	5.00
6092	Erik & Mrs. E. A. Erikson, Berkeley, Cal.	10.00	6156	A. M. Cavari, RC Nakusp, B. C., Canada	49.00	6215	Eldie Mathew, Ridgely, Md.	4.00
6093	Herman Hintz, RC Bloomfield, N. J.	10.00	6157	John Shrader, RC Oakland, Cal.	27.00	6216	F. S. R. Br., Spokane, Wash.	147.50
6094	Joe Drazec, RC Detroit, Mich.	8.00	6158	F. S. R. Br., Cliffside, N. J.	26.00	6217	Coll. at masquerade, Cloquet, Minn.	9.50
6095	J. D. Lascoff, RC N. Y. C.	3.00	6159	Nels Lofgren, RC Fort Fraser, B. C., Canada	24.00	6218	Elinor Teitlinen, Cloquet, Minn.	5.00
6096	Margaret Dyer, Rockford, Ill.	2.00	6160	C.A. Barger, RC Fair Oaks, Cal.	20.00	6219	G. Verhulst, Collinsville, Ill.	4.00
6097	Jeanette G. Glassberg, B'klyn., N. Y.	2.00	6161	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 338, Duquoin, Ill.	20.00	6220	H. W. L. Dana, Cambridge, Mass.	4.00
6098	Nathan Bialor, N. Y. C.	1.00	6162	Chas. Donner, RC Wellington, B. C., Canada	20.00	6221	Wm. R. Holland, San Antonio, Texas	3.00
6099	Chas. E. Shrum, RC Flora, Ill.	1.00	6163	J. Laues, Riverview, Fla.	15.00	6222	Anth. Korbel, Endicott, N. Y.	3.00
6100	J. F. Grabill, RC Flora, Ill.	.25	6164	Jos. Lindner, RC Santa Maria, Cal.	12.00	6223	Mrs. M. E. David, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
6101	Wm. Chaney Jr., RC Flora, Ill.	1.00	6165	L. T. Munkachy, RC Zanesville, Ohio.	12.00	6224	Mrs. Mary Hannon, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
6102	Rolla W. Chaney, RC Flora, Ill.	1.00	6166	W. Stamenovich, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	6225	E. McLean, Manchester, N. H.	2.00
6103	R. A. Owen, RC Flora, Ill.	1.00	6167	P. Enrico, Atlantic City, N. J.	19.00	6226	Theodore Bossie, Dallas, Texas	2.00
6104	E. E. Marshall RC Flora, Ill.	1.00	6168	Roby C. Day, Meadville, Pa.	10.00	6227	Chas. W. Hadik, Portland, Ore.	2.00
6105	M. S. Dickerson, RC Flora, Ill.	.50	6169	L. Croksters, Downey P.O. Cal.	10.00	6228	H. Pannkuk, Meservey, Iowa	2.00
6106	Jas. Tullett, RC Flora, Ill.	1.00	6170	Dr. Ford Eastman, Erie, Pa.	10.00	6229	Dom. Zari, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
6107	N. W. Drebbina, RC Akron, O.	24.50	6171	Kalle Wosanen, RC Grayling, Mich.	10.00	6230	Harry Peltaman, N. Y. C.	2.00
6108	T. Tofan, RC Braeside, Ont, Canada	11.00	6172	E. Israelite RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	6231	Anna Schaarshmidt, Rochester, N. Y.	2.00
6109	T. Kolnogoruk, Massena, N.Y.	5.00	6173	C. Cecil Rhodes, Janesville, Wis.	7.00	6232	M. Ulianitzky, Kenosha, Wis.	5.00
6110	W. Yoeko, RC Hartshorne, Okla.	10.40	6174	A. Kialala, RC Sandoval, Ill.	7.00	6233	George Berger, Cincinnati, Ohio	1.00
6111	P. Kochinoff, Kansas C., Kans.	50.00	6175	Wm. S. Dalton, RC Salt Lake City, Utah	5.00	6234	Walter Barrett, Abbotsford, B. C., Canada	1.00
6112	J. Zerchenko, RC E. Hammond, Ind.	44.50	6176	Socialist from Tenn., Terre Haute, Ind.	20.00	6235	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 80, Camden, N. J.	1.00
6113	T. Vasilevich, RC Kirkland Lake, Ont., Canada	22.00	6177	Sbor Ratolest Miruci 65, Neffs, Ohio	20.00	6236	F. S. R. Br., Hibbing Minn.	103.53
6114	F. J. Milepchik, Fairhope, Ala. 2 gold wedding rings		6178	Mate Rumora, List 4117, Columbus, Ohio	3.50	6237	F. S. R. Br., Rochester, N. Y.	200.00
6115	J. Mizczynski, RC, N. Y. C.	25.75	6179	Herman Helminen, RC Greenville, N. H.	18.07	6238	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 346, Boonton, N. J.	80.00
6116	Henry Lake, RC Mayger, Ore.	13.00	6180	J. P. Dunseth, Portland, Ore.	5.44	6239	P. Eablud, RC Westrose, Alta, Canada	66.00
6117	A. Bourke, RC Arlington, Wash.	10.00	6181	J. Mellnik, RC Sault Ste Marie, Ont., Canada	145.00	6240	Louis Untermyer, RC N. Y. C.	35.00
6118	L. G. Engel, RC Edmonds, Wash.	8.00	6182	F. S. R. Branch, East Chicago, Ind.	43.00	6241	G. V. Summer, RC McMurray, Wash.	80.00
6119	Dan Kuchan, Great Falls, Mont.	3.00	6183	Constantine Matus, RC Harmarville, Pa.	80.00	6242	P. McDonnel, Lac St. Anne, Alberta, Canada	25.00
6120	E. J. Johnson, Burke, Idaho.	2.00	6184	Paul Kopawita, RC Lawrence, Mass.	20.00	6243	J. T. Hugrove, L. Beach, Cal.	25.00
6121	Mr. & Mrs. Gro. B. Nelson, Center City, Minn.	2.00	6185	A. Bunar, RC Brockton, Mass.	12.00	6244	S. Vaitkus, Philadelphia, Pa.	25.00
6122	Marte Holtser, Seattle, Wash.	1.00	6186	O. Slemko, Chester, Pa.	5.00	6245	Chas. Retzky, Chicago, Ill.	25.00
6123	C.A. Holt, RC Brockton, Mass.	10.00	6187	N. Rasin, Crum Lynne, Pa.	5.00	6246	S. Holt, Seal Alta, Can.	24.00
6124	Nick Kusenkow, Nacmine, Alta, Canada	10.00	6188	Mike Suchy, RC Farnassus, Pa.	36.50	6247	Louis Kardos, RC Cleveland, O.	22.00
6125	Sam Kusenkow, Nacmine, Alta, Canada	5.00	6189	L. W. S., Moline, Ill.	16.55	6248	T. Lindberg, RC Milwaukee, Wis.	20.00
6126	Mrs. Nelly Kusenkow, Nacmine, Alta, Canada	5.00	6190	G. Doblinsky, Moline, Ill.	12.00	6249	A. Lind, RC Chicago, Ill.	20.00
6127	Marke Rudyk, Nacmine, Alta, Canada	10.00	6191	A. Obodovsky, RC Big Bay, Mich.	24.50	6250	A. Saininen, Berkeley, Cal.	20.00
6128	Mrs. M. Rudyk, Nacmine, Alta, Canada	10.00	6192	A. Moller, RC Inwood, N. Y.	16.20	6251	Mrs. Anna C. Swenson, Oakland, Cal.	5.00
6129	Sofron Stasiuk, Nacmine, Alta, Canada	10.00	6193	Steve Pochnoaky, RC Lella, Pa.	11.50	6252	F. Whisler, RC Firebaugh, Cal.	5.00
6130	Leo Panasky, Nacmine, Alta, Canada	5.00				6253	Vera Speigle, At Hicksville, O.	5.00
6131	Anna Vappa, Roebling, N. J.	5.00				6254	C. W. Hinton, RC Salineville, Ohio	1.00
6132	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	205.05						
6133	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	353.51						
6134	J. Nieser, RC, New Baden, Ill.	50.50						

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
6255	Harry Clemuk, RC Hamtramck, Mich.	22.00	6322	Anonymous, Richmond Hill, N. Y.	1.00	6393	A. Koch, RC St. Louis, Mo.	11.00
6256	Sons & Daughters of Norway, Petersburg, Alaska	160.60	6323	D. M. Jenkins, RC Collinsville, Ill.	1.00	6394	A. M. Lambert, RC Boulder, B. C., Canada	10.00
6257	Joseph Muvrin, RC Chisholm, Minn.	126.10	6324	Mrs. D. M. Jenkins, RC Collinsville, Ill.	1.00	6395	Joseph E. Badger, RC Sebastopol, Cal.	10.00
6258	Victor Meneghetti, Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.	3.50	6325	Chas. Mollar, RC Collinsville, Ill.	1.00	6396	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 145, Fitchburg, Mass.	10.00
6259	Russian Br. F. S. R., St. Paul, Minn.	105.00	6326	Mrs. Chas. Mollar, RC Collinsville, Ill.	1.00	6397	Geo. Bucsulak, Ignacio, Cal.	10.00
6260	David Fryer, RC Wing, N. Dak.	25.00	6327	J. Schaeffer, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6398	T. Crosbie, Castor, Alta, Can.	10.00
6261	Lotnd Edwin, RC Bklyn, N. Y.	16.50	6328	Samuel Landis, RC N. Y. C.	5.00	6399	F. S. R. Br., Frewsburg, N. Y.	10.00
6262	Eathonian Publ. Soc., N. Y. C.	18.00	6329	P. Sterkel, RC Lincoln, Neb.	2.00	6400	D. Bingham, RC Tonopah, Nev.	9.00
6263	H. D. Deutch, N. Y. C.	10.00	6330	Fred Ott, RC Lincoln, Neb.	2.00	6401	W. Bednarska, RC Zanesville, Ohio	9.00
6264	I. Hook for Fin. Soc. Br., New Rochelle, N. Y.	42.95	6331	D. Spadt, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6402	Leo A. Wolenik, RC San Francisco, Cal.	9.00
6265	J. Hedbavny, RC Astoria, L. I.	10.50	6332	W. B. Gresson, Elmhurst, L. I.	2.00	6403	Wilshire Telephone Operators, Los Angeles, Cal.	9.00
6266	Nick Povich, RC Roseland, B. C., Canada	5.00	6333	A. Brown, RC Lincoln, Neb.	5.00	6404	E. Jankowsky, RC B'klyn, N.Y.	7.00
6267	J. Junter, RC Hanna, Wyo.	5.00	6334	G. Baideck, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6405	John Lerch, Dedham, Mass.	6.00
6268	Henri De Ridder, RC N. Y. C.	3.00	6335	J. G. Weber, RC Lincoln, Neb.	3.00	6406	Andrew Manson, St. Nelson, B. C., Canada	6.00
6269	Mrs. Louise McClair, RC Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00	6336	J. J. Fischer, RC Lincoln, Neb.	2.00	6407	Chas. Stoerber, Adams, Mass.	6.00
6270	P. C. Dane, RC Martinez, Cal.	2.00	6337	John Spamer, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6408	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 137, Alama, Mass.	5.00
6271	Alice C. Erwin, Harbor Springs, Mich.	2.00	6338	E. Dietrich, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6409	Samuel Boff, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00
6272	H. C. Verner, RC Chicago, Ill.	5.00	6339	A. Bork, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6410	J. Harrington, RC Bellingham, Wash.	4.00
6273	Irving Jilbert, Tracy, Cal.	1.00	6340	H. H. Salzman, RC Lincoln, Neb.	2.00	6411	A. C. Fries, Philo, Ohio	5.00
6274	M. Senteck, RC Cleveland O.	1.00	6341	M. Jacob, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6412	C. Fedick, RC Cleveland, O.	5.00
6275	Ferdinand Quednan, RC N. Tonawanda, N. Y.	1.00	6342	R. A. Murray & Frank Russel, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.50	6413	Sarah A. Rohser, Canton, O.	5.00
6276	D. M. Wernicke, Manhattan Beach, L. I.	2.00	6343	David Wagenleiter, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6414	Geo. L. Turner, Lodi, Cal.	5.00
6277	A. Rabinowitz, N. Y. C.	2.00	6344	Gerge Stratheln, RC Lincoln, Neb.	2.00	6415	G. W. Dimond, Stratford, Conn.	5.00
6278	N. Feingolts, Manhattan Beach, L. I.	2.00	6345	J. J. Lebsock, RC Lincoln, Neb.	2.00	6416	J. L. Hecachorn, Whittier, Cal.	5.00
6279	Israel Sallberg, Manhattan Beach, L. I.	2.00	6346	O. Cook, RC Lincoln, Neb.	5.00	6417	Thomas Atteberry, Jr., Assumption, Ill.	5.00
6280	N. Y. Circle of Bessarabian Natives, N. Y. C.	38.00	6347	Christina Maria Beck, RC Lincoln, Neb.	5.00	6418	R. Gorham, Columbus, Ohio	5.00
6281	Cancelled. Issued by mistake. (1.90)		6348	W. Erpolf, RC Lincoln, Neb.	5.00	6419	E. B. Miller, Ashland, Ore.	5.00
6282	Adalbert Closs, Newton Heights, N. Y.	5.00	6349	A. Erpiloff, RC Lincoln, Neb.	5.00	6420	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 154, Herminie, Pa.	5.00
6283	Cancelled. Issued by mistake. (2.00)		6350	E. Grenimyer, RC Lincoln, Neb.	5.00	6421	Jas. P. Daugherty, Tonawanda, N. Y.	5.00
6284	W. Carlson, RC Waa, B. C., Canada	1.90	6351	H. B. Amend & J. A. Amend, RC Lincoln, Neb.	2.00	6422	Mrs. Robert Belgh, Plentywood, Mont.	3.00
6285	Mrs. Hansen, Ocean Falls, B. C., Canada	2.37	6352	Conrad Stranheim, RC Lincoln, Neb.	3.00	6423	H. O. Sydow, Marchison, Texas	3.00
6286	A. Hoakins, RC Bamfield, Can.	19.00	6353	L. Brealan, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6424	Wm. Urdang, Los Angeles, Cal.	3.00
6287	Harry Mendelson, RC N. Y. C.	4.00	6354	J. J. Salzman, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6425	R. Urdang, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00
6288	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	5.00	6355	J. Spaldt, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6426	Mr. & Mrs. Chas. Kaufeld, Rosindale, Mass.	3.00
6289	M. Tihonets, RC Chelsea, Mass.	2.00	6356	Ella Weber, Marshalltown, Iowa	1.00	6427	A. Hammer, Rosendale, Mass.	2.00
6290	J. Kobernik, RC Chelsea, Mass.	2.00	6357	L. McCollough, Marshalltown, Iowa	.50	6428	O. Clunk, Victoria, B. C., Can.	2.00
6291	T. Kapahuk, RC Chelsea, Mass.	1.00	6358	E. Anderson, Marshalltown, Ia.	1.00	6429	J. Plomer, Sacramento, Cal.	2.00
6292	Gust Ohrn, RC Duluth, Minn.	25.00	6359	Sister Sophia-Hubel, Marshalltown, Ia.	1.00	6430	Teter Matson, Fair Oaks, Cal.	2.00
6293	E. C. Walter, RC Minidoka, Idaho	10.00	6360	Howland, Marshalltown, Ia.	5.00	6431	John Saari, Fair Oaks, Cal.	2.00
6294	P. Uankowoy, RC Kenosha, Wis.	12.00	6361	M. Quirk, Marshalltown, Ia.	1.00	6432	A. C. Minor, Worland, Wyo.	2.00
6295	F. A. Tingley, RC Danville, Ill.	8.00	6362	E. Peterson, Marshalltown, Ia.	5.00	6433	C. Sykes, Glendive, Mont.	2.00
6296	Silas A. McCulloch, RC Grand Forks, N. D.	5.00	6363	A. Graves, Marshalltown, Ia.	1.00	6434	I. N. Baraky, Connet, Ohio	2.00
6297	H. Blum, RC Napa, Cal.	5.00	6364	Ruth Muecke, Marshalltown, Ia.	.50	6435	L. Velle, Westfield, N. J.	2.00
6298	A. Carlson, RC Cusson, Minn.	5.00	6365	P. Lisa, RC Paterson, N. J.	13.00	6436	L. Brown, Wellesley, Mass.	10.00
6299	Ethel Brooke Sanford, RC Oakland, Cal.	5.00	6366	S. Duetch, RC Chicago, Ill.	.50	6437	W. Adolph Zeb, N. Y. C.	2.00
6300	Andrew Sowta, RC Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	6367	F. Lippi, RC Chicago, Ill.	.50	6438	A. M. W. Pennypacker, Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
6301	Elizabeth Lovett, Asbury Park, N. J.	5.00	6368	F. Kaufman, RC Chicago, Ill.	.50	6439	T. Matsui, RC Oakland, Cal.	5.10
6302	C. H. Dickman, RC Missoula, Mont.	5.00	6369	Onnig Googasian, RC Chicago, Ill.	1.00	6440	Benj. Curl, Alliance, Ohio	32.56
6303	A. Uher, RC Oakland, Cal.	1.00	6370	H. Kantz, RC Chicago, Ill.	1.00	6441	Pavel Ugrinovich, RC Ottawa, Ontario, Can.	42.75
6304	Anton Mara, RC San Francisco, Cal.	1.00	6371	Otto Baehr, RC Monico, Wis.	30.50	6442	Wm. Shipmaker, RC Edgewood, B. C., Can.	25.65
6305	Anonymous, RC N. Y. C.	2.00	6372	D. W. Nevins, RC N. Y. C.	12.05	6443	Geo. Vanderdassen, RC Silverdale, B. C., Can.	14.25
6306	L. Besdeka, RC San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	6373	Narcisco Faizat, RC San Francisco, Cal.	7.25	6444	T. Seamon, Sodaia, Alta, Can.	10.45
6307	Thos. J. Benson, RC Lorain, O.	3.00	6374	Gust A. Carlson, RC Worcester, Mass.	.50	6445	A. Lebel, Ontario, Can.	.95
6308	Erick Sjolle, RC Culver, Minn.	3.00	6375	N. M. Peterson, RC Worcester, Mass.	1.00	6446	Soc. Local Equity of Seal Sodaia, Alta, Cau.	20.19
6309	Samuel Z. Goldfarb, Bklyn, N. Y.	9.50	6376	O. Weinberg, RC Worcester, Mass.	1.00	6447	G. Kurilovich, RC Indiana, Reed, Pa.	81.00
6310	W. H. Lyons, RC Brooks, Alberta, Canada	4.75	6377	F. W. Majhannus, RC Michigan, Mich.	15.25	6448	John Burcovich, RC E. Chicago, Ind.	40.00
6311	Lewis Schneider, RC Paterson, N. J.	1.00	6378	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.		6449	T. Baspaly, RC Evesham, Sask., Can.	31.00
6312	Mrs. Dominik Waltzer, RC Paterson, N. J.	1.00	6379	Workmen's Sick Benefit Fund Br. 239, Oakland, Cal.	12.50	6450	L. Kuchmuk, RC Peoria, Ill.	29.00
6313	A. Batta, RC San Leandro, Cal.	2.00	6380	M. Okin, RC Los Angeles, Cal.	15.50	6451	R. Smith, RC Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	18.00
6314	Leonard Kern, RC Richmond, Hill, N. Y.	2.00	6381	Sergey Egeroff, RC Triadelphia, W. Va.	75.25	6452	Kateryna Pesyk, RC Rochester, N. Y.	17.00
6315	E. Karsten, RC L. I. City, N.Y.	2.00	6382	P. Stulbo, RC Sioux City, Ia.	13.30	6453	Wasily Kolliveky, RC Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	15.00
6316	Louis Toff, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6383	S. Young, RC Heyburn, Ida.	24.00	6454	W. Mihal, RC Lyndhurst, N. J.	14.00
6317	Mrs. A. Wasler, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6384	A. W. Barr, RC Worcester, Mass.	19.00	6455	M. Prollako, RC Akron, Ohio.	13.00
6318	Miss Henrietta Gressin, N.Y.C.	1.00	6385	G. Dreuth, RC San Francisco, Cal.	18.00	6456	K. Vinogradaki, RC Cloquet, Minn.	6.00
6319	Bessie Miley, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6386	I. Serier, Kenewick, Wash.	15.00	6457	J. Ralph, RC Detroit, Mich.	29.50
6320	Joseph Podgorny, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	6387	Wm. Mahon, RC Oakland, Cal.	15.00	6458	S. Stukanoff, RC Sagamore, Pa.	20.50
6321	A. Bamman, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6388	G. Alving, RC Callistoga, Cal.	15.00	6459	John Banded, RC Sagamore, Pa.	16.90
			6389	Carlotta C. Kinsley, RC Kenwood, N. Y.	15.00	6460	Max Slobodinuk, Lewiston, Me.	10.50
			6390	J. Rogers, San Diego, Cal.	13.00	6461	J. Trushinsky, RC Chicago, Ill.	8.75
			6391	E. M. Jonassen, RC Chicago, Ill.	13.00	6462	M. Mazink, RC Grand Rapids, Mich.	5.50
			6392	Mrs. F. Rascher, RC Ferguson, Mo.	12.00	6463	Herbert Howart, RC Reed Deer, Alta., Can.	3.25
						6464	Yusko Rydusz, Argentine, Pa.	2.50

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
6465	The Benton Family, Granada, Minn.	2.50	6531	Mikel Frankel, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	6608	John Scalabrino, RC N. Y. C.	4.00
6466	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	6532	Anna M. Savage, RC Butte, Mont.	1.00	6609	Selma Brown, Ac. N. Y. C.	4.00
6467	F. S. R. Br., Brockton, Mass.	500.00	6533	A. Krause, Everett, Mass.	1.00	6610	Date Prim, RC Coalinga, Cal.	3.00
6468	Czechoslovak Marian Ferer- ation, Stanton, Ill.	173.00	6534	G. Holler RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6611	Rev. C. A. Stoppels, RC Hud- sonville, Mich.	2.00
6469	F. S. R. Branch, Lynn, Mass.	125.00	6535	Mrs. Rose Greenan, RC N.Y.C.	1.00	6612	R. Mulder, RC Hudsonville, Mich.	1.00
6470	S. Bondaruk, RC Peoria, Ill.	76.00	6536	Nathan Costiner, RC Montreal, Que., Can.	10.00	6613	H. Broeno, RC Hudsonville, Mich.	.50
6471	Bishop & Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Galion, Ohio	50.00	6537	E. A. Iroldi, RC N. Y. C.	3.00	6614	H. Hoiling, RC Hudsonville, Mich.	.25
6472	Clark Johnson, RC Grantaburg, Wis.	33.00	6538	R. V. Warner, RC St. Paul, Minn.	1.00	6615	Rev. A. Blick, RC Jenison, Mich.	5.00
6473	J. Yaakewich, RC Toronto, Ont. Can.	27.00	6539	Proceed of sale of 9 oz. plain jewelry, N. Y. C.	100.40	6616	Gemmen Bros., RC Jenison, Mich.	2.00
6474	Verna Prescott, RC Big Creek, Cal.	25.00	6540	Chas. V. Nemedi, RC N.Y.C.	9.10	6617	Corret Schrottenboer, RC West Olive, Mich.	1.00
6475	Geo. Maich, RC Ambridge, Pa.	22.00	6541	M. Tazelaar, RC N. Y. C.	2.00	6618	Abert Potts, RC Jenison, Mich.	1.00
6476	L. Anderson, RC, Mukilteo, Wash.	20.00	6542	Mrs. S. E. Johnson & Mrs. M. McNeill Blanchard, Tuolumne, Cal.	10.00	6619	Rolf Sietema, RC Jenison, Mich.	1.00
6477	H. Bilterman, RC Hiteman, Pa.	18.00	6543	Ed. Fuchs, RC B'klyn, N.Y.	3.00	6620	Jacob Tuitmitra, RC Grand Rapids, Mich.	.50
6478	J. Kasun, RC Wauwatosa, Wis.	15.00	6544	German B. W. P. RC Akron, O.	6.00	6621	J. Kroker, RC Jenison, Mich.	.50
6479	E. Schwartz, RC N. Y. C.	15.00	6545	J. W. Kasson, RC B'klyn, N.Y.	5.00	6622	Mrs. Ueldink, RC Jenison, Mich.	.25
6480	S.J. Kicinaki, RC Detroit, Mich.	12.00	6546	C. F. Hanson, RC Vallejo, Cal.	2.00	6623	L. Gemmen, RC Jenison, Mich.	1.00
6481	F. S. R. Children's Coll., Wil- mington, Del.	99.96	6547	W. Mengelson, RC Long Island City, N. Y.	2.00	6624	B. Van Dyke, RC Hudsonville, Mich.	.50
6482	Finnish Soc. Br., Glassport, Pa.	57.50	6548	C. E. Baker, RC Crawfordville, Ind.	2.00	6625	F. Bing, RC Hudsonville, Mich.	.50
6483	Stanley Salva, RC & Coll., Buffalo, N. Y.	51.50	6549	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	1.00	6626	Mrs. M. Christopherson, RC Hudsonville, Mich.	.25
6484	F. Hensel, RC San Antonia St., Tex.	41.50	6550	R. L. Vance & Margaret Vance, RC Galv, Ont., Can.	1.00	6627	Henry Holstege, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6485	Mrs. Joe Krits, RC Cassidy, B. C., Can.	43.20	6551	E. F. Plets RC Bloomer, Wis.	1.00	6628	Evert Holstege, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6486	M. Rossi, RC Fort Bragg, Cal.	33.50	6552	C. E. Weren, Cliffside, N. J.	5.00	6629	P. Talsma, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6487	Wm. Gornoff, RC Stanislaus, Cal.	32.50	6553	H. Eberle, RC Hartsville, Ohio	1.00	6630	S. Leinstra, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6488	F. S. R. Branch, Vancouver, B. C., Can.	30.50	6554	Mrs. S. Young, Heyburn, Ida.	.50	6631	M. Byer, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.25
6489	C. L. U., Canton, Ohio	39.02	6555	G. Henrich, RC Hevelock, Neb.	1.00	6632	J. H. Morsink, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.25
6490	Wilho Boman, RC Chicago, Ill.	27.25	6556	E. Buchholz, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6633	J. Linirtsema, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6491	Mrs. E. Kowkly & B. Argie- wics, List, Detroit, Mich.	23.25	6557	Alex Silken, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6634	John Gebben Jr., RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6492	Matt Martila, RC Chester, Pa.	22.95	6558	M. Silken, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6635	Harry Vredeveid, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6493	C. Shaleg, RC Sacramento, Cal.	20.25	6559	R. Silken, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6636	A. Overweg, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6494	M. Repetokki, RC Vandolah, Fla.	19.40	6560	M. Silken, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6637	R. B. DeHaan, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6495	V. Wirta, A. Winton, Minn.	15.30	6561	N. Silken, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6638	Geo. Mappelink, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6496	C. R. Riddiough, RC Ogden, Utah	14.50	6562	V. Silken, RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6639	Herman Olminkhoff, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6497	A. G. Stillman, RC San Fran- cisco, Cal.	13.50	6563	Matvay Savocheck, RC Lincoln, Neb.	40.00	6640	H. J. Meppelink, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6498	M. Lawrisky, RC Raylor, Pa.	12.50	6564	Central Poultry & Feed Co., RC Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	6641	H. Bos, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6499	Ladies Sewing Circle, Marengo, Wis.	12.23	6565	Max Schwartzman, RC N.Y.C.	2.00	6642	B. Schout, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.25
6500	Joseph Wagner, RC Auburn, N. Y.	11.75	6566	A. Sottell, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6643	John Borch, J., RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6501	Miss Walberg, Saginaw, Mich.	20.00	6567	D. Elkin, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6644	Gradus Guerink, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.35
6502	Samuel Soodak, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.35	6568	I. Feingold, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6645	Mrs. H. Schout, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6503	Alex Cerulnick, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6569	B. Kitlof, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6646	J. Schout, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6504	Harry Nisenhal, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6570	Jacob Flaton, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6647	Jacob Steigenga, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.50
6505	Mrs. M. Cohen, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00	6571	Liebovitz, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6648	W. Overweg, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6506	Sopfe Soodak, B'klyn, N. Y.	2.35	6572	Rose Levine, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6649	Gust Tasma, RC Zeeland, Mich.	1.00
6507	S. Soodak 1st, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6573	Abraham Levine, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6650	John E. Kras, RC Zeeland, Mich.	.40
6508	Mrs. F. Nigro, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	6574	Jino Bartomoli, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6651	H. Frankel, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	3.00
6509	J. Budko, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	26.25	6575	S. Canziola, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6652	B. Resnick, RC Mt. Airy, Md.	3.00
6510	D. Percoff, N. Y. C.	6.00	6576	Nathan Woolf, RC N. Y. C.	.50	6653	U. J. Dezenick, RC Chicago, Ill.	3.00
6511	Nathan Stern, RC N. Y. C.	5.55	6577	M. Jakobson, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6654	Mrs. Mary Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00
6512	M. Appelman, B'klyn, N. Y.	10.00	6578	Juapipe Chinchin, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6655	Linda Staehle, N. Y. C.	2.00
6513	B. Mueller, RC Smithers, B. C., Can.	4.75	6579	Jos. Barliomiola, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6656	A. A. Zagal, RC Detroit, Mich.	2.00
6514	Mr. & Mrs. G. Hallson, RC Vancouver, B. C., Can.	9.50	6580	M. Levy, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	.50	6657	S. Kaufman, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	2.00
6515	Cancelled. Issued by mistake		6581	W. Spuhr, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	11.00	6658	F. Boorsteins, RC Detroit, Mich.	2.00
6516	T. A. Barnard, Coll., Nansimo, B. C., Can.	20.45	6582	Cene Watson, RC N. Y. C.	10.00	6659	V. Wendinahi, Cristobal, Canal Zone	1.00
6517	J. Hasselsta, RC Port Essington B. C., Can.	1.90	6583	Otto Bachr, Monico, Wis.	10.00	6660	Ida Stern, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00
6518	Louis Roehcr, Cold Lake, Alta, Can.	9.50	6584	A. Malafec, Shamokin, Pa.	10.00	6661	Frank Stempikar, Virden, Ill.	1.00
6519	Jaa. Knudson, RC Standard, Alta, Can.	1.90	6585	Dr. I. Franklin, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00	6662	K. Dighton, Hartdale, N. Y.	1.00
6520	Balmoral Barber shop, RC E. Vancouver, B. C., Can.	5.70	6586	P. Zaraqondegul, RC San Diego, Cal.	10.00	6663	Wm. Schmidt, Curtice, Ohio.	1.00
6521	Jesse S. Ellingworth, 10th Band C. A. C., Boston, Mass.	2.00	6587	H. B. & K. F. wehle, RC N. Y. C.	10.00	6664	K. Kasnya, RC N. Y. C.	1.00
6522	Anton Martin in Band C. A. C., Boston, Mass.	2.00	6588	Frank Taylor, RC Center City, Minn.	10.00	6665	Signa Halonen, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
6523	John Nasternok 10th Band C. A. C., Boston Mass.	10.00	6589	A. Fitzpatrick, RC Newark, N. J.	10.00	6666	C. Ciulli, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00
6524	C. O. Nelson, RC Boston, Mass.	10.00	6590	V. E. Newberry, RC Abington, Mass.	10.00	6667	A Friend, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
6525	C. H. Erikson, RC San Fran- cisco, Cal.	10.00	6591	C. E. Griggs, RC Warren, Pa.	10.00	6668	Coll. by Gus Theimer, Eliza- beth, N. J.	3.00
6526	D. Telatynsky, RC Hudson, N. Y.	5.00	6592	F. S. Lowe, Tucson, Ariz.	.50	6669	M. Bryns, RC Springfield, Ill.	3.00
6527	M. Brettel, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00	6593	J. M. Kahn, RC N. Y. C.	8.00	6670	A. W. Crosby, RC Lorain, Ohio	3.00
6528	Voonegut Hardware Co., India- napolis, Ind.	2.00	6594	A. K. Hermanson, RC San Francisco, Cal.	7.00	6671	Jim Coughlin, RC Meridan P. O., Wash.	19.50
6529	Sophie Krueger, RC Astoria, L. I.	2.00	6595	Iddor Gleser, Ac. N. Y. C.	6.00	6672	F. S. R. Br. Muskegon, Mich.	26.69
6530	O. S. Curtis, Newall, Cal.	2.00	6596	Misses E. T. & L. Becker, RC Plainfield, N. J.	6.00	6673	Matt Malner, List 13938, Catlin, Ill.	11.25
			6597	J. A. Anderson, San Leandro, Cal.	5.00	6674	J. T. Crandall, RC Nashville, Tenn.	10.75
			6598	F. H. Hagerman, RC Cincinnati, Ohio	5.00			
			6599	J. A. Whitehorn, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00			
			6600	W. A. Maerts, RC Antigo, Wis.	5.00			
			6601	W. H. Willard, Nampa, Idaho	5.00			
			6602	F. Hill, Kansas City, Mo.	5.00			
			6603	George Pearl, RC Eureka, Cal.	5.00			
			6604	R. Sihlis, RC Eureka, Cal.	5.00			
			6605	John J. Lenney, RC Washing- ton, D. C.	5.00			
			6606	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 48 Guttemberg, N. J.	5.00			
			6607	Olaf E. Ray, Chicago, Ill.	5.00			

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
6675	Oscar Orchard, RC San Francisco, Cal.	10.50	6745	Mrs. M. Quinlan, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	7.15	6812	F. S. R. Br., RC Ziegler, Ill.	205.31
6676	D. Gold, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	10.10	6746	B. F. Walton, RC Geneva, Neb.	2.50	6813	F. S. R. Branch, Akron, Ohio	52.49
6677	T. Jermol, RC Johnston City, Ill.	9.75	6747	Anonymous, Milo, Alberta, Can.	25.00	6814	Rex Wolfe, RC Midvale, Ohio	43.59
6678	E. Wagner, RC Chicago, Ill.	9.65	6748	A. K. & P. W. Whiting, Iowa City, Iowa	25.00	6815	Mrs. Schutte, RC Joyce, Wash.	22.50
6679	G. Niemi, RC saarengo, Wis.	9.50	6749	Georgette Durtieslock, Homestead, N. Y.	20.00	6816	O. J. Giarde, A. Myrtle Point, B. C., Can.	21.25
6680	Helena Sieniawska, RC Kenosha, Wis.	9.45	6750	O. Jager, RC Braddock, Pa.	7.00	6817	H. Sepila, RC Nolaui, Ont., Can.	13.30
6681	P. W. Smith, New Hope, Pa.	5.00	6751	Geo. D. Sauter, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00	6818	Victor Granstrom, RC Valhalla, Alta, Can.	10.45
6682	H. J. Clougherty, RC Strasburg, Va.	4.85	6752	G. Wagner, Huntingburg, Ind.	2.00	6819	D. Lockwood, Dowdney, B. C., Can.	1.95
6683	B. Sims, RC N. Y. C.	3.30	6753	M. J. Kramer, B'klyn, N. Y.	2.00	6920	L. Chernoy, RC N. Y. C.	4.00
6684	T. Wyman, Ironwood, Mich.	1.25	6754	Anonymous, Escanaba, Mich.	1.00	6821	F. S. R. Br., Detroit, Mich.	800.00
6685	S. Lvomalo, RC Kaleva, Mich.	18.25	6755	Mrs. Sarah Percheid, Richmond, Ind.	1.00	6822	H. Senioff, Lista McKeespert, Pa.	23.50
6686	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	6756	C. Nemeroff, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	27.00	6923	V. Marciano, RC B'klyn, N.Y.	16.75
6687	F. S. R. Br., Waterbury, Conn.	130.00	6757	Joash Critchley, RC Edwardsville, Ill.	5.00	6824	Emil Mattson, at Paswagin, Saak., Can.	16.50
6688	F. Biddle, Philadelphia, Pa.	50.00	6758	A. Aoor, RC N. Y. C.	4.00	6825	M. Sumarak, RC, Valier, Ill.	8.25
6689	J. Siegalia, Lecture Proceeds, Amsterdam, N. Y.	36.00	6759	Clemens Hullster, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	3.00	6826	Morris Ginsberg, RC So. Pasadena, Cal.	7.25
6690	J. Schmidt, RC Sanger, Cal.	28.00	6760	W. Ailon, RC South Bend, Ind.	2.00	6827	E. N. Barber, RC Kent, Ohio	16.75
6691	K. Ziporkis, RC N. Y. C.	27.00	6761	Jarvis Kilpatrick, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	2.00	6828	J. Tauk, Des Plaines, Ill.	1.00
6692	W. Mattson, RC Oakland, Cal.	24.00	6762	J. A. Robinson, Tampa, Fla.	2.00	6829	F. S. R. Br., Peabody, Mass.	100.00
6693	A. Pankow, RC St. Charles, Va.	24.00	6763	Birger Boe, Elko, Virginia	2.00	6830	H. Meyer, RC Olympia, Wash.	70.00
6694	M. H. Smuiker, Ph. G., RC B'klyn, N. Y.	15.00	6764	Robert H. Johnson, RC West Haven, Conn.	1.00	6831	F.S.R. Br., Minneapolis, Minn.	66.00
6695	J. E. Normand, RC Enderely, B. C., Can.	14.00	6765	R. Schraml, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	6832	F. S. R. Br., Olyphant, Pa.	250.00
6696	C. Korostukoff, RC Milwaukee, Wis.	12.00	6766	Mark Sunrak, Valier Ill.	1.00	6833	A. Kudrensky, RC Chicago, Ill.	48.00
6697	Mrs. Francis H. Cabot, N.Y.C.	10.00	6767	A. F. LaMarck, Cohoes, N. Y.	1.00	6834	F. S. R. Br., Lowell, Mass.	40.00
6698	Leo Shiffrin, N. Y. C.	10.00	6768	F. S. K. Br., Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	6835	Thomas Hughes, RC Brule Mines, Alta, Can.	29.00
6699	Walter Sixt, Streator, Ill.	10.00	6769	F. S. H. Br., Cincinnati, Ohio.	100.00	6936	E. Endeman, B'klyn, N. Y.	25.00
6700	P. J. Paulsen, Cheyenne, Wyo.	10.00	6770	Frank Perpich, RC North Chicago, Ill.	13.00	6837	J. E. Westberg, Big Piney, Wyo.	25.00
6701	Mrs. Michel Kusik, San Pedro, Cal.	10.00	6771	U. M. W. of A. No. 3574, Klein, Mont.	11.00	6838	J. Kubsach, RC Milwaukee, Wis.	20.00
6702	Coll. by Fred S. Koch, Allentown, Pa.	10.00	6772	Alicen Biorakvist, RC Pocatello, Idaho	5.00	6839	F. O'Reilly, RC N. Y. C.	19.00
6703	Wm. O'Hearn, Houston, Tex.	10.00	6773	Hannah Dvorcof, RC Pocatillo, Idaho	5.00	6840	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 9, E. Pittsburg, Pa.	15.00
6704	C. E. Fay, Somerville, Mass.	10.00	6774	Walters Union No. 30, San Francisco, Cal.	6.00	6841	A. R. Bentley, RC Kamloops, B. C., Can.	14.00
6705	E. O. E. Klippbaha, Grass Valley, Cal.	10.00	6775	Soc. Party Local, Manchester, N. H.	6.00	6842	Workmen's Circle, No. 656, N. Y. C.	13.00
6706	Alex Lucy, Hillside, Ariz.	5.00	6776	Isabel Manson, RC N. Y. C.	5.00	6843	B. Fratoddi, Birmingham, Ala.	10.00
6707	H. C. Brancati, RC N. Y. C.	8.00	6777	F. W. Spanuth, RC Taheld, Alta, Can.	5.00	6844	P. McKenna, Hanna, Alta, Can.	10.00
6708	W. J. Sticht, Gloversville, N.Y.	8.00	6778	L. E. Brantin, Dallas, Texas.	5.00	6845	F. B. Miles, Okanagan Landing, B. C., Can.	10.00
6709	Mary Harolick, RC Paterson, N. J.	6.00	6779	J. J. McDougall, RC Concrete, Wash.	5.00	6846	Cancelled, issued by mistake.	
6710	Cres Smith, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	6780	A. Sandler, RC N. Y. C.	5.00	6847	Wm. Reiss, Coll., Minneapolis, Minn.	10.00
6711	Dr. M. G. Arguefles, Ybor City, Tampa, Fla.	5.00	6781	Miss S. W. Strickler, Charlestown, W. Va.	5.00	6848	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 109, Claridge, Pa.	10.00
6712	H. H. Sweetland, Brush, Col.	5.00	6782	J. F. Muroa, RC Dillonvale, O.	25.00	6849	J. Weiss, San Francisco, Cal.	6.00
6713	E. A. Purdy, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00	6783	Scott Garretson, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	2.00	6850	Sophie Miller, N. Y. C.	5.00
6714	A. Burnelster, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	6784	Chas. Raseo, RC Dillonvale, O.	1.00	6851	B. of P. D. & P. of A. No. 350, Albert Lea, Minn.	5.00
6715	F. Lehti, Fort Myers, Fla., RC	5.00	6785	Lusi Grafton, RC Smithfield, O.	2.00	6852	C. O. Hector, Everett, Wash.	5.00
6716	S. Grinkoff, Wheeling, W. Va.	50.00	6786	A. Drosael, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	6853	Willis Maki, R. No. 1, Box 222, Plant City, Fla.	5.00
6717	J. Koeko, Coll., seeling, W. Va.	8.30	6787	E. O. Garretson, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	3.00	6854	R. O. Murschel, Beiseker, Alta, Can.	5.00
6718	J. Koeko, Adm. Tickets, Wheeling, W. Va.	12.00	6788	O. S. Hooper, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	6855	E. W. Riggs, Hillville, Va.	5.00
6719	T. M. Marek, RC Walla Walla, Wash.	5.00	6789	J. A. Lesojk, RC Dillonvale, O.	2.00	6856	Milton Harbough, Sand Ceales, Mont.	5.00
6720	Alda Nick, Columbus, Ohio.	3.00	6790	John L. Barthurst, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	5.00	6857	Chas. E. Stangeland, Thuro pr Svendborg, Denmark	5.00
6721	C. Colles, RC N. Y. C.	3.00	6791	Joha Pleshoter, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	2.50	6858	C. C. Everson, Palmyra, N. Y.	10.00
6722	S. Tondow, RC Paterson, N.J.	2.00	6792	Andy Pleshaty, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	2.00	6859	Cancelled, check not honored	
6723	Steve Chernow, RC Browning, Mont.	2.00	6793	J. A. Robinson, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	6860	Dr. P. L. Bereamo, N. Y. C.	3.00
6724	Ellen S. Brandstetter, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	6794	C. Sossati, RC Danville, Ohio	.50	6861	J. Nagurewaki, B'klyn, N. Y.	3.00
6725	Mr. & Mrs. Oscar A. Korff, RC N. Y. C.	2.00	6795	W. B. Garretson, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	5.00	6862	Paul Hudak, RC Trainer, Pa.	2.00
6726	John Nigre, Collinsville, Ill.	2.00	6796	Geo. L. Elliott, RC Dillonvale, Ohio	5.00	6863	Jack Girik, Cleveland, Ohio.	2.00
6727	Victorio Minichillo, RC N.Y.C.	2.00	6797	F. S. R. Br., Worcester, Mass.	100.00	6864	M. Sankey, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00
6728	Mrs. Cley, Ruskin, Fla.	2.00	6798	Pants Makers Union No. 174, Worcester, Mass.	10.00	6865	Alex Friedolin, Afognak, Alaska	1.00
6729	Mr. Walker, Ruskin, Fla.	1.00	6799	G. Grafton, RC Smithfield, O.	2.00	6866	A. Wilson, Montreal, Can.	1.00
6730	H. T. & Lee Nalley, RC Nashville, Tenn.	2.00	6800	F. S. R. Branch Minneapolis, Minn.	97.00	6867	J. Staples, Lookout Mountain, B. C., Can.	1.00
6731	Mrs. B. Rillee, Oakland, Cal.	1.00	6801	Louis Zabara, RC Troy, Mont.	84.00	6868	J. Levine, N. Y. C.	1.00
6732	P. T. Kirecko, Glendale, L. I.	1.00	6802	Sophie Pelkonen, RC Bois De Wasol, Mich.	32.00	6869	Rob. White, Buffalo, N. Y.	1.00
6733	Alfred S. Ahlgren, RC Ogilvie, Minn.	1.00	6803	Rev. Geo. W. North, Philadelphia, Pa.	12.00	6870	P. Korris, RC Brooklyn, N. Y.	4.63
6734	H. Schechter, RC B'klyn, N.Y.	2.00	6804	W. R. Dillon, Parks, Texas	5.00	6871	Spravednost, Chicago, Ill.	203.35
6735	Edw. A. Wiecek & Agnes Burns Wiecek, Belleville, Ill.	2.00	6805	M. Y. Appelblatt, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	4.00	6872	Coll. Church of the United Brethren in Christ, Dayton, O.	190.00
6736	Henry Anderson, RC Swift Current, Saak., Can.	2.00	6806	H. Osterdorf, RC N. Y. C.	3.00	6873	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	575.10
6737	Rae Markson & Julia Racusin, RC N. Y. C.	2.00	6807	D. Ostrowsky, RC Chicago, Ill.	3.00	6874	F. S. R. Br., Albany, N. Y.	96.50
6738	Gunder K. Dale, RC Climax, Minn.	48.00	6808	Theo. R. Ordoroff, Hanover, Minn.	3.00	6875	J. Gwokonuk, RC Manchester, N. H.	89.80
6739	Anselm Jaronen, RC Finland, Ont., Can.	20.75	6810	Lena L. Fox, Xenia, Ohio.	3.00	6876	J. Maesop, Collection, Gilley, Alberta, Can.	46.75
6740	Alban Blomquist, RC Maple, Wis.	16.50	6811	Electrical Workers No. 1023, Canton, Ohio	3.00	6877	F. S. R. Br., Braddock, Pa.	38.50
6741	Aug. Vogt, RC New Brighton, S. I.	12.50				6878	W. J. Jablowsky, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	34.50
6742	P. Cardilj, RC Wyamo, Pa.	11.75				6879	F.S.R. Br., Great Falls, Mont.	33.63
6743	Steve Soluk, RC Wyamo, Pa.	11.60				6880	Alex Muhlberg, RC San Pedro, Cal.	30.83
6744	E. B. Ford, RC Faribault, Minn.	10.50				6881	J. Klein, RC Skagway, Alaska	28.50
						6882	M. J. Lynch, meeting, Misawala, Mont.	22.25
						6883	Mike Oreskovich, RC W. Frankfort, Ill.	19.75
						6884	Italian Section, F. S. R., N. Y. C.	21.20

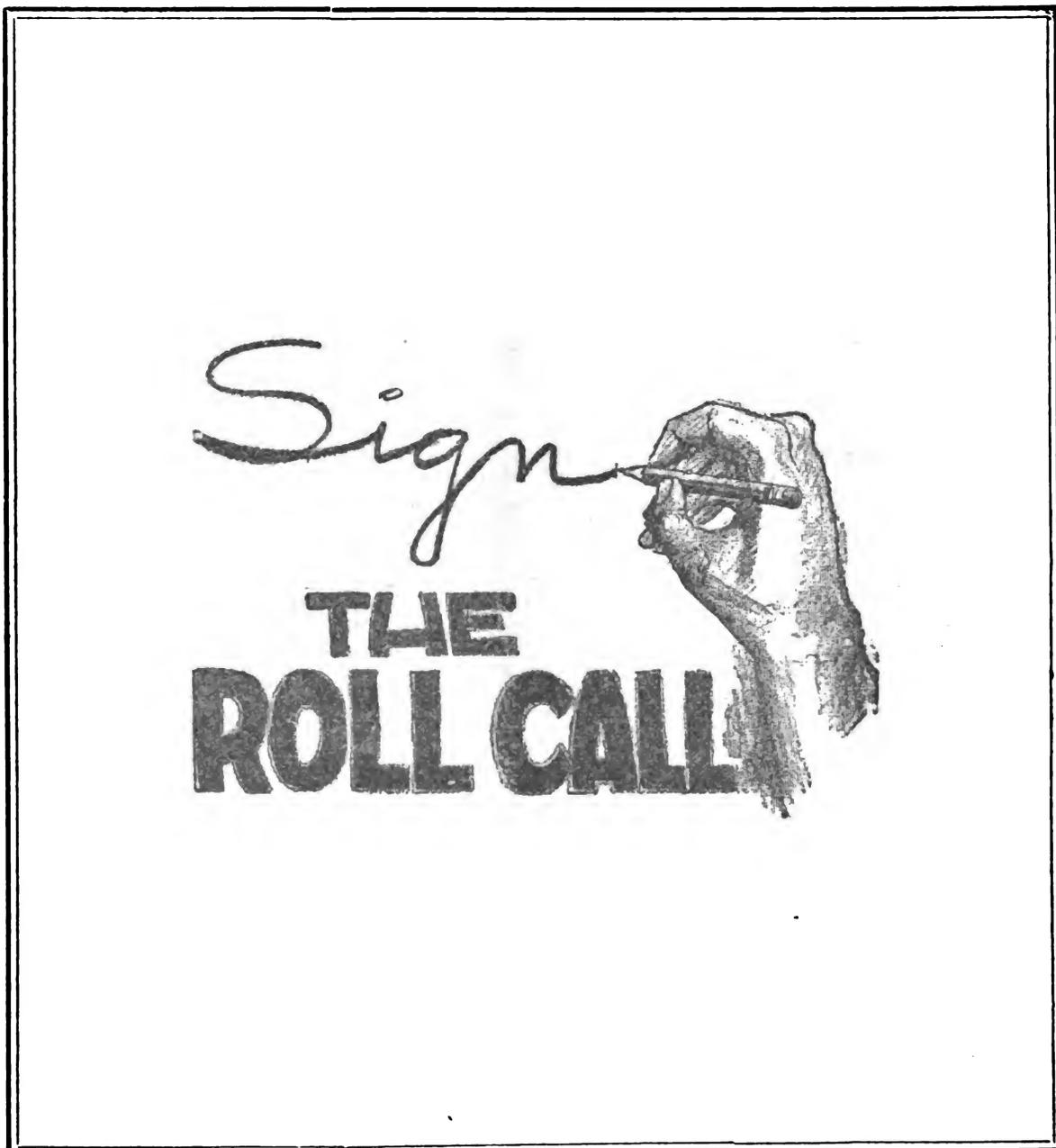
Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
6885	Leoa Galber, RC San Francisco, Cal.	16.50	6953	A. Champion, RC Danville, Ill.	30.00	7033	F. Valtenko, RC N. Y. C.	22.00
6886	C. Grohman, RC Thane, Alaska	13.50	6954	John Reder, Sacramento, Cal.	8.00	7034	A Friend, Pompton Plains, N.J.	1.00
6887	Geo. Walters, RC Prince Rupert, B. C., Can.	13.35	6955	C. Bowie, RC Soanich, B. C., Can.	28.00	7035	Mike Hording Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
6888	W. N. P. Club 145, Wing, No. Dak.	13.85	6956	F. S. Chopp, RC Whitehall, Mont.	28.00	7036	Alex Carnowitz, RC Plainfield, N. J.	18.50
6889	C. Ollwoeber, RC N. Y. C.	13.50	6957	Alex Pennanen, RC Spirit Lake, Idaho	26.00	7037	P. Zanardi, Kansas City, Mo.	3.50
6890	Fritz Heinke, RC Riverdale, Ill.	11.50	6958	U. M. W. of A. No. 304, Belleville, Ill.	25.00	7038	S. Satsak, RC Edgewater, N. J.	26.00
6891	S. & D. B. Soc. Br. 80, Aberdeen, Wash.	10.70	6959	Z. Riefer, Kansas City, Mo.	25.00	7039	E. Skomars, RC Kellogg, Idaho	10.00
6892	John Rank, RC Prince Rupert, B. C., Can.	10.50	6960	F. S. R. Br., Chisholm, Minn.	57.25	7040	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.	
6893	J. Rohatynski, RC Waterloo, Ont., Can.	8.40	6961	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.		7041	Mary Matecum, RC Bridgeton, N. J.	5.00
6894	Joseph Fitz, RC Johnston City, Ill.	7.75	6962	S. S. J. Oastro, RC Nequane, Mich.	20.00	7042	Stanley Matecum, RC Bridgeton, N. J.	5.00
6895	Z. A. Wollan, Riverside, Cal.	5.00	6963	W. Griffith, R. No. Battleford, Sask., Can.	20.00	7043	J. Bacynski, RC Deforiet, N. Y.	9.00
6896	F. Heinke, RC Riverdale, Ill.	5.50	6964	The Italian Orchestra, RC Roslyn, Wash.	117.00	7044	J. Lawczak, RC Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
6897	Henry C. Becker, RC Elwood, Ind.	5.75	6965	Geo. Kaup, List, Millburn, N.J.	15.00	7045	Ray Levine, RC N. Y. C.	5.00
6898	T. B. Doyle, Baton Rouge, La.	3.00	6966	Fred Miller, RC San Francisco, Cal.	15.00	7046	N. Svenson, RC Portland, Ore.	5.00
6899	F. S. R. Br., Moline, Ill.	163.00	6967	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 229, Danbury, Conn.	14.00	7047	M. Moskowitz, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00
6900	A. Baginsky, RC Bridgewater, Mass.	65.00	6968	T. Drobny, RC So. Bend, Ind.	12.00	7048	Lyford Paterson, adwards, RC Annadale, N. Y.	5.00
6901	P. Fedorchuk, RC Timmins, Ont., Can.	81.00	6969	J. Grasono, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	12.00	7049	Otto Minchiryan, Vallejo, Cal.	5.00
6902	Alice Demasewich, RC Maynard, Mass.	27.00	6970	S. P. Hindley, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00	7050	B. Francis, Portland, Me.	5.00
6903	P. Fustick, RC, Lyon Mountain, N. Y.	47.50	6971	N. W. Ravenscroft, Arapahoe, Okla.	10.00	7051	Sylvia Friedenbug, N. Y. C.	1.00
6904	W. Shankow, RC Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	33.75	6972	M. Airoff, RC N. Y. C.	10.00	7052	Abraham Trotsky, N. Y. C.	1.00
6905	S. Fedun, RC Sydney, N. S., Can.	28.72	6973	T. L. Nichols, Philadelphia, Pa.	10.00	7053	I. Holland, N. Y. C.	4.00
6906	Philip Koval, RC Sydney, N. S., Can.	18.50	6974	A. Black, RC Winnipeg, Can.	10.00	7054	B. Billick, RC N. Y. C.	4.00
6907	W. Yecko, RC Hartshorne, Ok.	14.28	6975	Mrs. A. F. Messer, RC Long Beach, Cal.	10.00	7055	O. Olsen, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	4.00
6908	Victor Kurahuk, RC S. Amherst, Ohio	12.10	6976	V. D. Scudder, Wellesley, Mass.	10.00	7056	R. Schwab, RC Mt. Healthy, Ohio	2.00
6909	M. Sutoff, RC Winnipeg, Can.	16.25	6977	S. Christensen, Oakland, Cal.	10.00	7057	F. C. Sherwood, RC Cleveland, Ohio	2.00
6910	Kl. Borys, RC Franklin Park, Ill.	5.00	6978	John Collins, Dillon, Mont.	10.00	7058	A. Tarasczuk, RC Wilkes Barre, Pa.	2.00
6911	Ruslan Division, F. S. R., Star City, W. Va.	100.00	6979	Anna Nowak, Philadelphia, Pa.	10.00	7059	Max Todfeld, RC N. Y.	1.00
6912	V. Borstov, RC Meadville, Pa.	44.00	6980	E. J. Flynn, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	7060	W. Baumwell, RC N. Y. C.	1.00
6913	W. Spokes, RC Lethbridge, Can	25.00	6981	H.H. Williams, Gertrude, Wash.	10.00	7061	Geo C. Bartlett, RC Tolland, Conn.	1.00
6914	Dmetro Didocha, RC Westville, Ill.	30.00	6982	Geo. Kessler, Eureka, Cal.	10.00	7062	H. Schlenger, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00
6915	Mike Malchak, RC Dembo, Pa.	26.00	6983	A. Weichal, RC Los Angeles, Cal.	7.00	7063	M. Karlin, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00
6916	A. Timon, RC Algoma, W. Va.	25.00	6984	J. Zehrn, RC Amsterdam, N. Y.	7.00	7064	C. Rosatti, Duluth, Minn.	1.00
6917	A. Dulchewsky, Latoncho, Alaska	20.00	6985	S. Silverman, RC Austin, Tex.	4.00	7065	Mrs. Ida Rothenberg, RC Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
6918	Wesley Piska, RC Rodna, Va.	19.00	6986	C. Wyo, Minneapolis, Minn.	3.00	7066	Abraham Weinstock, RC Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
6919	A. Merkuroff, RC Winnipeg, Can.	16.00	6987	Vasil Romanek, Malrose, Park, Ill.	3.00	7067	Mr. & Mrs. Fred Wilberg, Clinton, Wash.	1.00
6920	V. Hontar, RC Chelsea, Mass.	13.00	6988	Steve Trumbeta, Simpeon, Pa.	9.60	7068	M. Ragosa, New Haven, Conn.	1.00
6921	O. Hyrouk, RC Akron, Ohio	8.00	6989	L. Llaemer, Grand Rapids, Ohio	2.00	7069	O. A. Amundsen, Underwood, Minn.	1.00
6922	A. Bafaroff, RC Wharton, N. J.	6.00	6990	Theo Brodzich, Midvale, Ohio	4.00	7070	Carl Wunderle, RC Cincinnati, Ohio	1.00
6923	Wetovich Tony, RC Morris, Ill.	6.50	6991	Edmon Rhodes, Hamilton, Cal.	2.00	7071	Alex Sutkovoy, RC So. Windham, Me.	18.05
6924	Y. Woznessuk, RC Renton, Pa.	7.35	6992	T. Roots, RC Boyds, Wash.	2.00	7072	A. Karvinen, Entertainment, Wierton, W. Va.	36.25
6925	J. Kosak, RC Nanty Glo, Pa.	6.50	6993	Harvey Koch, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.00	7073	Mrs. Hanna Matson, Coll. & Entertainment, Gebo, Wyo.	179.00
6926	Mike Alekshick, RC Ziegler, Ill.	109.94	6994	J. Adamson, Belield, No. Dak.	2.00	7074	W. E. Butler, RC Tucson, Ariz.	5.00
6927	Peter Lagntchik, RC San Antonio, Texas	108.50	6995	Mrs. Alice L. Harper Hanby, Mt. Vernon, Ind.	1.00	7075	Mrs. Y. S. Morris, Hot Springs, Ark.	5.00
6928	D. Kulikowaki, RC McLatyre, Pa.	76.85	6996	W. W. Whalen, Buffalo, Okla.	1.00	7076	W. B. Levick, oan Francisco, Cal.	5.00
6929	K. Chodzinsky, RC Franklin, Mass.	63.50	6997	F. M. Krusz, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	7077	P. Johnson, RC Sanetone, Minn.	5.00
6930	P. Smichenko, RC Glasgow, Conn.	81.50	6998	D. Ferguson, New Albany, Ind.	1.00	7078	W. K. Bryce, RC Riverhurst, Sask., Can.	5.00
6931	D. A. Bodnar, RC, New Orleans, La.	48.50	6999	A. Elliott, Yeoford, Alta, Can.	1.00	7079	Ed. G. Jones, RC Hoff, Ore.	5.00
6932	T. Hnatuk, RC Aultman, Pa.	44.95	7000	A. J. Beigel, Cambridge Springs, Pa.	2.50	7080	H. De Block, RC Preemption, Ill.	5.00
6933	Paul Zagoravsky, RC Sayre, Pa.	28.35	7001	A. Covacevich, RC Bilox, Miss.	5.00	7081	N. Brussels, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00
6934	S. Spirak, RC Rayland, Ohio	25.35	7002	A. J. Cocce, RC N. Y. C.	6.50	7082	O. Pearson, RC Hudson, Wyo.	5.00
6935	P. Mokldon, RC Toledo, Ohio	18.50	7003	Technical Aid Society, Harrison, N. J.	20.30	7083	R. B. Hayes, Redding, Cal.	5.00
6936	G. Drowsow, RC Barrackville, W. Va.	14.90	7004	Geo. Bittel, Ruby, Alaska	20.00	7084	Charles J. Sullivan, RC New Haven, Conn.	12.00
6937	Steve Kuszyt, RC Wyamo, Pa.	13.50	7005	August Pahke, Ruby, Alaska	10.00	7085	Chres J. Sullivan, RC New Haven, Conn.	5.00
6938	W. Caserewky, RC Transcona, Man., Can.	10.75	7006	M.R. Husevy, Anchorage, Alaska	10.00	7086	Rev. Smith O. Dexter, RC Concord, Mass.	5.00
6939	J. Krehel, RC Senandoeb, Pa.	10.50	7007	A. Crowell, RC Melrose, Mass.	5.00	7087	K. Smith, RC Walsh, Alta, Can.	5.00
6940	T. Honcharuk, RC Franklin, Mass.	8.25	7008	H. R. Edward, Berkeley, Cal.	5.00	7088	Wm. Afsprung, Cincinnati, Ohio	5.00
6941	G. Fosenkoff, RC East Chicago, Ind.	43.58	7009	Mrs. Elise Heck, RC Corona, L. I.	5.00	7089	W. R. C. Cook, Renton, Wash.	5.00
6942	T. Papko, RC E. Chicago, Ind.	13.43	7010	H. De Ridder, N. Y. C.	3.00	7090	F. Silva, Coll., Brickville, Ohio	5.00
6943	John Znowich, Gary, Ind.	7.50	7011	N. Paschnick, Newark, N. J.	2.00	7091	Miss W. E. Robert, Harvey, La.	5.00
6944	John O. Yeager, Wilson Creek, Wash.	5.00	7012	Jeter Honcharuk, Newark, N. J.	1.00	7092	John G. Hay, RC Winter, Sask., Can.	5.00
6945	John Boell, Emada, Idaho	2.50	7013	Betty Kaye, RC n. Y. C.	1.00	7093	C. A. Rader, RC Grand Rapids Mich.	5.00
6946	F. S. R. Br., Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	7014	Eugene Best, RC N. Y. C.	1.00	7094	Julius Frita, Berkeley, Cal.	5.00
6947	F. S. R. Br., Binghamton, N.Y.	300.00	7015	R. E. Cox, Danville, Ill.	.50	7095	Louis Gruber, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00
6948	F. S. R. Br., San Francisco, Cal.	150.00	7016	Otto Cooper, Danville, Ill.	.50	7096	Linton A. Wood, Indianapolis, Ind.	5.00
6949	F. S. R. Br., zoreka, Cal.	89.70	7017	Carl W. Lindstrom, RC Brooklyn, N. Y.	11.00	7097	R. K. Helmle, RC Oak Park, Ill.	5.00
6950	Dr. C. C. McLatyre, Sierra Madre, Cal.	70.00	7018	G. Storing, RC n. Y. C.	10.00	7098	Jse Kript, Chicago, Ill.	3.00
6951	T. Jensen, RC Arlington, Wash.	62.00	7019	Elias Avintaky, B'klyn, N. Y.	10.50	7099	H. O. Sydow, RC Murchison, Tex.	9.00
6952	P. KHikazy, RC Aultman, Pa.	48.00	7020	Theodore Rand, N. Y. C.	4.75	7100	P. D. Lith. Br F. S. R., Pittsburg, Pa.	300.00
			7021	Fred Heckman, Brooklym, N. Y.	7.00	7101	E. Curtis Ilkenhans, RC Hamilton, Ohio	1.00
			7022	John McCall, B'klyn, N. Y.	7.45	7102	J. S. Kellogg, RC Norfolk, Va.	1.00
			7023	W. Choniak, RC Ladl, N. J.	15.50			
			7024	T. D. Jones, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1.00			
			7025	H. Johannsen, RC N. Y. C.	16.00			
			7026	Ernst Rohrs, RC N. Y. C.	28.50			
			7027	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	5.00			
			7028	H. Feulner, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	5.25			
			7029	Fred Ekman, B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00			
			7030	Italian Section, F. S. R., N. Y. C.	3.25			
			7031	A. Z. Labash, RC N. Y. C.	7.50			
			7032	Scout Club No. 10, N. Y. C.	10.00			

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
7103	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.		7170	Mrs. Roale Popovich, RC Butte, Mont.	10.00	7245	C. W. Adams, Harbor Springs, Mich.	1.00
7104	Mrs. Ernst De Sauter, RC Los Banos, Cal.	3.00	7171	Bob Dragan, RC Butte, Mont.	10.00	7246	F. S. R. Br., Chicago, Ill.	1000.00
7106	F. Schamotzer, RC N. Y. C.	3.00	7172	Nick Haiden, RC Butte, Mont.	10.00	7247	F. S. R. Br., Brockton, Mass.	200.00
7106	J. M. Henry, RC, N. Y. C.	3.00	7173	J. Varga, RC Alliance, Ohio	10.00	7248	John Rasmussen, RC Tacoma, Wash.	76.00
7107	Theresa Carlson, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	7174	U. Moses, Yoakum, Tex.	10.00	7249	Matt Mattson, RC Hurley, Wis.	60.00
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7109	M. R. Mayers, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00	7176	B. of L. E., Oncko, Div., RC E. M. Chunk, Pa.	10.00	7251	S. Chapko, RC Waterloiet, N.Y.	7.00
7110	M. S. Sugarman, RC Meriden, Conn.	5.00	7177	E. D. Baker, RC Niagara Falls, N. Y.	10.00	7252	Joseph O'Dea, RC N. Y. C.	5.00
7111	N. Shea, N. Y. C.	5.00	7178	A. L. Helm, RC Fair Oaks, Cal.	10.00	7253	Anonymous, Passaic, N. J.	2.00
7112	Frederic T. Bioletti, RC Berkeley, Cal.	5.00	7179	C. Bishop, RC Fair Oaks, Cal.	5.00	7254	E. Carr, RC Portland, Ore.	2.00
7113	Dr. Morris Cornseld, RC Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	7180	F. S. R. Br., Hartford, Conn.	129.18	7255	E. Muller, RC Amsbury Park, N. J.	1.00
7114	Mrs. F. Lapple, South Pasadena, Cal.	5.00	7181	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	61.90	7256	Oscar Sjolin, RC N. Y. C.	1.00
7115	J. Unjar, RC N. Y. C.	6.00	7182	M. Tuber, RC Hartford, Conn.	5.00	7257	Vera Buch, RC Dover, N. J.	1.00
7116	G. Rudquist, RC Boston, Mass.	9.00	7183	Wm. A. Turner, RC Hartford, Conn.	.50	7258	Butchers Union No. 174, N. Y. C.	30.50
7117	M. Miller, RC N. Y. C.	9.00	7184	F. S. R. Br., Brainerd, Minn.	36.25	7259	Mrs. E. H. Wolf, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
7118	Mrs. Riley, Oakland, Cal.	1.00	7185	F. Mandziak, RC Fall River, Mass.	5.25	7260	H. H. Bachelder, Danville, Ill.	1.00
7119	Samuel D. Marchant, RS Silvis, Ill.	5.00	7186	Rus. Dramatic Soc., Boston, Mass.	200.00	7261	Max Elkind, RC B'klyn., N. Y.	7.00
7120	Mrs. Andrew, RC Berkeley, Cal.	5.00	7187	A. Malushenko, RC Honolulu, Hawaii	66.00	7262	Paul Rasmak, N. Y. C.	5.00
7121	P. Danluck, North Bend, B. C. Can.	2.60	7188	Rus. Dramatic Club, Haverhill, Mass.	50.00	7263	R. Distefano, RC B'klyn., N. Y.	2.00
7122	F. S. R. Br., Ansonia, Conn.	279.00	7189	S. Dolgy, RC San Francisco, Cal.	42.53	7264	C. Ens, RC B'klyn., N. Y.	15.00
7123	F. S. R. Branch, Lorain, Ohio	107.35	7190	M. Veremchuk, RC Winipeg, Can.	28.25	7265	M. C. Salter, Kalamazoo, Mich.	1.00
7124	Happy Hour Club, Buffalo, N. Y.	32.50	7191	W. Makovsky, RC Cortland, N. Y.	19.25	7266	Mrs. Alena Schnette, RC St. Louis, Mo.	20.00
7125	W. Thompson, Coleman, Alberta, Can.	31.33	7192	F. Novikoff, RC Yorkton, Can.	12.00	7267	Kathleen Dighton, N. Y. C.	1.00
7126	First Ukrainian Br. Workers Party N. Y. C.	40.28	7193	J. Yanos, RC Manchester, N.H.	7.85	7268	Ernst Backman, N. Y. C.	1.00
7127	Carl Knutson, North Bulkley, B. C., Can.	9.60	7194	Sam Malt, N. Y. C.	1.00	7269	A. Woytuk, RC Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
7128	Tony Popko, RC East Chicago, Ind.	6.72	7195	A. R. Zeitlin, Chicago, Ill.	2.50	7270	Z. Wecholsak, RC Nanticoke, Pa.	4.00
7129	A. Schweiger, RC Livingston, Ill.	31.92	7196	F. S. R. Br., Los Angeles, Cal.	1,500.00	7271	M. Teplitzky, RC N. Y. C.	2.00
7130	U. M. W. of A. No. 4650, Bellville, Ill.	29.40	7197	F. Dell, Croton-On-Hudson, N.Y.	100.00	7272	A. Friend, N. Y. C.	2.00
7131	F. S. R. Br., Mt. Vernon, Wash.	28.35	7198	B. Marie Gage Dell, Croton-On-Hudson, N. Y.	100.00	7273	S. Golovutuk, RC N. Y. C.	15.50
7132	John Stegard, RC Bredenburg, Sask., Can.	27.50	7199	F. Lesko, RC Harlan, Ky.	51.00	7274	John Gauland, N. Y. C.	3.00
7133	Mulno Finnish Library Club, Mulino, Ore.	26.45	7200	F. S. R. Br., Schenectady, N. Y.	65.00	7275	F. S. R. Branch, Hudson Co., N. J.	112.24
7134	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 54, Stapleton, S. I.	23.55	7201	J. P. Roy, RC Portland, Ore.	25.00	7276	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.	
7135	Mrs. B. Argewita & E. Kowkly, Detroit, Mich.	21.75	7202	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 19, W. Hoboken, N. J.	24.00	7277	Morris Saltzman, N. Y. C.	1.00
7136	E. Helbig, RC San Francisco, Cal.	19.50	7203	R. A. Huebner, Springfield, Ohio	20.00	7278	Albin A. Hellstrom, RC San Francisco, Cal.	41.00
7137	Luke Vautlok, RC Klein, Mont.	19.25	7204	S. Dampley, Nelsonville, Ohio	20.00	7279	F. Suajanen, RC W. Concord, N. H.	33.00
7138	J. J. Mastin, Guthrie, Ky.	19.05	7205	A. Mencke, RC Cleveland, Ohio	20.00	7280	Robert Schuster, RC N. Y. C.	27.00
7139	Cement Finishers Union, RC Los Angeles, Cal.	18.90	7206	F. Yoshonis, RC Mt. Clemens, Mich.	11.00	7281	L. W. Myers, RC Rupert, Idaho	26.00
7140	Max Slobodinuk, RC Lewistown, Me.	11.50	7207	C. Christensen, Rutherford, N.J.	10.00	7282	M. W. Hoar, Troy, Idaho	25.00
7141	Mrs. L. Gottwald, RC San Francisco, Cal.	11.50	7208	W. C. Richardson, Bklyn, N. Y.	10.00	7283	L. Collins Stone, N. Y. C.	25.00
7142	F. S. R. Br., New berry, Mich.	8.67	7209	M. H. Barber, Atascadero, Cal.	10.00	7284	Mr. & Mrs. Hinton White, Cambridge, Mass.	25.00
7143	A. Ojala, RC Marengo, Wis.	13.25	7210	M. Brodjo, Pittsburg, Pa.	10.00	7285	H. B. Hoffman, N. Y. C.	25.00
7144	C. Williams, RC Warren, Ohio	9.50	7211	Simon Jalonen, Newton, Mass.	10.00	7286	Julius Meyer, RC San Francisco, Cal.	23.00
7145	N. Krasniauski, RC Fall River, Mass.	9.50	7212	R. Mallen	9.00	7287	P. Kilaspa, RC San Francisco, Cal.	22.00
7146	P. Rutigliano, RC N. Y. C.	8.95	7213	J. Chinel, RC Hopkins, Minn.	7.00	7288	F. S. R. Br., Beech Creek, Ky.	20.00
7147	Louis Robinowitz, RC N. Y. C.	6.50	7214	Helen Bartlett, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	7289	A. W. Saarman, West Burlington, Iowa	20.00
7148	Employees Colonial Cigar Co., RC N. Y. C.	5.75	7215	J. B. Applebaum, RC N. Y. C.	5.00	7290	Goldman Family Society, RC N. Y. C.	20.00
7149	Wm. P. Hunter, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	7216	Dr. J. E. North, Rock Rapids, Iowa	5.00	7291	M. Vidokovich, RC Zeigler, Ill.	19.00
7150	E. A. Thomas, Butte, Mont.	5.10	7217	Rose Kotyru, Baityn, N. Y.	5.00	7292	B. of L. E. Div. 494, RC, Minn.	18.00
7151	Coll. Nate T. Rickey, Chrystal Springs, Fla.	3.50	7218	Frank Green, Cincinnati, Ohio	5.00	7293	Mathew Minkus, RC Los Angeles, Cal.	17.00
7152	Hyman Tsipan, RC Los Angeles, Cal.	6.75	7219	Walter Hodgkins, RC Gloucester, Mass.	4.00	7294	G. Nyford, RC Eveleth, Minn.	16.00
7153	H. Frucht, RC Ferndale, Cal.	45.15	7220	J. C. Sanders, St. Joseph, Mo.	2.00	7295	Julius Kauer, RC N. Y. C.	16.00
7154	B. Dallard, N. Y. C.	2.50	7221	A. Shahan, RC Cowdanga, Ont., Can.	21.12	7296	C. H. Lindner, RC Rochester, Pa.	12.00
7155	V. A. Carus, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.50	7222	P. Puumala, RC Mac Duff, Ont., Can.	12.48	7297	W. Dedeluk, RC Minneapolis, Minn.	12.00
7156	F. S. R. Br., Duluth, Minn.	150.00	7223	Finnish Workers Club, Tacoma, Wash.	30.00	7298	Morris Weinstein, RC Detroit, Mich.	12.00
7157	F. S. R. Branch, Lynn, Mass.	65.00	7224	Mrs. M. Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00	7299	Mt. Hollywood Cong. Church, Los Angeles, Cal.	11.00
7158	M. Breede, RC Dedham, Mass.	64.00	7225	J. Berwald, Davenport, Iowa	2.00	7300	Sarah Gregson, Spero, N. C.	3.00
7159	H. Hagemeyer, RC Berkeley, Cal.	50.00	7226	H. M. Sahl, Denver, Col.	2.00	7301	W. J. Gregson, Spero, N. C.	10.00
7160	Matti Holmi, RC Suomi, Mich.	25.00	7227	Ben Williams, Butte, Mont.	2.00	7302	L. H. Burnes, RC Buffalo, N.Y.	7.50
7161	Mrs. Anna Michelson, RC Detroit, Mich.	26.00	7228	L. C. Valere, E. Akron, Ohio	1.00	7303	J. J. Jansen, Menands, N. Y.	10.00
7162	R. E. Carter, RC Whitefish, Mont.	17.00	7229	Hazel Sandford, Angola, N. Y.	1.00	7304	Mrs. Ellen R. Naggle, Wesleyville, Pa.	10.00
7163	J. T. Belkin, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	16.00	7230	B. Richter, Portland, Ore.	1.00	7305	N. Y. Vegetarian Society, N.Y.	10.00
7164	Scout Club No. 2 Hartford, Conn.	15.00	7231	G. W. Robinson, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	7306	F. A. Newman, Fern Ridge, B. C., Can.	10.00
7165	Otto Haan, RC Groveland, Cal.	15.00	7232	F. S. R. Br., Philadelphia, Pa.	341.14	7307	M. Eleftherakit, RC N. Y.	10.00
7166	Fred Elm, RC French River, Minn.	14.00	7233	F. S. R. Br., Elizabeth, N. J.	117.16	7308	M. C. Renter, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
7167	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 59 RC B'klyn, N. Y.	10.00	7234	J. J. Masten, Guthrie, Ky.	46.25	7309	Dr. Wm. Goldman, Bklyn, N. Y.	10.00
7168	J. R. Reen, RC Portland, Ore.	10.00	7235	M. R. Nowak, RC Creighton, Pa.	40.10	7310	Andrew J. MacDonald, RC Flat River, Mo.	7.00
7169	T. P. Merry, RC Berkeley, Cal.	10.00	7236	H. Michelle, RC Gary, Ind.	28.50	7311	Mrs. R. E. Tyler, Kiowa, Kans.	5.00
			7237	A. T. W. of A., N. Y. C.	11.50	7312	S. Chinsberg, Oakland, Cal.	5.00
			7238	P. J. Blika, Easton, Pa.	10.65	7313	C. W. Morhouse, B'klyn, N.Y.	5.00
			7239	W. H. Rochl, RC Alhambra, Cal.	10.50	7314	D & S Trimming Co., N.Y.C.	5.00
			7240	S. Fishers, RC B'klyn, N. Y.	9.75	7315	J. Rabinowitz, Phila., Pa.	5.00
			7241	J. Holod, RC Fall River, Mass.	5.50	7316	J. Campbell, San Diego, Cal.	5.00
			7242	A. H. Heller, Honduras, C. A.	10.00	7317	Sol Werner, B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00
			7243	A. Mier, RC Highland Park, Mich.	4.50	7318	Chas. Thicman, San Diego, Cal.	5.00
			7244	Carl Brodaky, RC N. Y. C.	7.00	7319	Dr. Alexander Swett, B'klyn, N. Y.	5.00
						7320	Geo. A. Huff, Cuba, Ill.	3.00

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
7321	Dr. Louis Long, RC N. Y. C.	3.00	7387	M. Proliako, RC Akron, Ohio	13.75	7447	Graci Baron, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	1.25
7322	C. L. Chambers, Eagle Creek, Ore.	2.00	7388	J. Wolf, RC E. Chicago, Ind.	13.00	7448	Geo. H. Kohls, RC, Pembroke, Ont., Can.	20.25
7323	E. H. Wolf, Cincinnati, Ohio	2.00	7389	S. Suirochik, RC Montreal, Can.	11.75	7449	S. B. Lieberman, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	12.00
7324	I. B. Hinman, Akron, Ohio	2.00	7390	G. Sunderoff, RC Milwaukee, Wis.	4.25	7450	John MacDonald, RC, Pendar Harbor, B. C., Can.	12.00
7325	Samuel B. Feinberg, N. Y. C.	2.00	7391	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	7451	Tom Petrusoff, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00
7326	H. Rosenbaum, B'klyn, N. Y.	1.00	7392	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	100.00	7452	Tom Todeff, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
7327	Mr. & Mrs. M. Eschen, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00	7393	J. Randwer, Coll., Irma, Wis.	41.00	7453	P. Karvan, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
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The Defamers of Soviet Russia

By L. TROTSKY

The following letter by L. Trotsky is a preface to a book by A. Morizet on Soviet Russia, which has just been published in Paris:

Dear Comrade Morizet:

I was really glad to learn that you are preparing a book on Soviet Russia for the press. You visited Russia as a friend. You were enabled to see everything that was worthy of your attention. You are serving the cause of the French and the world proletariat. As a consequence, you can be guided only by the desire to tell the truth about the first Workers' Republic to the working masses.

But this desire is the most important and the most valuable thing in the world.

You know even better than I how much has been lied about Russia. The capitalist and Social-Democratic lies about Russia may be divided into two categories. To the first belong the products of a malicious and self-seeking imagination: stories of the banquets of Soviet dignitaries, of their mutually arresting each other, of artillerymen "nationalizing" the bourgeois women, etc., etc., etc. These lies are all full of self-contradictions, are monotonous and stupid. Only the most backward wives of footmen and lackeys and a few Ministers of State believe them. To the second category of lies belong the pictures that have been assembled from individual true elements. These are lies on a higher plane. Their domain is larger, their sources more plentiful. Evil intentions, equipped with photographic cameras, can take a number of views of the life of present day Russia, which, when put together, may afford genuine delight to any reactionary bourgeois. The Revolution is a destruction in the name of a new creation. Only he can understand the Revolution, in its sublime as well as in its gloomy sides, who is able to trace its internal inevitability, the struggle of its living forces, the logical sequence of its stages. I do not mean to say that the Revolution is infallible. But one must be able to apply a large historical yardstick in order to understand its work and its errors.

When we approached the task of creating an army, there were still quite a number of French officers in Russia. They witnessed the first efforts

of the Soviet Republic in the military field. They were extremely skeptical with regard to these efforts. I do not doubt that their reports to Paris always ended with the inevitable inference: nothing will come of the whole business. These uniformed petty bourgeois saw in the Revolution only destruction, cruelty, disorder, chaos. To be sure, all these things are contained in the Revolution. But the Revolution is also something more than that: it awakens the backward millions of the people to life, it endows them with great political aims, it opens for them new paths, it invigorates their latent energy. It thus is a performer of miracles. It should not be necessary to point these things out to a people whose past includes the achievement of the Great Revolution.

In the last few years I have frequently cherished the thought of going through the British newspaper press at the time of the great French Revolution, of studying the speeches of the ministers of that day and their political lackeys, of the Clemenceaux and Hervés of that time, merely in order to draw up a sober parallel between the reactionary calumnies uttered by ruling England at the end of the 18th century and the calumnies which the *Temps* and those that babble in its train have circulated in recent years concerning Soviet Russia. I regret to say that I have thus far not had the time to do this work. But I am certain that there would be remarkable coincidences. The radical English contemporaries of Robespierre no doubt pointed out the then perfectly justified analogies with the English Revolution in the 17th century. And this would inevitably release the protests of the honorable British reactionary historians who would shout: "The English Revolution in spite of its 'excesses' was a magnificent event; but the French terror is merely a mutiny by an ignorant and bloodthirsty rabble." Furthermore, reaction is not very ingenious, not very inventive, however malicious it may be. The semi-official French calumny of the Soviet Revolution, in addition to all its other

sins, is a literary plagiarism, a wretched theft of ideas from Pitt's literary hirelings.

Merrheim* and the other French "leaders" refer with particular delight to our difficulties in the economic field. At present they point out with malicious glee that we are returning to capitalism. Their joy in our discomfiture, their jubilant gloating, are premature. The Soviet Republic socialized the banks, the industrial enterprises, the land. To return all these things to the former owners would require a previous unseating and slaying of the Revolution. But we are further removed from this condition than ever. You may say with full truth to the French proletariat that we are not giving up the Revolution, but it is quite true that we have changed our methods of socialistic construction. We maintain the enterprises in the hands of the working class, but we are applying methods of capitalistic calculation and marketing, in order to test their profitableness. It will not be possible, until we reach an incomparably higher stage in socialistic evolution, to conduct all the enterprises from a single center and to distribute the necessary workers and resources to them on the basis of a previously determined national plan. The present period is of preparatory character; the market remains. The nationalized industrial enterprises have an independent life within certain limits; they buy and sell, and thus create the bases for a future unified socialistic economic plan. Thus we are simultaneously granting capitalistic concessions to certain enterprises. The economic backwardness of Russia and its inexhaustible natural resources afford a wide scope for the application of concessioned capital. The State retains in its

hands the means of transportation and the most important industrial enterprises. We therefore admit a certain competition between the purely capitalistic concessioned enterprises and the homogeneous enterprises of the socialistic state, in which the latter have unquestionably the upper hand. The whole question is in the balance of power. The reformists at one time thought that the co-operatives would gradually absorb capitalism. So long as the bourgeoisie, defending private property in the means of production, remains in power, this hope will be a mere utopia. As for Russia, we may say that as long as the working class maintains its power and as long as the State has the fundamental industries in its hands, the "im-perceptible and smooth" reconstruction of capitalism, with the aid of concessions, is hardly more capable of realization than the transformation of a capitalist order of society into the socialist order of society, with the aid of the cooperatives. We have no reason to speak of a return to capitalism. We have only altered the methods of socialistic construction. Our experience and our results on this path will be of great use to the working class of all lands.

We have learned much in these five years of revolution. But we have relinquished nothing. I think that the capitalist world, as it emerged from the hell of war and as it now lives, gives us no reason to revise our fundamental views. Capitalism is condemned by history. The future belongs to Communism.

With fraternal Communist greetings!

L. TROTSKY.

Jacques Sadoul and the Soviet Government

On February 28 the "Petit Parisien" (Paris) wrote that Comrade Sadoul, after having fled from Russia, took refuge in Germany, where he was bewailing the shattered dream of liberty and peace and was eagerly awaiting a general amnesty which would permit him to return to France and to live in peace with his wife and children. Sadoul, who at present is on a mission, replied by sending a letter to the editor in chief of the "Petit Parisien" of which that paper published only a few lines, but which "L'Humanité" published in extenso:

DEAR Editor in Chief:

"Far from France, in consequence of a sentence of which you have fully informed your readers, I am glad to learn through the newspapers of my country the judgments expressed by the journalists about the Russian Revolution and its great and modest servants. I have particularly appreciated the solicitude with which you announced my repentance, a solicitude which is as generous as it is unexpected, and which deserves a reply.

"I must, however, state that I firmly remain faithful to the cause for serving which the third court-martial has asked for my death.

"I persist in my crime, humbly and gladly, pursuing 'my dream of liberty and human peace', tenaciously faithful to the Communist doctrine

*French labor leader of the Gompers type.

and to the very great and honest men who are defending it.

"My friends are still at Moscow.

"You have taken pains to praise my mode of life, I am thankful to you for this; it was and is still modest and clean, like the life of all revolutionists; and it is to-day less austere because it has to adapt itself to the conditions of the mission with which I am charged. My mode of life is not that of the Russian comrades who voluntarily renounce a part of their food ration in order to help the starving on the Volga. And I think, with a great reproach to those who are responsible for it, that in the moment in which I am writing about 'my life', thousands of men, women and children are dying of starvation. Twenty million human beings are perishing or will perish by the fault of the capitalist governments who have brought about so

many disasters and who remain indifferent in the face of the consequences of their doings. Do your readers know that? Have you informed them of the terrible calvary of Russia without bread? I do not think that you have done so, or your readers would have already contributed to the saving of the unfortunate and starving population.

"You prefer to concern yourself with my personality.

"You generously deplore the conflicts which have allegedly separated me from Moscow, the hatred which the 'dictators' have shown me. I would like to reassure completely the sensitive souls of your collaborators, and of the collaborators of the other large newspapers. I know that according to the French press I have been already fourteen times arrested, five times shot, twice hanged, and murdered just as many times. This legend has

been going the rounds for four years and I am grateful to its authors for the moments of innocent merriment which it has often afforded me and my Russian friends. My preparation of a 'History of the Russian Revolution' at present requires an intensive activity on my part, which at the same time is pleasant to me; the work to be done is enormous, but I will endeavor to render homage in its pages to Lenin, Trotsky, Chicherin, Lunacharsky, Kamenev, Rakovsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, and to so many others who honor me with their friendship, to the large number of great Russians who gladly bear the glorious burden on their shoulders, the famished people, to the heroic Red Army, to whom I will endeavor to express my love and devotion. And this will be my reward.

"JACQUES SADOUL"

The Cheka

By ANDRÉ MORIZET

The following chapter on Dictatorship and Red Terror is a portion of a book entitled "In the Land of Lenin and Trotsky—Moscow, 1921", written by André Morizet, with a preface by Leon Trotsky, which appears elsewhere in this issue.

SINCE the November Revolution, since the events that I have just traced, Russia, moving toward the establishment of a real Communist régime, has been living under the rule of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"—this is a phrase that has caused oceans of ink to flow in all the polemics that have been written on Revolutionary Russia.

As if this were a new idea! As if Marx and Engels, when they issued the *Communist Manifesto*, had not already pronounced these words in 1848! As if all the parties which have declared themselves as Marxian parties for the last sixty years had not always inscribed these words on their programs!

Seriously speaking, is it possible to imagine a transition from one régime to another without a period of Provisional Government? When we are not changing only a political personnel, as in the revolutions of the past, but the very bases of the social order, as is proposed by our party, is it possible to escape understanding that a seizure of power—which is what we call "revolution"—will be followed of necessity by a period of transition in which men enjoying the confidence of the victorious proletariat will exercise authority with dictatorial methods?

It should be unnecessary to discuss this point. I know very well that it is less the principle of dictatorship that arouses discussion — except in some anarchist circles where certain words arouse terror—than the application that is said to be made of this principle.

"Red Terror" is said to reign in that country, according to our respectable press. The Bolsheviks—it is alleged—have been drowning the country in

blood. The Cheka, the terrible Cheka, is said to be committing crime after crime. And it is declared that in the Soviet Republic no one lives except in constant terror, under the threat of impending persecutions.

All popular movements, even those of very short duration, even the most peaceful, have been accused of cruelty. The same legend has been spread by the reactionaries concerning all of them. In 1848 it was the "soldiers of order" who were sawn to pieces between two boards, while in the Commune of 1871 it was the "pétroleuses"; there is hardly a calumny that has not been resorted to by those who had on their consciences the June assassinations or the massacres of the month of May.

It is hardly surprising that the Bolshevik Revolution should suffer the same misrepresentations as its predecessors. The Russian émigrés and the conservatives of all countries have money with which to buy newspapers, and the hatred of Communism predisposes the imbeciles of all the world in favor of their theses.

The Bolsheviks have executed people. Indeed! For four years there has been one plot after the other, insurrections and more insurrections. As each attempt at invasion was put forth, hands were stretched out from the interior to aid the White adventurers. And Russia has had to defend herself.

In July I myself saw at the fortress of Peter and Paul, on the day when I paid a visit to this sinister place in which the Decembrists were hanged, and where so many Nihilists died in the dungeons of the "Ravelin of Alexis" — I saw soldiers leading out dozens of men that the Cheka had arrested.

And what of it?

The question that should be put by serious minds is not merely the question as to whether blood is being shed. Blood flows in wars; it flows in any revolution. The question is to learn whether it is shed uselessly, whether the inevitable duty to defend one's achievements may not cover abuses, revenge, or excesses.

I have come to the conviction, after having had conversations with men extremely worthy of faith, that the story of the "Red Terror" is one of the most shameful mystifications prepared by the adversaries of Communism, and that the Bolsheviks, in the matter of repressions as well as in other matters, have done only what was expedient and feasible with the means and the elements at their disposal.

The organization created by them, the Chrezvychnaia, or Extraordinary Commission, called for short Cheka, bears the full name of: "Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-revolution, Speculation, and Crimes Committed by Officials in the Exercise of their Functions".

Its jurisdiction is therefore not limited to the suppression of plots. The Cheka collaborates actively in the work of economic reconstruction of the country. It searches for stocks of raw materials or goods that have been hidden, supervises the observation of labor regulations, and prosecutes unscrupulous functionaries.

These duties occupy this body more and more, as the task of defending the regime decreases in importance. And it may be seen from the example that I cite in the chapter on "Electrification", that its interferences are of extraordinary value.

There is an Extraordinary Commission connected with the Council of People's Commissars; this is called the Ve-Cheka. There is also such a commission attached to the Soviet of each province. Each has at its head a more or less numerous presidium, which consists, in the case of the Ve-Cheka, of fifteen members, appointed in this case by the Council of People's Commissars, and in the case of the provinces by the Executive Committee of the Soviet.

The presidium itself pronounces judgment in the cases submitted to it by the preliminary judges,* or it refers them to the revolutionary tribunals when it is desired to give publicity to such cases. The members of the presidium are well-known militants of unquestioned reliability. The president of the Ve-Cheka, Dzerzhinsky, is an ascetic of whom it is said that when he was a prisoner in Germany he sought out the most repulsive and disagreeable tasks in the prison in order to show that it is the duty of the Communist to set an example of service wherever he may be.

He is People's Commissar for the Interior, President of the Donets Commission, and in charge of

*The author here uses the French word *juges d'instruction*, for which there is no parallel in Anglo-Saxon countries. The *juges d'instruction* in France draws up indictments for the courts proper. This judge has no executive function, but only the function of transmitting information.

Railroad and Water Transport, and is only titular head of the Ve-Cheka (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission). His functions in the latter position are discharged by Unschlicht, formerly a member of the Military Council of the western front, an old party militant, universally esteemed.

As for the Provincial Chekas, the following figures will show how they are constituted. In 1920, a conference of their presidents and vice-presidents was held at Moscow. Of the 69 who were present, there were 45 workers, 13 peasants and 11 intellectuals. All were party members and 28 of them had already been party members under the Tsar.

It is not among this personnel of devoted revolutionists that you will find the undesirable elements. Unfortunately, however, the subaltern functionaries cannot be recruited quite so scrupulously. To be sure, there is a large proportion of Communists, but there are also those that are not Communists.

We must not forget that, as Zinoviev points out in the address delivered to the Halle Congress, before the establishment of the German Communist Party, the Bolsheviks lost more than 300,000 of their number in the wars that they had to fight and that their old guard has to a great extent disappeared; that they are not numerous enough to fill all positions themselves and that they have frequently to resort to Communists of recent date, who had joined them in order to profit by the advantages of power, or to old officials of the former régime. The fact that there are among them, among the preliminary judges, the secret agents, the employees of all ranks, certain persons capable of occasionally abusing their birthright, cannot be doubted when we remember that the Extraordinary Commission itself has frequently had dozens of its own agents shot.

In spite of the inadequacy of its ranks, which is due to the general low standard of popular education, to which those abuses which have really occurred must be assigned, we could not in full justice form that opinion of the Cheka which one would hold if one should put faith in all the fables that have been handed out.

To judge by the sheets published in Europe by the Whites, one might imagine that the Bolsheviks have shot people by hundreds of thousands from one end of Russia to the other. It is a long way from this fiction to reality.

Pierre Pascal, of whom I have already said that his splendid integrity is as great as his critical intelligence, in 1920 published statistics on the supreme penalties imposed during the years 1918 and 1919.*

"Throughout Soviet Russia," writes Pascal, "in the course of two years of revolution, after nearly 500 counter-revolutionary plots of all kinds and 50 bands of brigands have been exposed by the Extraordinary Commission, after the systematic campaign of murder in 1918 against the most

**En Russie Rouge*, by Pierre Pascal, a pamphlet published by *L'Humanité* in 1921.

well-known Communists,* after the attempted espionage and treason by thousands of former policemen, army officers, landed proprietors, with full warfare in progress both on the border and in the interior, in the midst of perpetual mortal danger to the Soviet Republic, the Extraordinary Commissions executed 9641 individuals, and the revolutionary tribunals passed less than 500 sentences of death, most of them being conditional sentences that were never carried out.

"But, to judge the matter properly, we must consider these figures scientifically. It appears that of the 9641 persons shot by the Extraordinary Commissions, about 2600 were common law criminals, big speculators, dishonest officials, and particularly dangerous and incorrigible bandits, the sad remnants of a poorly organized society, more dangerous in a troubled period than at any other time, whose merciless extermination was demanded by the requirements of revolutionary order.

"There remain then 7068 spies, organizers and other active counter-revolutionaries who were shot in all the territory of Russia in the course of these two years of civil war."

Of this number of executions, 5513 took place in 1918, and only 1555 in 1919.

7000 political executions in two years, while Russia was being attacked from all sides!

I have tried to obtain the corresponding figures for the two years that followed, but have not been able to get anything precise. Approximate estimates have been furnished me by men whom I consider worthy of confidence. The highest of these estimates would give the figure of 12,000 or 15,000 for the four years of the Revolution.

Of course even this figure is cause for regret. We may of course deplore that even a single individual should have been shot. But if we make any pretense to impartiality, we must consider that Revolutionary Russia had but one choice, namely the choice between victory and death, and that the total population of the country is 130,000,000.

To those who do not wish to make any effort to be impartial, the Bolsheviks may always reply by indicating the number of victims that were massacred by their enemies. I shall give some figures on this head in the chapter entitled "Civil War".

As for my compatriots, who are too much occupied in vituperations against "Red Terror", forgetting the "White Terror" which in every case far exceeded the other, I shall limit myself to reminding them that if the Soviet Revolution shot twelve or fifteen thousand Russians in four years, the Versailles Army in 1871 laid low 34,000 Communards on the Paris pavement in eight days.

Abolishing the Extraordinary Commission

Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, of February 6, 1922.

IN accordance with the resolution of the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on the reorganization of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (as well as its local organs) for Combating Counter-revolution, speculation and crimes committed by officials in the exercise of their functions, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decrees:

1. That the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission and its local organs shall be abolished.

2. That the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs shall, together with the other tasks indicated in paragraph 1 of the statutes concerning the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, execute throughout the entire territory of the R. S. F. S. R., the following tasks:

a) Suppression of open counter-revolutionary outbreaks, including banditry;

b) Taking measures to prevent and combat espionage;

c) Guarding railroads and water transports;

d) Combating contraband and crossing of the borders of the Republic without appropriate permissions;

e) Executing special orders of the Presidium

of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or of the Council of People's Commissars for protecting revolutionary order.

3. For putting into effect these tasks there is to be formed in connection with the People's Commissariat of the Interior a National Office, under the personal chairmanship of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs or of his substitute, who is to be appointed by the Council of People's Commissars, and in the provincial places there are to be political sections; in the autonomous republics and regions they are to be connected with the Central Executive Committee, and in the provinces with the Executive Committees of the provinces.

4. The Political Sections connected with the Central Executive Committees of the autonomous republics and regions remain directly subordinated to the National Office for Political Affairs in connection with the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, on the same principles as the other People's Commissariats and administrations of the autonomous republics and regions.

5. The Political Sections of the Central Executive Committees of the Provinces shall act in accordance with a special statute referring to them, approved by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Note: Special sections and Transport

*Against Lenin and Zinoviev, against Uritsky, President of the Ve-Cheka, and Volodarsky. The two latter were killed, Lenin seriously wounded.

sections forming part of the National Office for Political Affairs and the Political Sections, conduct the struggle against crimes in the army and on the railroads according to special regulations concerning them, approved by the Presidium of the C. E. C.

6. At the direct disposal of the National Office for Political Affairs there are special army detachments, the size of which shall be determined by the decisions of the Council of Labor and Defence, and they are under the orders of a special staff of the troops of the National Office for Political Affairs, of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, this staff being part of the National Office for Political Affairs.

7. Owing to the necessity of adopting measures for stopping the activities of those who take part in counter-revolutionary attempts, in banditism, espionage, thefts on the railways and water ways, contraband, and crossing the frontiers without permission, the National Office for Political Affairs, the Political Sections, as well as their representatives in the districts have the right to undertake searches, seizures and arrests as follows:

a) In the case of persons caught in the act of committing a crime, the arrests, searches or seizures by agents of the National Office for Political Affairs, or of the Political Sections, may be effected without a special decision of the National Office for Political Affairs, or the Political Sections, or a special order containing the approval of the Chairman of the National Office for Political Affairs, or the Political Sections within 48 hours from the time such procedure was resorted to; in all the other cases the arrest as well as the searches and seizures are admissible only upon special de-

cision of the National Office for Political Affairs or the Political Sections, over the signature of their representatives, according to special orders which are issued in the manner stipulated by the instructions elaborated by the National Office for Political Affairs, and confirmed by the People's Commissariat of Justice.

b) Not later than two weeks after the arrest the indictment shall be submitted to the prisoner.

c) Not later than 2 months after the day of the arrest the National Office for Political Affairs must either free the arrested person or ask from the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee the permission to continue the isolation of the arrested person if this is warranted by special circumstances, for a period determined by the Presidium of the All-Russian C. E. C., or it shall refer the matter to the courts.

8. All general criminal cases concerning speculation, offences committed during the performance of functions, and other offences which, before the publication of this decree, were in the hands of the All-Russian Cheka and its organs, shall within two weeks be transmitted to the respective Revolutionary Tribunals or People's Courts, and in the future all the cases concerning crimes directed against the Soviet system or representing violations of the laws of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic shall be exclusively judged by courts, either by the Revolutionary Tribunals or by the People's Courts, according to the case.

9. The People's Commissariat of Justice shall supervise the execution of articles 7 and 8.

10. The statutes concerning the powers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs shall be completed in accordance with this decree.

Underground Russia

By STEPNIAK

The book "Underground Russia" by Stepnik—now entirely out of print—appeared in 1883. The author of this epic recital of the romantic epoch of the Russian revolutionary movement—1872-1881, was Sergius Kravchinsky—who wrote under the pen-name of "Stepniak". Born in 1850, he was killed by a railway train in London, in 1895. He was one of the most heroic figures of that period. In 1879 he killed Mesentsev, Police Director of Petersburg and escaped to England, where he published several books on Russia. In 1876 he organized the successful flight of Peter Kropotkin from the fortress of St. Peter and Paul. The following is one of several chapters of "Underground Russia"—each a whole in itself—which will appear in later issues.

THE Russian Revolutionary movement was the result of the examples and ideas developed in Western Europe, acting upon the minds of the youth of Russia, who, owing to the condition of the country, were predisposed to accept them with the utmost favor.

I have now to trace out separately the influences that determined this result, and their respective courses, as in the case of a great river, of which we know the source and the mouth, without knowing either its precise course, or the affluents that have given it such volume.

The influence of Europe is very easy to investigate, its course being so simple and elementary. The communion of ideas between Russia and

Europe has never been interrupted, notwithstanding all the preventive measures of the censorship. Prohibited books like the works of Proudhon, Fourier, Owen, and other old Socialists, were always secretly introduced into Russia, even under the ferocious and suspicious despotism of Nicholas I.

But owing to the difficulty of obtaining these precious volumes, and to the language which rendered them inaccessible to ordinary readers, they could not directly exercise a decisive influence. There was, however, an entire band of very able writers who, inspired by the ideas of Socialism, succeeded in rendering them universally accessible. At the head of these were the most intellectual man of whom Russia can boast, Chernyshevsky, a pro-

found thinker and economist of wide knowledge, a novelist, a pungent polemist, who paid the penalty of his noble mission with a martyrdom which still continues,* Dobroliubov, a critic of genius, who died at twenty-six after having shaken all Russia with his immortal writings; Mikhailov, a professor and writer, condemned to hard labor for a speech to the students—and many, many others. Herzen and Ogarev, editors of the first free newspaper in the Russian language—the “Kolokol” of London—brought from abroad their precious tribute to this movement. These were the real apostles of the new doctrine, who prepared the ground for the modern movement, having educated the entire generation of 1870 in the principles of Socialism. With the Paris Commune, which had such a formidable echo throughout the whole world, Russian Socialism entered upon its belligerent phase, and from the study and the private gathering passed to the workshop and the village.

There were many causes which determined the youth of Russia to accept so eagerly the principles of the revolutionary Socialism proclaimed by the Commune. I can merely indicate them here. The ill-fated Crimean War having ruthlessly demonstrated the rottenness of the whole Russian social edifice, it was essential to provide a remedy as expeditiously as possible. But the work of the regeneration of the country, directed by the hand of an autocratic Emperor, who wished to preserve everything: both his sacred “rights” (the first to be abolished), and the prerogatives of the class of the nobles, in order to have their support because he feared the revolution—such a work could only be imperfect, hypocritical, contradictory, an abortion. We will not criticize it, especially as there is no need to do so, for all the newspapers, including the “Official Gazette”, now repeat in various tones what the Socialists have been so much reviled for declaring, that all the reforms of Alexander II. proved utterly inefficient, and that the famous emancipation of the serfs only changed their material condition for the worse, the terms of redemption fixed for the scrap of land bestowed upon them being onerous beyond measure.

The wretched condition, every day growing worse, of the peasants, that is to say, of nine-tenths of the entire population, could not fail to cause serious concern to all those who had at heart the future of the country. It was essential to seek a remedy for this, and it may fairly be assumed that the public mind would have turned to legal and pacific means if, after having liberated the peasants from the bondage of their lords, the Emperor Alexander II. had liberated Russia from his own bondage, bestowing upon her some kind of Constitution which would have made her the arbiter of her own destinies, or at least have afforded her the hope of one day becoming so. But this was precisely what he would not do on any account. Autocracy having retained all its power,

nothing could be hoped for except from the goodwill of the Emperor, and this hope went on diminishing as the years passed by. Alexander II. as a reformer stood the test only for a few years.

The insurrection in Poland (1863) stifled with a ferocity known to all, was the signal for reaction, which grew more furious day by day. There was nothing to hope for in legal and pacific means. Everything must be uncomplainingly endured, or other ways of saving the country must be sought for. All those who had a heart in their breasts naturally clung to the latter course.

Thus, as the reaction grew more furious, the revolutionary excitement became more manifest, and secret societies swarmed in all the principal cities. The revolver shot of Karakosov (1866), which resulted from that excitement, was a terrible warning to the Emperor Alexander II. But he would not understand. Nay, after 1866, the reaction redoubled its fury. In a few months everything that still maintained a semblance of the Liberalism of the early years of the reign was swept away. It was a veritable “Danse Macabre”, a veritable “White Terror”.

Influence of the First International

After 1866 a man must have been either blind or hypocritical to believe in the possibility of any improvement, except by violent means. The revolutionary ferment visibly increased, and only a spark was wanting to change the latent aspirations into a general movement. As I have already said, the Paris Commune supplied it. It was immediately after the Commune, that is to say toward the end of the year 1871, that the Society of the “Dolgushintsi” was formed at Moscow; and in 1872 the important society was organized at St. Petersburg of the “Chaikovtsy”,* which had its ramifications at Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Orel, and Taganrog. The object of both was to carry on the Socialist and revolutionary propaganda among the workmen and peasants. I say nothing of many small bodies that were formed with the same object in the provinces, or of many isolated individuals who then went forth “among the people”, in order to carry on the propaganda. The movement was entirely spontaneous, and was simply the necessary result of the condition of Russia, seen under the influence of the Parisian movement, through the prism of the Socialist ideas disseminated by Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov.

But a most powerful current which came from abroad very soon united with this native current. It was that of the International,† which, as is well known, had its own greatest development in the years immediately succeeding the Paris Commune. Here, also, two separate courses of transmission should be distinguished: the first, literary; the second, personal and immediate. Two writers—the great Michael Bakunin, the genius of destruc-

*Arrested in 1862 and condemned to hard labor in the Siberian mines, he was not allowed to return to Russia until 1883. He died in 1889.

*Named after its founder, Chaikovsky, who thirty-six years later became one of the heads of the “White” Counter-revolution of 1918.—Ed.

†The First International, founded in 1864.

tion, the principal founder of the anarchist or federalist International, and Peter Lavrov, the distinguished philosopher and writer, rendered great service to our cause with their pens; the former as the author of a book upon the Revolution, and Federalism, in which, with inimitable clearness and power, the ardent tribune and daring thinker developed his ideas upon the necessity of an immediate popular revolution; the latter as editor of a review, the "Vperiod" (Onward), written, for the most part, by himself with unwearied application and erudition. However divergent on certain points—Bakunin being an ardent defender of the extreme party of the International, and Lavrov being rather inclined towards the more moderate party—the two writers recognized the popular revolution as the sole means of effectively changing the insufferable condition of the Russian people.

But the International also had a direct influence upon the Russian movement. Here I must retrace my steps for a moment, as the revolutionary movement touches at this point the individualist movement of Nihilism, properly so-called, of which I spoke in my Introduction.* The struggle for the emancipation of woman having been fused with that of the right to higher education, and there being in Russia neither college nor university which would accept women as students, they resolved to go and seek in distant countries the knowledge denied to them in their own. Switzerland was the favorite country of these new pilgrims. From all parts of Russia—from the Volga plains; from the Caucasus; from distant Siberia—young girls of scarcely sixteen, with scanty luggage and slender means, went forth alone into an unknown country, eager for the knowledge which alone could insure them the independence they coveted. But, on arriving in the country of their dreams, they found not only schools of medicine there, but also a great social movement of which many had no conception. And here once more the difference became apparent between the old Nihilism and the Socialism of the modern generation.

"What is all this knowledge," the young girls asked themselves, "but a means of acquiring a more advantageous position among the privileged classes to which we already belong? Who except ourselves will derive any advantage from it; and if no one does, what is the difference between us and the swarm of bloodsuckers who live by the sweat and tears of our poor fellow-countrymen?"

And the young girls deserted medicine, and began to frequent the sittings of the International and to study political economy, and the works of Marx, Bakunin, Proudhon, and of all the founders of European Socialism. In a short time the city of Zurich from being a place of study was transformed into an immense permanent Club. Its fame

spread throughout all Russia, and attracted to it hundreds and hundreds of persons, men and women. It was then that the Imperial Government, as a supreme precaution, issued the stupid and shameful Ukase of the year 1873, ordering all Russians, under pain of outlawry, to immediately abandon the terrible city of Zurich. The engineer was hoist with his own petard. Among the young Russians assembled there, plans, more or less vague, were formed to return home in order to carry on the Internationalist propaganda. The Ukase had this effect, that, instead of returning separately in the course of several years, almost all returned at once in a body. Eagerly welcomed by their companions, they everywhere carried on the most ardent Internationalist propaganda.

"Going Among the People"

Thus in the winter of 1872, in one of the hovels in the outskirts of St. Petersburg, a number of working men gathered round Prince Peter Kropotkin, who expounded to them the principles of Socialism, and of the revolution. The rich Cossack Obukhov, though consumptive and dying, did the same upon the banks of his native Don. An officer, Leonidas Shishko, became a hand-weaver in one of the St. Petersburg manufactories, in order to carry on the propaganda there. Two other members of the same society—an officer, Demetrius Rogachev, who afterwards inspired so much terror, and a friend*—went into the province of Tver as sawyers, for the purpose of carrying on the propaganda there among the peasants. In the winter of 1873, as a result of information given by a landowner of the district, these two were arrested. After having escaped by the aid of the peasants from the hands of the police, they reached Moscow, in order to carry on the propaganda among the youth of that city. There they found two women who had just arrived from Zurich with the same object. Thus the two currents, the home and foreign, met each other at every point, and both led to the same result. The books said: "The hour of the destruction of the old bourgeois world has sounded. A new world, based upon the fraternity of all men, in which there will no longer be either misery or tears, is about to arise upon its ruins. Up and be doing! All hail the Revolution, the sole means of realizing this golden ideal."

The men and women who had come back from abroad inflamed the public mind with the recital of the great struggle already undertaken by the proletariat of the West; of the International and of its great promoters; of the Commune and its martyrs; and prepared to go "among the people" with their new proselytes in order to put their ideas in practice. And both turned anxiously to those, who were few then, who had come back from the work of propaganda, to ask them what were these powerful and mysterious beings—the people—whom their fathers taught them to fear, and whom, without knowing, they already loved with all the impetuosity of their youthful hearts. And those appealed to, who just before had the same

*This Introduction will be printed in SOVIET RUSSIA after the completion of the rest of the series. This was the philosophical movement of the sixties, not to be confounded with the terrorist movement of the seventies and eighties, often also—but rather incorrectly—called "Nihilism".

*The author, Stepniak, himself.—Ed.

mistrust and the same apprehensions, said, overflowing with exultation, that the terrible people were good, simple, trusting as children; that they not only did not mistrust, but welcomed them with open arms and hearts; that they listened to their words with the deepest sympathy, and that old and young after a long day of toil pressed attentively around them in some dark and smoky hovel, in which, by the uncertain light of a chip of resinous wood in place of a candle, they spoke of Socialism, or read one of the few propagandist books which they had brought; that the communal assemblies were broken up when they came into the villages, as the peasants abandoned the meetings to come and listen. And after having depicted all the terrible sufferings of these unhappy people, seen with their own eyes, heard with their own ears, they told of little signs and tokens, exaggerated perhaps by their imaginations, which showed that these people could not be so dispirited as was believed, and that there were indications and rumors denoting that their patience was coming to an end, and that some great storm was felt to be approaching.

All these numerous and powerful influences, acting upon the impressionable minds, so prone to enthusiasm, of the Russian youth, produced that vast movement of 1873-74 which inaugurated the new Russian revolutionary era.

Nothing similar had been seen before, nor since. It was a revelation, rather than a propaganda. At first the book, or the individual, could be traced out, that had impelled such or such a person to join the movement; but after some time this became impossible. It was a powerful cry which arose no one knew where, and summoned the ardent to the great work of the redemption of the country and of humanity. And the ardent, hearing this cry, arose, overflowing with sorrow and indignation for their past life, and abandoning home, wealth, honors, family, threw themselves into the movement with a joy, an enthusiasm, a faith, such as are experienced only once in a life, and when lost are never found again.

I will not speak of the many, many young men and young women of the most aristocratic families, who labored for fifteen hours a day in the factories, in the workshops, in the fields. Youth is always generous and ready for sacrifice. The characteristic fact was that the contagion spread, even to people in years, who had already a future clearly marked out and a position gained by the sweat of their brows; judges, doctors, officers, officials; and these were not among the least ardent.

Yet it was not a political movement. It rather resembled a religious movement, and had all the contagious and absorbing character of one. People not only sought to attain a distinct practical object, but also to satisfy an inward sentiment of duty, an aspiration towards their own moral perfection.

But this noble movement, in contact with harsh reality, was shattered like a precious Sevres vase, struck by a heavy and dirty stone.

Not that the Russian peasant had shown himself indifferent or hostile to Socialism; quite the contrary. For a Russian peasant who has his old "obshchina" (rural commune) with the collective property of the land, and his "mir" or "gromada" (communal assembly), which exclusively controls all the communal affairs, the principles of scientific combination and federalism were only a logical and natural deduction from the institutions to which he had been accustomed for so many ages. In fact there is no country in the world where the peasantry would be so ready to accept the principles of Federative Socialism as Russia. Some of our old Socialists—for example Bakunin—even deny the necessity for any Socialist propaganda whatever among the Russian peasants, declaring that they already possess all the fundamental elements, and that, therefore if summoned to an immediate revolution, it would not be other than a social revolution. But a revolution always requires a powerful organization, which can only be formed by a propaganda, either Socialist or purely revolutionary. As this could not be openly carried on, it was necessary to have recourse to a secret propaganda; and that was absolutely impossible in our villages.

Every one who settles there, whether as artisan, or as communal teacher, or clerk, is immediately under the eyes of all. He is observed, and his every movement is watched as though he were a bird in a glass cage. Then too, the peasant is absolutely incapable of keeping secret the propaganda in his midst. How can you expect him not to speak to his neighbor, whom he has known for so many years, of a fact so extraordinary as the reading of a book, especially when it concerns a matter which appears to him so just, good, and natural as that which the Socialist tells him about? Thus, whenever a propagandist visits any of his friends, the news immediately spreads throughout the village, and half an hour afterwards the hovel is full of bearded peasants, who hasten to listen to the new-comer without warning either him or his host. When the hovel is too little to hold all this throng, he is taken to the communal house, or into the open air, where he reads his books, and makes his speeches under the roof of heaven.

It is quite evident that, with these customs, the Government would have no difficulty in hearing of the agitation which was being carried on among the peasants. Arrest followed arrest, thick and fast. Thirty-seven provinces were "infected" by the Socialist contagion, as a Government circular declares. The total number of the arrests was never known. In a single trial, which lasted four years, that of "the 193", they reached, according to the official statistics, about a thousand.

But legion after legion boldly descended into the lists, when, owing to the number of the fallen, the battle seemed to be slackening. The movement lasted for two years with various degrees of intensity. But the fact had at last to be recognized that it was like running one's head against a wall.

In the year 1875 the movement changed its aspect. Individual propaganda amongst the masses was

abandoned, and in its place the so-called "colonization" (*poselenia*) entered the field; that is, the grouping together of an entire nucleus of propagandists in a given province, or, rather, in a given district.

In order to avoid the rocks which had wrecked the movement of the previous years, the "colonists" proceeded very cautiously, endeavoring rather to avoid observation, to make no stir, to carry on their agitation only among those peasants with whom they were thoroughly acquainted as cautious and prudent people. The colonies, being much less exposed to the chance of discovery, held their ground with varying fortunes for several years, and in part still continue, but without any result. Evidently, however, they could not do much owing to the immensity of Russia, and the necessity of deliberately restraining their own activity, even in the districts chosen.

Disenchantment

The trials of the agitators which took place in the years 1877 and 1878 indicated the end of this first period of revolutionary activity in Russia, and at the same time were its apotheosis.

The Russian Government, wishing to follow in the steps of the second French Empire, which knew so well how to deal with the Red spectre, ordered that the first great trial—that of the so-called Fifty of the Society of Moscow—should be public, hoping that the terrified bourgeois would draw more closely around the throne and abandon their liberal tendencies, which were already beginning to show themselves.

But no. Even those who could not but consider such men as enemies were bewildered at the sight of so much self-sacrifice.

"They are saints." Such was the exclamation, repeated in a broken voice, by those who were present at this memorable trial.

The monster trial of the 193 of the following year only confirmed this opinion.

And, in fact, everything that is noble and sublime in human nature seemed concentrated in these generous young people. Inflamed, subjugated by

their grand idea, they wished to sacrifice for it, not only their lives, their future, their position, but their very souls. They sought to purify themselves from every other thought, from all personal affections, in order to be entirely, exclusively devoted to it. Rigorism was elevated into a dogma. For several years, indeed, even absolute asceticism was ardently maintained among the youth of both sexes. The propagandists wished nothing for themselves. They were the purest personification of self-denial.

But these beings were too ideal for the terrible struggle which was about to commence. The type of the propagandist of the first half of the last decade was religious rather than revolutionary. His faith was Socialism. His god the people. Notwithstanding all the evidence to the contrary, he firmly believed that, from one day to the other, the revolution was about to break out, as in the Middle Ages people believed at certain periods in the approach of the day of judgment. Inexorable reality struck a terrible blow at his enthusiasm and faith, disclosing to him his god as he really is, and not as he had pictured him. He was ready for sacrifice as ever. But he had neither the impetuosity nor the ardor of the struggle. After the first disenchantment he no longer saw any hope in victory, and longed for the crown of thorns rather than that of laurel. He went forth to martyrdom with the serenity of a Christian of the early ages, and he suffered it with a calmness of mind—nay, with a certain rapture, for he knew he was suffering for his faith. He was full of love, and had no hatred for any one, not even his executioners.

Such was the propagandist of 1872-1875. This type was too ideal to withstand the fierce and imminent conflict. It had to change or disappear.

Already another was arising in its place. Upon the horizon there appeared a gloomy form, illuminated by a light as of hell, who, with lofty bearing, and a look breathing forth hatred and defiance, made his way through the terrified crowd to enter with a firm step upon the scene of history. It was the Terrorist.

Russian Trade Realities

By A. A. HELLER

THE subject of Russian trade has been very much befuddled by propaganda emanating from groups of émigrés who wished to discredit the Soviet Government and to prevent foreign businessmen from entering into dealings with it. This propaganda has assumed different forms at different times. First it was loudly asserted that no country would institute commercial relations with Soviet Russia. When this prophecy was nullified by the agreements signed with England and other powers there was a campaign to belittle the results of these compacts. The statement is often made that England has gained nothing from the Russian Trade Agreement.

Fortunately the facts about Anglo-Russian trade during 1921 are now available; and these facts do not agree with the stories of the propagandists. Naturally Russia, a country whose industrial system is just beginning to recover from the staggering shock of seven years of war and blockade, has not proved an economic reservoir; but still less has she proved an economic vacuum. Russia's purchases in Great Britain during 1921 reached a value of 4,777,918 pounds sterling, while Russia during this period exported to Great Britain goods to the value of 1,601,116 pounds. Russia's chief imports were food, textiles and clothing. Next in order of value, come agricultural machines and



SURFACE COAL MINE NEAR CHELIABINSK

The terraces show the progress of the removal of coal from the surface.

implements, coal, seed, drugs and chemicals, machinery and parts, binder twine and steel ropes.

By far the most important item in Russia's exports is timber. Oil is second; and flax, hemp and tow come third. Among the less considerable items may be mentioned bristles, caviar, copper, manganese, potash, tobacco, pitch and tar. It is interesting to observe that the British imports of Russian goods show a striking increase after the handing down of the court decision upholding the validity of the Trade Agreement and securing Russian exports against attachment and confiscation. The purchases during October, November and December, 1921, amount to more than three quarters of the total.

These lists of imports and exports furnish a commentary upon the present industrial prostration of Russia and upon its commercial possibilities after it has undergone a period of rehabilitation. The famine in the Volga region, caused by an unprecedented drought, is, of course, responsible for Russia's food imports. With the introduction of more scientific farming methods and the rebuilding of the shattered transportation system, Russia, with its naturally rich soil and its large peasant population, should become a great food-exporting country. As soon as it is possible to repair the wanton damage inflicted upon the mines of the Donets Basin by Denikin's retreating army, Russia will not be compelled to import coal. And the insignificant quantities of minerals exported do not by any means reflect Russia's real wealth in platinum, copper, asbestos, graphite, etc. Here again production is held back by the general disorganization of economic life.

Russia is anxious to secure the co-operation of foreign capital and experience in arranging for sales of her export products. In this connection the following statement, which appeared in a recent issue of *Russian Information and Review*, the official publication of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, is interesting:

"For the larger branches of export and particularly those in which Russia is a regular exporter, as, for instance, in timber, flax, agricultural produce, etc., the most advantageous procedure would be to establish special companies abroad on the limited liability basis and

secure for them the assistance of foreign capital. The organization of such mixed Russian foreign companies has already been entered upon by the Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

The enlistment of foreign capital ensures that the foreign capitalist will take an active interest in the successful working of such companies, and it may be expected that the sale of Russian goods through the direct medium of foreigners who are familiar with their own country and have extensive business connections will be effected on more advantageous terms than could be secured by the agencies or representatives of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade."

Russia's trade with Great Britain has so far been chiefly carried on through the agency of Arcos, the abbreviated name for the All-Russian Cooperative Society. The cooperative societies were an important factor in the life of Russia before the war. They were hampered in their dealings by the general shortage of goods during the period of blockade and civil war; but they experienced a notable revival after the inauguration of the new economic policy. Through their previous experience they are especially well qualified for the work of securing peasant products through barter and exchange. Recently even the more remote districts of northern Siberia were opened up for trade with the help of Arcos. An expedition set out to the Kara Sea, in ships purchased for the Russian Government by Arcos, to bring back Siberian produce which had been accumulated and conveyed to the inlet Nachodka at the mouth of the river Ob by the Government economic departments.

Arcos is a vast organization, spreading through Russia, and capable, in time, of absorbing the products even of the smallest villages. It is in close contact with the peasants; and it is largely guided by consideration of their needs in its purchases on the foreign market. The experience of a single village co-operative society, that of Novaya Vichuga, is interesting as showing how one of the local units of the great national organization works. This society expanded its activities greatly after the introduction of the new economic policy. From a business standpoint its success was remarkable. By November the capital had increased from sixteen million to 950 million rubles. All debts had by that time been paid off. At the beginning of November seven shops and one warehouse were in use, and the membership had increased from 1500 to about 9,000. The society at first attempted to carry on its operations by barter, but the peasants preferred to deal in money. The influence of the society is increasing, and at present it can supply all the needs of the population in the region of its activity.

Russia's trade with England forms only part of her commercial activities during 1921. Measured by the standard of quality England supplied 32.6 per cent of Russia's imports during the first nine months of 1921, Germany 23 per cent and America 19.3 per cent. A large quantity of agricultural

and industrial tools and machinery, together with railway material, was purchased in Germany, while shoes constituted the chief item among the imports from America. An order for 1,000 locomotives was placed in Sweden, and 700 locomotives were ordered in Germany.

America's trade with Soviet Russia during the first six months of 1921 compares very favorably with the rate of American sales to the same country in 1914. In 1914 American exports to European Russia, including Poland, amounted to \$22,260,062. According to a report made public by the Department of Commerce, American goods to the value of \$12,114,062 were sold to European Russia, exclusive of Poland, during the first six months of 1921. In other words, despite the unsympathetic attitude of the American Government toward Russian trade, American exports to European Russia in the first half of 1921 exceeded one half of the total sales to European Russia, including Russian Poland, during 1914. The Department of Commerce report unfortunately does not differentiate between Soviet Russia and the independent republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia. However, there is every reason to believe that Soviet Russia absorbed by far the largest share of the American exports.

There can be no doubt that American businessmen would be greatly helped in their commercial dealings in Russia by the conclusion of a trade compact between the American and Russian governments, along the lines made familiar by the British, Italian, German and Norwegian agreements. According to recent judicial decisions in

this state, the Soviet Government can be sued, as a result of its unrecognized status, but it cannot bring suit. It is obviously handicapped in its purchasing and selling activities by this total lack of legal protection. Following the conclusion of the Russo-British Trade Agreement the Canadian Car and Foundry Company was able to announce that it had received a two million dollar order for tank cars from the Russian Government. It is safe to predict that American manufacturers of industrial and agricultural machinery will receive many such orders, as soon as an American-Russian trade agreement is concluded.

Russian trade is certain to be cumulative in its growth. Russia must import certain things before she can produce for export on a large scale. For instance, Russia has almost unlimited timber resources, her forest lands covering an area of 1,300,000,000 acres. The amount of timber which she can export is limited only by the condition of her transportation and by the number of saws and other necessary implements which can be secured. Similar considerations apply to flax and to the various precious metals in which Russia is so rich. Just now Russia's foreign purchases are dictated largely by the need of the famine and by the general lack of the simplest articles which has come as a natural result of the long years of war and blockade. Foodstuffs, clothing and medicaments bulk large in the list of imports. But as soon as the present crisis is surmounted Russia will be in a position to absorb a large quantity of plows, tractors, agricultural implements of all kinds, together with industrial machinery and parts.

How the Soviet Government Works

VI. TOWN SOVIETS

The following is the sixth of a series of articles on the institutions of the Russian Soviet Government which we are reprinting from "Russian Information and Review", published by the Russian Trade Delegation, London. The first was on the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the second on the Council of People's Commissars, etc.

"WE find that if only fifteen to twenty men take part in administration, they must even against their own will become bureaucrats—however much they speak against bureaucracy. The wide participation in administration of the workers themselves is imperative." In these sentences L. Kamenev, reporting at the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in December, 1919, on the proposed amendments to the Constitution, summed up the fundamental principles upon which the Russian Soviet system is built, and which are most clearly to be seen at work in the lowest units or cells of the Soviet machinery—the local Soviets.

Of the distinguishing features which are associated with Soviet practice in Russia since the revolution, the following are the most important: In the first place, the Soviet system as such is in its origin a town system. It is the method of self-expression adopted by the masses of the Russian

workers where their consciousness of solidarity was highest, and where the feeling that their interests were sharply antagonistic to those of all other classes was most acute. Soviets could not spring up spontaneously in the Russian countryside, where the primitive conditions of agriculture themselves rendered man an individualist, difficult to organize, and with little political consciousness. Similarly in the smaller provincial towns, where the population consists of small farmers, shopkeepers, and their assistants, office employees, and petty artisans, there was no strong coherent force amongst the mass of the workers to make their participation in the class struggle so advanced that it could produce an entirely new political organism like the Soviets. It was in large industrial centers—Moscow, Petrograd, Tula, Ivanovo-Voznesensk—with their compact and politically intelligent masses of factory workers, that the need

for an independent political working class organization first made itself felt, during the general strike of 1905 and at the moment of the March revolution in 1917. The example of the capitals was rapidly followed by the provincial and country towns, and these in their turn, during the summer of 1917, served to waken the countryside into political activity. We have already seen that this difference in time between the organization of town and country Soviets gave rise to the existence of separate All-Russian organizations, and later to a difference in electoral methods when delegates to Soviet congresses were being selected.

Secondly, the Soviets — Councils of Workers' Deputies—were in their origin fighting rather than political organizations, and consequently their composition, methods of election, regulations, methods of work, etc., are only gradually being elaborated, in proportion as the Russian working class passes from a state of perpetual siege conditions, in which work rather than form is demanded of public institutions, to a state of political calm and mastery in its own home, when it is able to find time for more elaborate rules of procedure. This original feature of the Soviets is brought out still more strongly when we recall that the Russian working class had no other form of combination at its disposal when Tsarism fell. Even the political parties were underground propagandist organizations, which at best could only for a time, at moments of a particularly intense crisis, assume the direct leadership of mass movements—as in the Petrograd strikes of 1895-6. No trade union movement existed in Russia, for all practical purposes, before the March revolution in 1917; and this fact was of enormous importance. Had it been otherwise, it is very possible that the workers would have asked for no better protection of their interests than a powerful all-embracing trade union congress. As it was, the political parties, both in 1905 and in 1917, were accustomed, owing to the illegal nature of their work, to carry it on primarily in the workshop and not in the trade union club or at the street corner; and they naturally urged the workers to elect a body for general political purposes which should be responsive to the tangible and ever-present workshop, rather than to the intangible electoral district or the still only rudimentary trade unions.

This brings us to the third important characteristic of the Russian Soviets—their form of election—which ensures their constant and intimate contact with the working classes. In every Soviet there are a few deputies from trade unions, political parties, the local garrison, etc., but the bulk are elected in the workshops, commercial or educational establishments, large depots or stores, etc. For every 500 employees one deputy is elected, workers in enterprises with less than a hundred employees uniting for electoral purposes with the workers of other small enterprises. Where the workers are scattered, as in the case of shop assistants, teachers in small schools, literary and art

workers, they are assembled at special electoral meetings by their trade union; while assemblies of housewives, domestic workers, janitors, etc., convened ward by ward, take part in the elections on a similar basis. Thanks to this system, to take a concrete example, there participated in the Petrograd elections:

In July, 1919	330,000	workers
In January, 1920.....	501,000	"
In June, 1920	562,000	"

or practically the entire adult population (253,000 workers in factories, depots, hospitals etc., 142,000 Soviet employees, 114,000 Red soldiers and sailors, 47,000 housewives, and 5,000 students). A similar proportion of the classes participating is shown (selecting at random) by the statistics of the first elections to the Soviet of Rostov-on-Don, in February, 1921, after the liberation of the town from the yoke of Denikin: 94,000 workers and employees, 30,000 Red soldiers, 14,000 peasants, and 2,000 housewives.

Not only does the method of election of the Soviets retain and even extend the franchise for the widest circles of the population, but by drawing them into contact with the administrative apparatus at the place or in the building where they are employed for the greater part of their lives, it makes the Russian administrative apparatus, as has already been suggested, a much more popular and flexible system than any of its predecessors. The deputy from any given factory or workshop is constantly under the control of and liable to be recalled by his electorate, to whom he renders periodical reports (in Moscow, for example, out of a Soviet of 1,000 to 1,500, there were 423 such cases of recall in 1918, and 411 in 1919). Within the Soviet itself, the deputy is not allowed to confine himself to the hearing of reports by the Executive Committee, or the making of them to his constituents; he must participate in the daily work of the administrative apparatus, in some capacity or other, to prevent his transformation into a "legislator", pure and simple, in just the same way as his frequent contact with a definite mass of electorate is designed to prevent him from becoming transformed into a "departmental official", pure and simple. So strongly was this felt, particularly during the period of the civil war, when above all it was essential to have in the districts public bodies with energy, resource, and contact with real life, that (the case was quoted by the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs in a lecture at the Sverdlov University) the provincial executive committee of Vladimir, in July, 1919 (the beginning of the Denikin offensive), found it necessary to dissolve all the town Soviets of the province. The electorate in these towns were for the most part composed of traders, peasants, and shopkeepers, and the Soviets had actually been elected by universal suffrage; with the result that they had fallen into a state of complete quiescence, leaving all administrative work to be carried on by the county executive committees.

In the larger towns, from 1920 onwards, the practice was adopted of appointing committees of the Soviet, into one of which every member must enter; and, although under civil war conditions only certain of the committees showed real vitality (the position may be compared to that of the People's Commissariats on the national scale), there can be no doubt that the institution of these committees has also done a great deal towards making the Soviets a working and not a talking institution. This is shown indirectly by the fact that, in March, 1920, the regulations of the Moscow Soviet—which in many ways, as might be expected, is the prototype of thousands of similar bodies elsewhere—laid down that all members were *ipso facto* members of the Soviets of their wards. By February, 1922, the process of drawing each individual member into general municipal work, in addition to his sessional duties, had advanced so considerably that, at all of the several hundred electoral meetings which were reported in the press during last month's Soviet elections, the assembled workers, having elected a deputy to the Moscow Soviet, proceeded to choose others of their number for the ward councils. This circumstance, in its turn, brings us to another interesting characteristic of the Soviet system, which we have already seen strongly marked in the case of the congresses—the constant influx of new blood into the administrative apparatus, with once again the result that little by little that apparatus becomes part of the everyday experience of the most average worker. Statistics, unfortunately, are not as readily available as in the case of the Soviet congresses. It is known, however, that at the Petrograd Soviet elections in July, 1919, 1,570 members out of 1,836 were elected for the first time; at the elections in July, 1920, out of a total of 2,214 elected one half were new members; and that in all over 20,000 workers and employees passed through what Zinoviev has called the "gigantic political laboratory" of the Petrograd Soviet in three years.

As a symbol of the cardinal feature of the Soviet system—its dependence upon and closeness to the masses of the Russian working people—we may cite the fact that, following the excellent example set by Petrograd in 1920, most of the principal industrial centres have adopted the practice of holding periodical sessions of the executive committees of their Soviets in one or another of the most important factories of the city, the workers being allowed to make their observations in the course of the discussion on the departmental reports submitted.

The following tables of election statistics at the two capitals during the last few years bring out two facts of importance: the ever-growing influence of the Communist Party with the Russian factory proletariat, and the increasing proportion of workers whom the Soviet system "draws out", not as adherents of this or that party, but as adherents of the Soviet system itself, interested in making it an effort at governmental apparatus for the benefit of the Russian working class.

	Boleheviks and Sympathizers	Mensheviks and Sympathizers	Soc.-Revs. and Sympathizers	Independents	Anarchists	Others
MOSCOW						
April, 1918.	504	88	51	9	5	66
March, 1920	1,368	46	—	145	1	1
Feb. 1922...	1,447	3	1	207	1	—
PETROGRAD						
July, 1919..	1,249	—	1	338	—	248
Dec. 1919..	1,607	5	11	252	—	—
May, 1920.	1,503	13	2	402	4	—
July, 1920..	1,727	5	17	469	2	—

A NECESSARY DECLARATION

By KARL RADEK

DURING my stay in Berlin in January and February of this year the German newspapers of all tendencies printed a tremendous number of reports concerning my actual or alleged activities, which vied with each other in their powers of imagination and their folly. Thus, I was represented as aiding the Wirth Government to put through the tax compromise, and then as seeking to overthrow that government by organizing the railroad strike, and finally, as attempting to save its life by appeasing the revolutionary zeal of Dr Breitscheid. Simultaneously I sold Russia to Stinnes, then both Stinnes and Germany to France. Now the game is starting once more. The ball is started rolling by *Vorwärts*, which reports that I have been in negotiation with Stinnes, to whom it is my intention to hand over the Russian railroads, on which subject I became engaged in altercations with my friend Krassin.

I have ignored all this idiocy for a very simple reason, which is very well known to *Vorwärts*, but which it is my duty to explain publicly to the German working class. The German Government made it a condition of my admission to Germany that I should refrain from every kind of public activity in Germany. This demand was of course not in accord with my own personal desires nor with my conception of the interests of Russia and Germany. But it did correspond to the conceptions of the German Government, to which the Social Democracy belongs. If now the central organ of the German Social Democratic Party, a German Government organ in the bargain, publishes compromising reports with provocative intentions, speculating on my compulsory silence, everyone may judge for himself in what interest these provocative statements are being issued. I have declared that I would not take the pains to deny any report in the press, no matter how false it might be, even if it should state that it was my intention to marry into the Stinnes family. I am convinced that the German workers are too well acquainted with the lying nature of this type of newspaper to pay any attention to machinations of this kind.

Berlin, March 28, 1922.

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WHATEVER the devastating effects of the Great War upon the financial and economic status of France—it certainly did not deprive the French statesmen of that specifically French brilliancy known as *l'esprit gaulois*. This divine gift has not deserted them even in their tribulations at Genoa, and the risk of offending an absent creditor did not prevent them from inserting their little joke on America in the conditions that were to be submitted to the Russian delegation. These conditions included the remarkable clause by which the Supreme Court of the United States was—so to speak—to be the impartial referee in litigations arising between the Soviet Government and the Allied powers. We also learned—from a friend famed more for his humor than for his accuracy—that these powers intended to offer recognition to the Soviet Government on condition that Lenin, Trotsky, Krassin, Chicherin and Radek should first be cleared of their crimes by an impartial jury, having equal representation from officers of the Ku-Klux Klan, the Knights of Columbus, and the American Federation of Labor; but that the Soviet Delegation declined this proposal on the ground that while they believed in the American fairness of the champions of Protestant and Catholic obscurantism, they could not accept Mr. Gompers, whose British pride never could have forgiven the Bolsheviks for having driven out the British, that is to say the Menshevist “Labor” Government from the Caucasian Republic of Georgia.

BUT Mr. Gompers is loyal not only to England and to the Russian White Guards—he is also loyal to the President of the A. F. of L. Only recently he informed the frightened public that “the Bolshevik propaganda fund in the United States amounts to many millions of dollars,” the aim of which was to bring about the recognition of Soviet Russia and to undermine his dominating influence

in the labor movement. Mr. Gompers being in a way a sort of national institution—so much so that a merely critical attitude towards that irreconcilable champion of labor a few years ago caused an issue of *The Nation* to be declared non-mailable—the President of the American Federation of Labor and August Belmont’s fellow member of that millionaire-club, the “American Civic Federation”, cannot be blamed if in patriotic apprehension for the safety of the country he still keeps repeating the old canard of “Bolshevik gold”. His vituperative hysteria may find an excuse in the fact that his prestige is on the wane and that an ever-growing contingent of native skilled workers is gradually turning its sympathies towards the Russian Workers’ Republic as is expressed in an editorial which appeared a short time ago in the *Locomotive Engineers’ Journal*, and which we are reprinting on the next page.

HOWEVER, Mr. Gompers is not entirely disinclined to deal with Russia. He will do it, when there is “a Government answerable to the people, put in office by the people. Prime requisites are elections, free press, free assemblage, free speech, none of which has existed since Lenin created his autocracy.” All of which do exist of course in the democratic countries on both sides of the Atlantic, where votes are never bought or stolen, where elected members of legislative bodies are never excluded because of their political affiliation, and where newspapers and meetings are never suppressed when they become obnoxious to the government.

Mr. Hughes, of the State Department, in his statement published only one day after the revelations of Mr. Gompers, is less exacting than the President of the A. F. of L. “Political recognition,” according to Mr. Hughes, “is dependent on the existence of a government that is competent to discharge its international obligations.” One of these obligations being, we surmise, the repayment to the United States of the \$200,000,000 advanced to Kerensky, or rather to Bakhmetiev, and used more or less exclusively for fighting the Soviet Government, and may be also the payment of an indemnity for the expenses incurred by Mr. Wilson’s administration, in connection with the expedition to Murmansk and the intervention in Eastern Siberia. We are not sure that Mr. Hughes will insist on his formula of March 25, 1922, in which he speaks of the “rights of free labor” and we wonder whether by this formula he meant that the Russian courts are not to issue any injunctions against picketing, that foreign workers must not be deported for participating in strikes, that the owners or concessionaires of factories must not be allowed to hire private armies of thugs sworn in as deputy-sheriffs, and that labor leaders must not be imprisoned for life on trumped-up charges. Although such a demand might look like a serious interference with Russia’s internal affairs, we do not doubt that it would nevertheless be readily granted.

THE article on the activity of the Cheka which comes from the pen of A. Morizet and appears elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA gives definite figures for the number of executions ordered and carried out by that body. Other figures have come from less friendly sources, that would make it look as if this instrument of the Soviet Government had effected a substantial reduction in the population of the country. We have not seen the copy of the *Paris Gaulois* that printed the hostile figures, but as quoted by the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, Mason, Iowa, April 26, 1922, they are as follows:

"Since October, 1917, bishops of the Russo-Greek church, 28; priests, 1,212; schoolmasters and professors, 6,775; physicians, 8,800; army officers, 54,050; soldiers, 200,000; officers of constabulary and police forces, 10,500; privates of the same forces, 48,500; land owners, 12,950; members of the "intelligent" classes, the so-called "intelligentsia", 355,250; workmen, 193,350; peasants, 815,100."

This is a pretty good list for a paper like the right wing Monarchist daily *Le Gaulois*, quite in keeping with the discovery made by it during the war, according to which the German race had an odor peculiar to itself which made Germans easily distinguishable from individuals of any other nation. But it is a pity that the editor did not go a step farther in his atrocious enumeration, so as to include also: 1) the number of "nationalized" women; 2) the number of fatherless orphans who were the consequence of "nationalization"; 3) the number of fathers of such fatherless children, for, being fatherless, these children must be considered as having no fathers, and the fathers may therefore be considered as dead; 4) the number of these children themselves, who do not exist, as women have never been "nationalized" in Russia, and whose non-existence must be attributed to the Soviet Government's failure to "nationalize" the women; and 5), speaking more seriously, the millions of real victims of the Blockade and Intervention, which would not have been undertaken by the Allies if the Bolsheviks had not organized a Social Revolution.

* * *

THE editorial in the *Mason City Globe-Dispatch* concludes: "We are keenly interested in Russia's economic revival. But American self-respect is worth more than any money." Unfortunately American self-respect in the case of its dealings with Bakhmetiev seems not to have been sold for money, but to have been given away together with \$187,000,000 for no recorded return. What could not be obtained for any money, according to the *Mason City Globe-Dispatch*, has been thrown into the bargain to sweeten a very substantial financial contribution.

* * *

MR. Gompers will enjoy reading the reprinted editorial in the next column. He will perhaps understand who is really meant by "Schmidt"; we are not certain that it is not another German name that is meant, possibly also beginning with "Sch".

MR. GOMPERS' WHACK AT RUSSIA HITS AMERICAN WORKERS

(Reprinted from "*Locomotive Engineers' Journal*", March, 1922)

Now comes Mr. Gompers with the leading article in the *American Federationist* emitting a hot blast of hate against the Russian government. He is aghast with horror at the idea of the "civilized" nations of Europe meeting the representatives of the Russians at the Genoa conference table. He denounces the Soviet Workers' Republic as being in league with the capitalists, and willing to barter Russia's riches for political recognition.

We are not concerned with Mr. Gompers' private opinion about the Russian government. That is his own affair. Nor do we censure him because, in his hatred for that government, he gives a personal letter of commendation to the famous imposter Schmidt, who was a self-convicted liar before he ever went about the country lecturing on Bolshevik horrors for gullible unions and well-paying Chambers of Commerce. Neither is it our business when Mr. Gompers takes time from his important official duties to write a rather unreliable book about the Russian republic and the peasants and workers who support it. We are only amused by his inconsistency when in one breath he preaches disarmament and good will among the nations, and in the next he calls for the isolation and extinction of the government of the largest country in Europe. Like the gold-braided generals of France, he wants peace, but first he wants his bucket of Bolshevik blood. But we are rightly concerned when Mr. Gompers, claiming to speak for American labor, officially urges our government to adopt a policy toward Russia that will take bread and butter out of the mouths of American workers and sow the seeds of chaos in Europe.

The wheels of idle American factories will begin to turn, the products of the American farmer will find a profitable market throughout Europe, and the consequent demand for transportation will give increased employment to railway men, when Europe recovers her credit so that she can buy the American food and clothing and machinery which her citizens badly need. And Europe's credit can only be restored when she curtails military expenditures by disarmament and exchanges raw materials and the manufactured articles we need for our goods. As we have just pointed out, peace with Russia is the first step toward this economic reconstruction. Like the multiplication table, this is not a matter of sentiment, but a cold fact, upon which the well-informed labor leaders, political economists and statesmen of Europe are agreed. Opposing them are the blood-thirsty Czarist generals, the horde of ex-Russian landlords, no-account counts, ignoble nobles, and other jobless remnants of autocracy, together with a Russian propaganda bureau in New York sponsored by eminent Wall Street bankers and labor-haters. Truly Mr. Gompers has chosen strange bed-fellows.

Were Mr. Gompers an ordinary citizen, his lack of knowledge about Russia would excuse him from severe censure. He has never been to Russia. He probably doesn't know a half dozen Russian words. He could not repeat the *ah, beh, veh* of the Russian alphabet if his life depended on it. His information about Russia is second-hand, and often obtained from very unreliable second-hand dealers. But in Mr. Gompers' case this ignorance is no excuse. The leader who attempts to lead without knowledge is morally responsible for the consequences of his blunders.

Mr. Gompers may not know much about conditions in Russia, but he ought to know and care about the situation of labor in the United States. Between four and five million American workers are walking our streets searching for jobs. Miners are starving in West Virginia and dodging bayonets in Colorado. The Supreme Court tears up labor's safeguards built up by years of struggle. Millions of unorganized workers are ruthlessly exploited by the Steel Trust and its allies. Groups of organized workers are rent asunder by jurisdictional disputes. The open shop campaign and the drive to slash wages are in full tilt. While American labor is being crucified, Mr. Gompers takes time to stick pins into the hide of the Russian bear.

Art Tendencies in Soviet Russia

By JACQUES MESNIL

The distinguished French critic, having shown in his last article (see SOVIET RUSSIA for May 1) the care devoted by the Soviet Government to preserving and expanding its art museums, now takes up the question of the prospects for a new art under Communism as practiced in Russia.

WE are now prepared to take up another part of our subject, for this acquisition of new knowledge, this clash of ideas, this registry of new impressions, this germination of new and fertile seeds in virgin spirits, of which we spoke in our preceding article, must necessarily also awaken the creative faculties.

In what way has it been attempted to encourage this awakening and what are the first artistic manifestations of the great social transformation that has acted more or less profoundly on all spirits?

The phase now under observation is still that of primitive chaos, in which it is hard to distinguish light from shade. We shall necessarily meet with much confusion, much mere fumbling.

At the outset, let us state that even the first rudiments of the art in which the Communist society would have expressed itself in the most direct manner, the most tangible manner—I mean architecture—are entirely absent.

To be sure, in this respect Russia is one of the worst prepared countries. Under Tsarism, architecture had retained an entirely traditional aspect, and was not even national in its character. Since Peter the Great, the imported European styles had not ceased to reign and to predominate; chiefly the Italian and French. In the architecture of the mansions of the rich, in that of the administration buildings, this double tradition was in force; on the one hand there was a style imitated from the French Empire* style, on the other, one taking its inspiration from Palladio.† With these there were joined, particularly in the construction of the churches, an imitation of the ancient Russian styles, from the Byzantine to the national style of the 16th century.

None of the great problems of modern architecture had even been touched; banks, department stores, cooperative offices, people's houses, railroad stations, great educational institutions, none of these had been particularly studied; and even the German influence, in spite of its proximity and in spite of the active propaganda by which it was being spread through books, had exerted but a slight influence in Russia. Notwithstanding the extraordinary development of theatrical art in Russia and the particular interest attached to everything connected with the theatre, the architectural problems raised by this art seem to have been completely neglected in favor of the problems of stage management and scene painting. Here again there is not a trace of the continued and fertile

effort made in this direction in Germany.

Similarly, the new methods of construction, such as reinforced concrete, have been very little used in architectural works as such, and have not been studied at all from the standpoint of their artistic possibilities. Since the Revolution, not only has nothing been constructed (which will be understood), but nothing important has even been planned; an over-ambitious attempt to expand the city of Moscow was quickly abandoned.

Monument of the Third International

Last Summer there was exhibited at the Technical Exposition connected with the Trade Union Congress a model of a monument of the Third International, in my opinion a disjointed work devoid of any artistic plan. This monument, consists of a great spiral of metal, presenting the same appearance of a gigantic scaffolding as does Eiffel Tower, in the interior of which there are suspended geometrical solids of glass, with ribs of iron or of brass; below, a cylinder about 80 meters in diameter, destined to hold the Congress Hall of the Third International, rooms for stenographers, a library, a restaurant; above it, a pyramid for the sessions of the Executive Committee; then a cylinder, somewhat smaller, for the radio station; and finally, at the top, an electric light and power station, in a hemisphere; each of these solids was intended to revolve; the great cylinder would perform one complete revolution per year, the pyramid one every month, the smaller cylinder one every day, the hemisphere one every minute. This movement was to symbolize the constant movement of the International, while the glass was to stand for the clarity characteristic of this institution, and so forth.

This notion was the work of an artist who was not an architect originally, but a painter, Tatlin, a young professor of the Petrograd Academy, who has played an important part in the artistic world since the Revolution. Taking futurism as his point of departure, Tatlin finds the machine much more interesting than the man, and would like to impart to art a mechanical rather than an organic basis; he confuses machine technique with art and wipes out all the dividing lines between the arts. He has substituted for plastic art a sculptural painting, inventing what he calls "counter-relief", by the aid of which he represents "machine quintessences", making use of all possible kinds of substances and objects: wood, glass, tin, screws, electric armatures, microscope lenses, etc.

Criticism of Tatlin

As a matter of fact, it is hard to see what connection all this may have with Communism or with proletarian art. This fanatical admiration of

*Revival of classic units under Napoleon.

†Andrea Palladio (1518-1580), an Italian Renaissance architect, whose plans were much used in England and other countries outside of Italy.

the machine is quite a "futuristic" trait, derived directly from an over-industrial civilization, produced by capitalism in the last phase of its evolution, and from the materialism, in the non-philosophical sense of the word, which is the consequence of this civilization. The Italian futurists are much more logical than Tatlin, since they directly associate with their art their nationalistic imperialism and their love of war for war's sake. The pyrotechnical hymns of Marinetti would harmonize perfectly with the machine quintessences of Tatlin.

At the beginning of the Revolution there was a mental confusion, which was inevitable, between the so-called revolutionary tendencies in art and those tendencies in politics that were designated by the same names. This confusion was inevitable because it existed before the Revolution, and because it has been accepted everywhere in our day. In the socialist papers, all precise ideas in the field of art are most often absent, and support is given to extremist tendencies, to "advanced" art, merely because of the verbal analogy, without giving thought for a moment to the fact that in reality the thing thus designated is in most cases a product, an expression of the system that is being fought; and, on the other hand, artists as yet not recognized consider themselves to be revolutionaries and seek the support of persons who run no risk of receiving the stamp of academic approval.

Lunacharsky's Attitude Toward Art Innovations

Lunacharsky, who is admitted, as we have seen, to be a man of taste and intellectual refinement even by an outright adversary of his political ideas, encourages the tendencies to innovation in art and apparently hesitates to refuse assistance to the young talents. And this is not because he is laboring under any illusions as to the real value of these artistic movements; he has himself said, on the subject of futurism, that it is "a continuation of bourgeois art with the addition of certain revolutionary postures." But Lunacharsky does not wish to run the risk of throwing out the wheat with the chaff.

He left a free hand to all the futurists, cubists, expressionists, suprematists, imaginists, etc., who confused the triumph of the revolution with their own triumph. These artists had thus obtained for themselves a position of first importance in the artistic organization of the new régime, which was the easier for them since they were attached to this régime, either by conviction, or because they saw in it an opportunity to advance themselves under more favorable conditions than under any other régime. They exerted a preponderant influence in the Collegium of Fine Arts, of the Commissariat of Public Instruction. The former imperial academies were suppressed; in the new institutions, the professors are elected by the students: as the so-called "advanced" tendencies in art predominate among the young, the majority of the professors elected by them belong to the post-Impressionist generation.

Umansky, in his book on the "New Art in Rus-

sia" (*Neue Kunst in Russland*), defines the artistic evolution of Russia in the last few years as follows: "From the representation of nature to pure artistic creation; from the static to the dynamic; from the impressionist disintegration of the object to its increasingly severe analysis; by excluding everything that is temporary and accidental, toward an architectonic moulding of the image; from the empirical world of the phenomenon to the transcendental world; from the monothematic to the polythematic; from the rhythm of nature to the modern rhythm of mechanism; from the imitation of nature to a personal artistic creation, independent of the model."

In many ways, this program is the antithesis of popular art. The so-called vanguard artists had every opportunity to develop this program in the numerous State expositions organized by them and in public festivals to which they had been appointed as decorators.

Fields for the New Artist

In 1918, the festival of the first anniversary of the Revolution (October 25 O. S.—November 7 N. S.) was organized almost entirely by the guilds of "expressionist" artists; the painters produced gigantic decorations covering the entire facades of buildings, completely changing the character of structures and even of parks, substituting the violent color-play of Russian toys and stage scenes, or ancient church designs in the national style, for the facades of uniform tint and European outline, of the modern houses.

The decoration of propaganda trains also furnished them with a pretext for giving free play to their fantasy. They organized a special museum for their works; finally, they have had numerous expositions: in 1919 there were not less than 13 such expositions at Moscow, including 28,000 works, and more than 300,000 admission tickets were distributed.

In May, 1918, a great government competition was held for plans of about sixty new monuments to the great revolutionists of the world (in the scientific and artistic field, as well as in the social field). Not much is now left of the plaster casts that were set up on the squares of Moscow. Nothing was definitely carried out, owing to lack of the necessary material, and also because the plans were in general of mediocre value.

Nor has much remained of the festive decorations, even in the memory of the people, and these attempts seem to have left an impression more of amazement than of admiration.

The propaganda posters, the object of which was above all didactic, but which might have acquired more than a temporary value if executed artistically, are not in general of great merit and are hardly worth more than the war posters of the various countries that were dragged into the great World War.*

The efforts of the artist innovators seem to have

**Das Plakat*, a German monthly devoted to art posters, has an interesting article, with colored reproductions of Soviet Russian posters (December, 1920).

been somewhat more fruitful in the field of decorative art; there, the element of representation, of formulation of the external object, is no longer present, or rather, there is no longer any reason for conciliating it with the artistic treatment, there is no longer an opposition between the object of nature and art; the object itself is the substance of art and the creative spirit no longer needs to conciliate contrary elements of nature, but to harmonize its inspiration with the primary motive of the work. The decorative art studios, particularly the "First Studio of Moscow", under the direction of Malevich, the "suprematist" painter, exhibited in July and August, 1919, works in textiles and pottery, the former of which appear really to have been quite remarkable. The young expressionist artists attempted to make popular among the people the decorative motives invented by them, and the peasant women executed embroideries from their models.

But it does not seem that these attempts had any permanent effect: the activity of the decorative art studios has slowed down; the recent products of ceramic art, which I saw last year, particularly the cups made for the Third Congress of the International, were not of great artistic value and were more attractive by their lively colors than by the rhythm of their lines and the general harmony of their forms and ornamental motives.

To-day there is a visible reaction in Russia against the preponderant influence of the futurists, etc. The recent regulations, issued last year, are an evidence of this; an entrance examination has been provided for, which must be passed by all who entered the Academy after 1918. It is held that these students have not given sufficient guarantee of serious talent. I have heard it said that Tatlin, who has played an important part since the Revolution, has been a disintegrating influence in the Academy, even in a material sense.

The Theatre of Today

The effect of the Revolution has thus far been far more important in the theatre than in the plastic arts. The Russians are peculiarly gifted for the theatre, and this is true in every direction, in singing, in acting, in dancing, in scene painting, and in dramatic creation.

We have had a number of echoes of this condition in the West: the Russian ballet has had great success, as is well known, at Paris and elsewhere; the Bat Theatre of Moscow (Chauve-Souris), which divided in two and came to Paris last Winter to give its performances, has revealed a type of vaudeville theatre far above our own in quality.

But all this, I repeat, is only a simple reflection of theatrical art as it exists in Russia, as it can be appreciated only in Russia, in spite of the obstacles placed by material difficulties in the way of actual realization. It is difficult to form an idea here of what the theatre is in Russia, not only in its most refined manifestations, but also as a whole. I was in Russia after the theatrical season. I witnessed chiefly popular performances, carried on with insufficient means, on stages that were too

small, with too few performers, a diminished orchestra—when there was any orchestra at all, and not merely a piano—and yet all these performances have left unforgettable memories with me, for the actors do not *play* their part, they *live* it, they enter into it absolutely, they are transformed into the persons they represent. Never do you feel that they are trying to distinguish themselves at the expense of the work. This conscience, this religious spirit, which is one of the characteristics of the Russian people, is observable here also. And this trait of character will be the more appreciated by those who know what are the conditions under which actors now work in Russia.

Hardships of the Actors

Exhausted by material privations, frequently fainting with fatigue between the acts, obliged to walk miles on foot from their homes to the theatre, because of the lack of tramway services or the impossibility of sitting down, since the cars may be filled with workers, they are obliged to give lessons or benefit performances, in the attempt to increase the insufficient rations furnished them by the State. They must possess an extraordinary love for their art to give themselves up to it as they do, body and soul, and to communicate such powerful impressions to us.

The theatre is truly popular in Russia, not only because it draws crowds, but also because it draws from the bosom of the people its best elements. Some of its greatest actors, such as Shalyapin, for example, are a direct offspring of the people. And you must have heard Shalyapin sing a worker's song, and carrying away a whole theatre full of workers to join with him in the chorus, to be able to understand the intimate contact which exists between the people and him, and the exceptional artistic gifts of this people—for nowhere could you find an improvised chorus that would make such an ensemble effect and sing with such depth of sentiment.

At any moment, the theatrical calling becomes apparent in the bosom of the masses; therefore the Soviet Republic has done everything in its power to encourage the growth and recognition of such talent. It is one of the principal tasks of the institution destined to develop proletarian culture (an institution called for short *Proletkult*) to seek out those of artistic talent and to furnish them the means of expressing this talent.

As soon as artistic, musical, theatrical or other aptitude has been discovered in a worker, he is permitted to work only in the morning in the factory; in the evening he goes to practice in the *Proletkult* headquarters, and if it is considered there that his talent is a good one and that he should be given permission to devote himself entirely to art, he ceases to work in the factory, in order to complete his education in the *Proletkult*.

The Number of Russia's Theatres

After the Revolution, a great number of new theatres was established, not only in the great cities, the capitals of provinces, but even in the small towns and villages. There are now 2197

theatres in the Soviet Republic; 268 People's Houses have a theatre attached; besides, there are in the villages and country districts 3452 small Artistic Soviets, which occasionally give performances. In 1916 there were about 70 theatres of artistic worth throughout Russia and 130 or 140 mediocre theatres; the latter have been eliminated. To-day, there is a regular theatrical craze; everybody wants to learn to dance, to play, to impersonate.

Many stage managers and theatrical operators of the old régime still remain, either by adapting themselves to the new situation, which is less brilliant and lustrous than once it was, or by espousing it enthusiastically because of the unheard of prospects it opens up. The latter is the case with Meyerhold, who on the eve of the Revolution still believed the theatre was made for a select minority and staged splendid and subtle spectacles at Petrograd in the presence of the Court, while he now advocates a theatre of the masses, made for and by the people.

Meyerhold is now one of the most influential persons in official circles as far as the organization of the theatre is concerned. He has created the "First Theatre of the R. S. F. S. R.," which is considered as the revolutionary enterprise par excellence in this field. With the greatest care he staged *Les Aubes*, by Verhaeren, which did not meet with success with the people; then a piece by Maykovsky, entitled *Mysteria-Bouffe*,* which bears the stamp and at present best represents the tendencies of Meyerhold; the very title is a synopsis of these tendencies; on the one hand there is a return to the "mysteries", to the mass theatre of the Middle Ages; on the other hand, to give it animation, the improvised buffoonery of the old Italian theatre, of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, is resorted to. This piece, as far as the subject is concerned, is a bit of propaganda intended to present the Soviet Government, as compared with all preceding systems of government, as the best in existence. Meyerhold flits lightly from subject to subject without any strain. The thing that interests him is stage settings, the great mass movements.

The Audience Become Actors

In Russia there is now a tendency to realize a dream that not only Russians are now dreaming: to extend the art of the theatre outside of the narrow limits of the atmosphere of a single hall, out into the public square; to make the masses participate, to fuse the spectator with the actor.

Kel, who is at the head of the center for political education through the theatre, last Summer stated his plan to André Julien† as follows: "We must create a theatre in which the masses will take part in the dramatic creation. The center for physical and military education, which is obligatory for

*Lunacharsky has described this piece as "a dramatic poster".

†From manuscript notes taken by Comrade Julien, who also contributed interesting articles on Russia to *L'Illustration*, of August 27, and September 3, 1921.

all, will aid in the preparation of the masses toward this end; it is necessary to bring together the two currents of physical and artistic culture, in order to realize the motto of the ancients: *Mens sana in corpore sano*. The author will build the skeleton of the piece; the stage manager will adjust the ensemble and the general effect. At the moment the crowd is to take part in the action, the spectators will be carried away to sing with the actors, to live in the performance; they will be seized, as is the artist, with the desire for creation."

Is this plan feasible, and will it lead to anything more than disorder and cacophony, unless everything has been precisely arranged in advance? I must leave to others the giving of a reply to this question—the more since I have not had an opportunity to witness any of these open air performances in which the masses take part, which have been described by several of the authors who recently traveled in Russia, particularly by Arthur Holitscher in his remarkable book, *Drei Monate in Sowjet-Russland*.*

Holitscher was present at a performance to commemorate the November Revolution of 1917, which featured the taking of the Winter Palace at Petrograd, making use of the very spot at which this event took place. Nothing was lacking; neither the armed revolutionists, rallying by the thousands from all the adjacent streets, nor the rifle shots, nor the rattle of the machine guns, nor even, at the end, the cruiser firing on the Palace from the Neva.

And the spectacle was so impressive, the enthusiasm of the crowd so great, the life which it emanated so kindling, so infectious, that the passive spectators who watched from the windows of the neighboring houses felt themselves conquered by this formidable force and asked, being seized by physical agitation, whether this was not the Revolution itself which they were witnessing.

This final use of brute and material emotion, in order to bring reality to the sublimated emotion of the dramatic work, which is intended chiefly to touch the soul, is it a desirable thing? I do not think so, from the artistic standpoint; but it certainly indicates an extraordinary talent on the part of the improvised actors, on the part of this entire crowd, which enters so thoroughly into the play, that it seems to forget that it is merely playing, and thus brings back to life the action that it is supposed merely to mimic.

Meyerhold Contrasted with Stanislavsky

You understand what is Meyerhold's general direction. Stanislavsky, who was and is still the director of the Art Theatre at Moscow, has not been converted to these ideas. He retains his respect for the finished work of art, in which nothing is left to the chance improviser, and is much concerned with a perfection of execution, doing full justice to the work, that will be as painstaking in the details of stage management as in the play of the actors. In his theatre, in which everything is a result of reflection, in which

*A review of this book and an extract from it appeared in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Volume V, No. 5 (November, 1921).

they live by art and for art, it is not customary even to applaud. This is the principle of absolute non-participation, physically, of the spectator in the dramatic action; we are dealing here with the precise opposite of Meyerhold's tendencies.

I shall not allow myself the vagary of designating Meyerhold's tendency as more advanced, and Stanislavsky's as more conservative; these are terms that have not much meaning in art. But I must note that Meyerhold's method, although it may appear to be more popular, does not seem to meet with any particular favor with the people as a whole. The people continue to think much of the old masterpieces; when the celebrated actor Yuryev, of the Grand Theatre at Petrograd, resumed performances of *Oedipus Rex*, in May, 1918, he had an enormous success, which impelled him to restage *Macbeth*, *Don Carlos*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, all of which met with equal success.

Leo Matthias, in his interesting study on the theatre in Soviet Russia, translated and printed in *L'Art Libre* (September, 1921), also points out this preference of the public for the old repertoire and particularly for the plays of Ostrovsky, the most popular of the Russian dramatic authors (1823-1886). Ostrovsky is a peculiarly Russian writer, who, in plays that have an extremely simple plot, put on the stage a great number of characteristic types such as one meets, in every day life, types borrowed chiefly from the merchant class of Moscow, with which he was well acquainted.

This tendency of the Russian public to value plays for their dramatic quality and not for their subject or their greater or less timeliness, modernity or novelty, furthermore speaks in their favor and proves that they have a true artistic sense.

It would be bold to attempt to draw from all these remarks and observations, which are necessarily incomplete, a conclusion of any general application, or any prediction as to the artistic future of Russia.

The Future Difficult to Foretell

But what I have learned, and what I have tried to set down here, is the wealth and generosity of this human soil, the fertility of this people, the

multiplicity of the possibilities of these talents for the future.

The Russian people really seem to have the character that is displayed in the works of its writers: Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Gorky, and so many others; their works are capable of moving us far more profoundly than the works of French, German, or English authors. There is a more serious voice, more gripping, more sincere, more profound, more directly human, that speaks to us through them; it is the voice of the Russian people, an unspoiled people, uncorrupted by the reading of the newspapers, by the flickering of the moving pictures, a people whose profound life has not been varnished over and hidden by a uniform veneer of superficial notions and acquired opinions. Often, in reading accounts of the life of these people, or in hearing tales of the events in its present history, I have thought of the peoples of the end of the later Middle Ages, whose spirit I sought not so long ago to trace in the archives and monuments of Florence. Like them; the Russian people is capable of brutalities, excesses that frighten us, but also of great movements of pity, of love, of enthusiasm; like them it is religious; like them it is profoundly artistic.

A movement as formidable as this revolution, which has stirred the profoundest layers of the population and called them to political activity, which has forced them in some way to take part in public affairs, even though they were formerly held down tightly by an autocratic power; a revolution which has brought an entire world of new ideas, not in words, not in books reserved for the initiated, but in actual living reality, and which everywhere has raised passionate discussions, cannot but exercise an enormous influence on the collective and individual life and on the work of art which is its expression.

There is no doubt that art in Russia will reflect this convulsion of the social foundation; we may expect a magnificent efflorescence from the soil thus agitated to its depths. But, again, let us not be too much in a hurry, and let us not expect the miracle of a blossoming conjured up by charm before the new seeds shall have found a soil of comparative stability in which to germinate.

Bound Volumes of Soviet Russia

Volume VI, which will have 344 pages in all, will be ready for binding in about a month. We are going to bind a number of copies for office use, and will also bind a few for those of our friends who will order and pay for them in advance. There will be a title page and index, as in earlier volumes, and the binding will, as before, be in durable red cloth, stamped in gold. The price to those who order and pay now is three dollars. A few bound copies of earlier volumes are still to be had. Volume III (July-December, 1920) costs five dollars; Volume IV (January-June, 1921), four dollars; Volume V (July-December, 1921), three dollars. Send check or money order with your request for bound volumes.

SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street,

Room 31

New York, N. Y.

Russia: Area and Population

THE All-Russian census of 1920 did not completely cover all areas of the R. S. F. S. R. and the associated Republics, owing to difficulties arising out of the military situation at that time. It was therefore necessary in some cases to supplement the returns with estimates based on the most recent statistics available, such as the rural census of 1916-1917 and the urban census of 1917. In some localities where these sources were not adequate, recourse had to be made to the official figures relating to the years 1915-1916. The final census of 1920, therefore, is not completely precise; but it nevertheless provides an accurate enough basis for practical purposes. We give below the main statistics of area and population of the R. S. F. S. R., distinguishing the various autonomous areas and associated Republics.

We also give the area and population of the countries which became detached from Soviet Russia after the revolution. Small as is their area, their population is more than one-fifth of that of the R. S. F. S. R.

1. European Russia

The main area in Russia's national and economic life covers most of European Russia, and is inhabited by a Russian population, having one speech, long historical connections, and tendencies to a common development. Three distinct nationalities inhabit this territory:

	Territory square miles	Population (both sexes)
Great Russians (thirty-nine provinces, the Don area, and three provinces of N. Caucasus)	1,290,440	65,751,898
Ukraine (9 provinces)	174,510	26,001,802
White Russia	23,290	1,634,223
Total	1,488,240	93,387,923

2. Minor Areas

On the north, south, and east of this central nucleus of Russia lie other areas forming different administrative and political units, the population of which is often mixed, but with preponderating elements which are the basis of their political divisions. All of these territories under the Soviet regime have complete local autonomy, but are united within the general economic plan for the whole of the R. S. F. S. R. The following table shows the area and population of the various territories:

	Territory square miles	Population (both sexes)
<i>Labor Communes</i>		
Karelia	28,890	144,392
German Volga Commune	7,681	454,368

Autonomous Areas

Votiak	11,300	686,049
Ziranian	107,060	186,878
Kalmuk	38,440	126,256
Mari	6,040	300,069
Chuvash	6,720	758,161

Autonomous Republics

Bashkir	40,420	1,268,132
Tartar	25,960	2,852,135
Crimean	15,060	761,600
Mountain (N. Caucasus)	17,420	808,480
Daghestan	13,730	798,181
Kirghiz	843,640	5,058,553
Turkestan	577,400	7,201,551

Total	1,739,760	21,404,805
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3. Siberia

To these must be added Siberia—nine provinces—with a territory of 4,210,420 square miles and a population of 9,257,825; bringing the total territory of the R. S. F. S. R. to 7,438,420 square miles, with a total population of 124,050,553.

4. Associated Republics.

Further, the following Republics are closely connected by agreements of a permanent character with the R. S. F. S. R.:

Republics	Area (sq. miles)	Population
Azerbaijan	33,970	2,096,973
Armenia	15,240	1,214,391
Georgia	25,760	2,372,403
Far East	652,740	1,811,725
Total	727,710	7,495,492

Thus the immense area which is equal to 8,166,130 square miles with a population of 131,546,045 persons forms one united line of customs.

5. Countries Detached from Russia

Outside the lines traced out above lie the countries and peoples which became detached from Russia after the war:

Country	Area (sq. miles)	Population
Finland	127,330	3,348,000
Estonia	16,000	1,750,000
Latvia	27,110	2,500,000
Lithuania	22,890	2,246,000
Poland	97,110	16,022,000
Bessarabia	17,330	2,213,000
Kars area	7,780	492,000
Total	315,550	28,571,000

These countries, which have been detached from the territory of the former Russian Empire and have not entered into permanent and close political relations with the R. S. F. S. R., form in area

3.8 per cent. of present Russia and 21.7 per cent. of its population.

6. *New Asiatic Connections*

Owing in the main to the intense national feeling arising out of the long struggle with Tsardom, the western nationalities have developed their new-found political existence in independence of Russia; in the east, on the other hand, there is a definite tendency of national groups to form a closer association with the R. S. F. S. R.

Bokhara, Khiva, and Mongolia have made agreements of a permanent character with the R. S. F. S. R. The area and population of these countries is as follows:

Country	Area (sq. miles)	Population
Bokhara	79,440	3,000,000
Khiva	24,310	519,437
Mongolia	5,556,000	645,000
Total	5,659,750	4,164,438

7. *Nationalities*

It is not possible to reduce the data which have been published to exact figures, so as to show the number within the national groups. Yet some idea is given on this point by the figures given above which relate to separate autonomous units. It can safely be assumed that the great majority of the population of a national administrative unit belongs to the basal nationality which gives to the commune, area, or republic its designation.

In consequence of the vast area and number of diverse ethnic groups forming the population, Tsarist methods could never have developed any permanent and friendly relations between the many peoples which, since the application of Soviet Russia's principles of the fullest autonomy, are now united, in various forms, with the Moscow Government, and are working in full harmony for mutual interests without subjection to any national group.

8. *Proportion of Urban to Rural Population.*

The chief characteristic of the whole of this vast area is the smallness of the urban population. But there are very great differences in this respect between the various areas, as the following table shows.

It will be noticed that the Crimean Republic has the largest percentage of urban population (47.2 per cent.), being followed by Georgia (28.9 per cent.), and Azerbaijan (21.6 per cent.). This is due mainly to the various seaports in these Republics; and, in the case of the Crimea especially, to the concentration of population in the seaside resorts which used to be frequented by the middle classes from all parts of the interior of Russia.

The Far Eastern Republic* has also a comparatively high urban population (23.9 per cent.); this

*The Far Eastern Republic is not a portion of the Soviet Federation—but its population, being essentially Russian, feels itself a part of the Great Russian Nation.

is partly due to its seaports and industrial centres; but the real explanation is the extraordinarily small rural population—forty to 100 square miles, as a later table shows:

	Urban population	
	Number	Percentage
Great Russia	9,796,882	15.5
Ukraine	5,163,828	19.8
Siberia	1,078,421	11.6
Turkestan Republic	1,071,151	14.8
Georgian "	687,632	28.9
Azerbaijan "	453,931	21.6
Kirghiz "	396,517	7.8
Crimean "	360,000	47.2
White Russia "	352,525	21.5
Tartar "	246,959	8.6
Armenian "	132,926	10.1
Mountain "	114,576	14.1
Daghestan "	74,423	9.3
Bashkir "	70,192	5.5
Votiak area	51,313	7.4
German Volga Commune	35,326	7.9
Karelian Labor Commune	31,215	21.6
Chuvash area	20,138	2.6
Mari "	9,834	3.3
Ziranian "	9,553	5.1
Kalmuk "	1,655	1.3
Far Eastern Republic* ...	433,433	23.9

9. *Density of Rural Population*

More important in its economic bearing, however, is the great inequality in the density of the rural population in the various areas. The Ukraine heads the list, with 119.2 rural inhabitants to the square mile; but over practically the whole of the Ukraine the soil is good, agricultural methods are—for Russia—comparatively good, and the yield is normally more than adequate to support the population. In most of the other areas with a large number of rural inhabitants to the square mile the reverse is the case, and there is a tendency to emigrate to the less densely populated areas. This tendency is encouraged by the Government, especially in connection with emigration from the famine area of 1921. There are immense areas in the south-east, and, of course, in Siberia, which can be opened up for cultivation; but there are material difficulties in the way, as well as the natural disinclination of the peasants to go to very distant areas.

<i>Number of rural population to one square mile</i>	
Ukraine	119.2
Chuvash area	109.8
Tartar Republic	100.0
Armenian Republic	70.9
Georgian Republic	65.2
Votiak area	56.0
White Russian Republic	54.9
German Volga Commune	54.4
Daghestan Republic	52.6
Azerbaijan Republic	48.4
Mari area	47.7

Great Russia	43.4
Mountain Republic	42.1
Bashkir Republic	29.5
Kalmuk area	26.5
Turkestan Republic	10.6
Kirghiz Republic	5.4
Karelian Labor Commune	3.8
Ziranian area	1.6
Far Eastern Republic*	2.0

All of these statistics show the immense variety, not only in the nationalities, but also in the eco-

nomie conditions of the various parts of the Russian Soviet Federation. They also suggest the almost infinite variety of problems of administration and organization which the Soviet Government is attempting to solve. The establishment of new autonomous areas is still proceeding, in accordance with the wishes of the population concerned; and in this way the former Russian Empire is being refashioned into a free Federation of autonomous units, linked together by their real economic interests.

International Tool Collection Week

The International Workers' Relief Committee has notified the Friends of Soviet Russia that May 1-7 has been arranged as the International Tool Collection Week for Soviet Russia.

The great scarcity of agricultural implements and industrial machinery has led to the proclamation of a week for collecting tools of every character. But from America there will be the particular demand for purchasing tractors and plows, without which Soviet Russia will not be able to raise the crops needed to prevent a famine next year.

To Raise Production in Russia

"The struggle against the famine in Soviet Russia," runs the appeal, "has entered upon a new phase..... The worker who has been hardened by the struggles and sufferings of his own class is touched more by the misery of the Russian proletariat, though he does not know how to help. The famine cannot be fought by charity alone. Some hundred thousands of people may be saved, while millions are perishing and the catastrophe grows from day to day.

"Comrades, laboring masses of the world! The cry for bread, the struggle for bare existence is being drowned in the cry for production, for working capacity, for labor! Support our reconstruction! Assist us in providing bread! Your means are small compared with those of world capital. Yet you have something which capital lacks, your class-consciousness, your solidarity for productive assistance, if you, the working class, will undertake to assist Russia in its reconstruction....

Only the Working Class Can Achieve This Gigantic Task

"With the food that you have collected, we are commencing to organize and enliven the work in the famine-stricken districts. Home industry is being reorganized, collective farms are being formed, in factories the workers of which have fled or died of starvation, work is being started again. The farms are being prepared for work in the spring. We are lacking not only food for those who do the work, but still more, the means of production with which bread can be produced. The working class should finish what it has set about to do. We are now creating centers of pro-

duction and in the midst of a tired and exhausted population are establishing nuclei of production which will be the centers of fresh initiative and relief for the starving workers and peasants of the famine-stricken districts. *The working class alone can assist us in this work. Otherwise the capitalists will coin the famine into profits and turn it into a new weapon against the working class.*

"Workingmen and working women throughout the world! Do not forget that your future will be decided on the front of the famine in Russia! *We need tools, material and tractors for industrial and agricultural enterprises, the reconstruction of which we have undertaken. Send us above all means of transport one-ton motor trucks. We are also in need of fodder for the horses and grain and vegetable seed for the spring sowing. But not this alone. We are also in need of your labor power. Send us specialists, industrial and agricultural organizers! Fit out groups of workers with tools and food and send them to our assistance. A labor army of the International Workers' Relief Committee is being organized.*

The Workers Have a Gigantic Task to Perform

"Delegate groups of workers from your midst to form a living and active bond of solidarity based upon you, upon the workers in their shops, upon the workers in their industrial centers, and lastly upon the workers of the entire country. It is a gigantic task that the working class has to accomplish. Yet you will be strengthened by fulfilling it. It will inspire you with class-consciousness. *You are now confronted with a new practical task of the united labor front on an international scale. It will inevitably weld the working-class together.*

No Time Dare Be Lost

"There is no time to be lost. In spring the problem will be decided. Shall we then be able to work? Will the masses of workers and peasants in the famine-stricken districts then be able to work? It depends upon your assistance.

"Do not lose your heads! More courage and more confidence in Soviet Russia! And that just because the struggle is so hard! Despite everything!"

Relief Contributions, April 16-30

The following is a complete list of contributions received at the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., during the second half of April. Is your contribution listed here? With each name on the list appears the serial number on the official National Office receipt issued to the contributor. For explanation of the abbreviations F. S. R., S. T. A. S. R., RC, see the note at the head of the Contribution List in the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
7571	Ed. Lattson, RC, Port Hancy, B. C.	72.50	7626	Katherine S. Smith, Rochester, N. Y.	10.00	7687	Dr. S. Schiro, Fresno, Cal.	5.00
7572	S. S. Local, Herman, Mich.	35.00	7627	J. E. Lemmon, Pittsburg, Pa.	10.00	7688	Caroline McGann, Harve, Mont.	5.00
7573	Leonard Auberger, RC, East Liverpool, Ohio	26.50	7628	A. Sinitzky, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	7689	F. J. Abbot, Fall River Mills, Cal.	5.00
7574	Society of Russian Jewish Women, Madison, Wis.	14.00	7629	Pollo & Zorai, Clinton, Ind.	10.00	7690	Luella Twining, Berkeley, Cal.	5.00
7575	Nick Winther, RC, Tacoma, Wash.	14.75	7630	Joseph Rogers, San Diego, Cal.	10.00	7691	E. C. Ross, Oxford, Ohio	5.00
7576	M. Soltyz, Coll. Fulton, N.Y.	1.00	7631	Johanne Rac, Great Falls, Mont.	10.00	7692	L. S. Olsen, RC, Plennywood, Mont.	5.00
7577	C. Butler, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00	7632	Elizabeth M. Tompkin, Bklyn.	10.00	7693	Joe Gomborg, Orient, Ill.	5.00
7578	Peter C. Permie, Jr., San Diego, Cal.	1.00	7633	Dr. O. T. Steber, St. Louis, Mo.	10.00	7694	Tanner Tillery, Baudry, Ark.	5.00
7579	Frank Tatus, San Diego, Cal.	3.00	7634	Machinists Local, Williamsport, Pa.	9.00	7695	Max E. Manig, Oakland, Cal.	5.00
7580	Fred Fickas, RC, San Diego, Cal.	2.00	7635	E. Strautin, RC, Butte, Mont.	7.00	7696	F. T. Dell, RC, Joplin, Mont.	4.00
7581	Chas. N. Stark, San Diego, Cal.	1.00	7636	L. J. Pelan, Salt Lake City, Utah	7.00	7697	A. L. Cremasco, RC, Mow Lake, Cal.	4.00
7582	Rosaj Barney, San Diego, Cal.	1.00	7637	C. Dreuth, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	7.00	7698	E. O. Myers & Self, RC, Cumberland, Wis.	2.00
7583	A. Maher, Vancouver, B. C.	1.00	7638	J. P. Haven, RC, Cosmolia, Cal.	6.00	7699	Sam Kasper, Duluth, Minn.	1.00
7584	C. R. Palmer, RC, Homfray Channel, BC, Canada.	1.00	7639	Valeria Melitz, So. Holland, Ill.	5.00	7700	M. Borduk, Cliffside, N. J.	1.00
7585	D.H. Nickon, RC, Vancouver, BC, Can.	1.00	7640	T. Aspe, Portland, Ore.	5.00	7701	Rev. L. J. Anderson, Boston, Mass.	101.25
7586	W.C. Palmer, RC, Vancouver, BC, Can.	5.00	7641	F. H. Schoolcraft, Kansas City, Mo.	5.00	7702	Geo. P. Devickis, RC, Hartshorne, Okla.	75.35
7587	E. Palmer, RC, Vancouver, BC, Canada	1.00	7642	Grace B. Mariana, Trinidad, Col.	6.00	7703	C.H. Tabor, RC, Kingman, Ariz.	36.25
7588	J. Meehan, Vancouver, BC, Can.	1.00	7643	Mrs. M. Mansfield, Trinidad, Col.	5.00	7704	P. Becken, RC, Erskine, Minn.	35.50
7589	Roland Johnston, Vancouver, BC, Can.	3.00	7644	Hungarian Section, Workers' P., N. Y. C.	400.00	7705	O. E. Lindroos, RC, Reliance, Wyo.	29.94
7590	C. Slevierwright, RC, Vancouver, Can.	2.00	7645	David Smulyan, Hazelton, Pa.	5.00	7706	Lawrence Brinker, Omaha, Neb.	12.50
7591	Myles Nugent, Vancouver, BC, Can.	2.00	7646	Abe Bronstein, N. Y. C.	6.25	7707	F. W. Koenig, Omaha, Neb.	5.00
7592	Chas. Ebelmesser, Ridgefield, Wash.	1.00	7647	Waina Helin, RC, Finland, Ont., Can.	10.56	7708	H. W. Taylor, Omaha, Neb.	1.00
7593	L. G. Taylor, Vancouver, BC, Canada	5.00	7648	Wm. F. Fleming, Vancouver, B. C., Can.	.96	7709	S. Morgulla, Omaha, Neb.	5.00
7594	J. Sharper, Vancouver, BC, Can.	2.00	7649	Mrs. J. V. Marit, Coll. Fife Lake, Saak, Can.	6.97	7710	C. R. Weaver, RC, Miles City, Mont.	17.50
7595	C. E. Wakefield, Vancouver, BC, Canada	10.00	7650	Myrom Kostanulic, RC, Ont., Can.	54.80	7711	S. N. McGee, RC, Pasco, Wash.	16.77
7596	J. Pollock, Vancouver, BC, Can.	2.00	7651	Elizabeth Donovan, No. Brookfield, Mass.	5.00	7712	Sol. Haliezar, Tampa, Fla.	12.65
7597	E. Roberts, Vancouver, BC, Can.	1.00	7652	G. Peterson, San Leandro, Cal.	5.00	7713	Mrs. C. A. Doyle, RC, Poulabo, Wash.	11.50
7598	Jermia Arkko, Coll. Markham, Minn.	21.45	7653	James Lynch, Tacoma, Wash.	5.00	7714	Jack Lopata, RC, Fall River, Mass.	9.50
7599	N.S.S. Oasto, Nashauk, Minn.	125.90	7654	Mrs. Ed. Rholde, Lemon Grove, Cal.	5.00	7715	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.	
7600	Scandinavian, S. P. Local, Two Harbors, Minn.	117.57	7655	Sven Moe, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00	7716	H. T. Ahrens, RC, Mondovi, Wash.	8.00
7601	Finnish Workers Assn., South Hibbing, Minn.	77.45	7656	Charles A. Neilson, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00	7717	J. F. Forney, RC, Mondovi, Wash.	1.00
7602	K. Lansonca, RC, Raymond, Wash.	28.65	7657	A. B. Greene, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00	7718	J. Alexander, RC, Mondovi, Wash.	1.50
7603	H. Niemela, Port Moody, BC, Canada	27.75	7658	F. Maxwell, Houston, Tex.	3.00	7719	Alex Fargen, RC, Bklyn, N.Y.	7.50
7604	Max Grossman, RC, San Jose, Cal.	21.25	7659	Chas. Huemuke, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00	7720	Gustave Theimer, RC, Elizabeth, N. J.	5.75
7605	Arda Nordlund, RC, Evanston, Ill.	19.50	7660	A. Lousenberg, Sointula, BC, Can.	2.00	7721	C. W. Wallace, Jenner, Cal.	2.50
7606	Hjalmar Houkanen, RC, B'klyn Strickland Grove Church of Christ, Georgetown, Tex.	16.50	7661	F. L. Walte, Marathon, Ia.	2.00	7722	A. Michnowatzki, Okron, Ohio	50.00
7607	A. Ferry, RC, Chicago, Ill.	4.20	7662	Robert Danner, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	7723	Sergy Neaterenko, RC, Cambridge, Ohio	49.27
7608	Albert Erickson, Puyallup, Wash.	3.75	7663	Dr. A. M. Benson, Hartford, Wis.	2.00	7724	K. Marmush, RC, Bridgewater, Mass.	40.50
7609	Beatrice Diamond, Bklyn, N.Y.	3.20	7664	E. L. Sveland, Joliet, Ill.	2.00	7725	Joe Leako, RC, Dickson City, Pa.	9.75
7610	J. A. Buck, Coll. Urbana, O.	2.50	7665	Z. O. Lit, N. Y. C.	2.00	7726	Daniel Pilipietz, RC, Phila., Pa.	7.85
7611	L. Graf, RC, N. Y. C.	2.05	7666	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich.	400.00	7727	Mike Sberahenovich, RC, Pittston, Pa.	5.70
7612	C. E. Reed, Hubert, Minn.	2.00	7667	J. G. Bendrick, RC, Tacoma, Wash.	67.00	7728	Nick Mahtaler, RC, Greenfield, Mass.	4.50
7613	Louis Berger, Bklyn, N. Y.	2.00	7668	S.N. Koldjief, RC, Chilco, Ida.	37.00	7729	Mike Gripich, Trail, BC, Can.	48.00
7614	J. Aronson, N. Y. C.	1.00	7669	B. Bielostotsky, Samana, Dominican Republic	35.00	7730	Paul Bitner, Pittsburh, Pa.	20.00
7615	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	7670	A. Lieht, RC, Boston, Mass.	30.00	7731	Chas. Dobson, Berton, Man., Can.	9.65
7616	F. S. R. Br., Vancouver, BC, Can.	1,000.00	7671	Mr. & Mrs. A. W. Firnan, Paradise, Mont.	25.00	7732	J. Lupal, RC, Taber, Alta, Can.	18.00
7617	A. A. of I. S. & T. W. No. 73, Warren, Ohio	100.00	7672	S. Kirahan, RC, Butte, Mont.	25.00	7733	W. Shnakowski, RC, Easthampton, Mass.	16.00
7618	Fin. Soc. Local, RC, Ilwaco, Wash.	48.00	7673	G. T. Tefelkov, RC, Big Creek, Cal.	25.00	7734	Pete Tereska, RC, Esmond, R.I.	9.00
7619	Mrs. T. M. Negle, Wesleyville, Pa.	40.00	7674	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 198, Richmond Hill, N. Y.	18.00	7735	V. L. Torgovistaky, Bklyn, N.Y.	2.00
7620	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	35.00	7675	Geo. Brown, RC, Hayward, Cal.	16.00	7736	Ellen Hayes, Wellealev, Mass.	100.00
7621	Vasilios Saravalos, RC, Montevano, Wash.	15.00	7676	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. No. 105, Jersey City, N. J.	10.00	7737	Robert Lanier, San Francisco, Cal.	50.00
7622	Anna Bretholz, RC, N. Y. C.	12.00	7677	M. J. Kopp, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00	7738	Michael Finker, RC, Pt. Richmond, Cal.	43.00
7623	Ella & Marlan Montgomery, Butte, Mont.	10.00	7678	Adolf Fergin, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	7739	Ernest B. Fox, Santa Barbara, Cal.	25.00
7624	Sara E. Parsons, Boston, Mass.	10.00	7679	Keystone Ornamental Iron Workers, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	9.00	7740	Jacob Kotinsky, New Orleans, La.	25.00
			7680	Church of Christ at Carl, Vinson, Okla.	8.00	7741	Dr. A. J. Saylin, Los Angeles, Cal.	25.00
			7681	Napoleon Nolan, Jr., RC, Berlin, N. H.	7.00	7742	Dani Potelclnyke, RC, Detroit, Mich.	22.00
			7682	L. Tomash, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	6.00	7743	W. Paselt, RC, Lawrence, Mass.	19.00
			7683	Joseph Fragola, RC, N. Y. C.	6.00	7744	Oscar Berg, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	17.00
			7684	Anna N. Davis, Brookline, Mass.	5.00	7745	John N. Carlson, RC, Roundup, Mont.	16.00
			7685	Edwin O. Erickson, Tacoma, Wash.	5.00	7746	Mr. A. Theurer & Mrs. W. Cordes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	13.00
			7686	W. E. Laudedell, New Ontario, Can.	5.00	7747	H. Olsen, RC, Davenport, Fla.	11.00
						7748	Harry Diehl, RC, Detroit, Mich.	10.00

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
7749	John Kraunen, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	7821	J. C. F. Brumbine, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00	7884	H. G. Parker, RC, Arlee, Mont.	21.00
7750	Emma Mayer, Pompton Plains, N. J.	10.00	7822	Elsie Mathews, Ridgely, Md.	2.00	7885	J. Jacobs, Deal Beach, N. J.	20.00
7751	Origin Lecture, thru Liberator, N. Y. C.	90.69	7823	L. Boman, Ashburnham, Mass.	2.00	7886	Mr. & Mrs. C. E. Yerge, Los Angeles, Cal.	15.00
7752	Ruth Albert, Coll, N. Y. C.	13.00	7824	Abraham Perico, Bklyn, N.Y.	2.00	7887	Matth Winkler, RC, Pittsburg, Pa.	15.00
7753	Abraham Zapadinsky, Brooklyn	5.00	7825	Waldo J. Wernicke, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00	7888	L. M. Jorch, RC, Coello, Ill.	15.00
7754	Oscar Wikfors, RC, N. Y. C.	5.50	7826	Mrs. & Jessie James, Nelson, N. Y.	2.00	7889	M. Bokan, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	12.00
7755	Kenneth B. McIntosh, Hoquiam, Wash.	20.00	7827	E. D. Ellis, Hugo, Okla.	2.00	7890	F. M. Wampler, RC, Worthington, Ind.	11.00
7756	Geo. E. McIntosh, Hoquiam, Wash.	1.00	7828	W. Schwed, List, Ashley, Pa.	59.50	7891	Fishermans Unit, OBU, Petersburg, Alaska	10.00
7757	Fred Davey, RC, Toledo, O.	5.50	7829	Industrialistin Kannatusengas, Hoquiam, Wash.	62.30	7892	A. F. Renile, Baltimore, Md.	10.00
7758	H. W. Yiegling, RC, Toledo, O.	5.00	7830	F. S. R. Branch, Warren, O.	21.07	7893	W. M. Lathrop, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
7759	George Gagnon, RC, Fall River, Mass.	5.00	7831	Vaino Ohonius, RC, N. Y. C.	19.00	7894	Roy Frey & Ethan Alger, Lorain, Ohio	10.00
7760	A Friend, Mont.	5.00	7832	John H. Oltmann, Berkeley, Cal.	25.00	7895	John F. Dore, Seattle, Wash.	10.00
7761	K. F. Pinnell, Harvard, Ida.	5.00	7833	J. E. Carlson, RC, Issaquah, Wash.	22.50	7896	R. Berson, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00
7762	Carl Wikse, Dayton, Ohio.	2.00	7834	C. N. Nylund, Oakville, Wash.	19.25	7897	G. H. Schelling, Wilkenburg Pa.	8.00
7763	M. A. Barlow, RC, Bandana, Ky.	2.00	7835	F. S. R. Hungarian Section, N. Y. C.	450.00	7898	Philip Bartell, List, Cleveland, Ohio	6.00
7764	L. Nemeth, RC, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00	7836	H. L. Rokey, Whitefish, Mont.	17.50	7899	Theresa Johnson Wolf, N. Y. C.	5.00
7765	Gustav Shuls, RC, Napa, Cal.	2.00	7837	O. Kubarich, List, Cleveland, Ohio	14.70	7900	Albert Fuchs, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
7766	Franklin Voanegut, RC, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.00	7838	W. S. MacDonald, RC, Hanover, Conn.	14.25	7901	David Janew, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
7767	Amos W. Leucka, St. Johnsville, N. Y.	2.00	7839	V. Karapetoff, Ithaca, N. Y.	7.50	7902	J. S. Bedier, Republic, Wash.	5.00
7768	Fred. Dubas, RC, Baltimore, Md.	2.00	7840	Joe Cordelino, Richmond, Va.	5.50	7903	Geneve Lichtenwalter, Kansas City, Mo.	5.00
7769	Geo. M. Albury, RC, Billings, Mont.	1.00	7841	John Houlihan, RC, Fairdale, N. D.	5.50	7904	J. Lawrie, Casper, Wyo.	5.00
7770	L. B. Deano, Billings, Mont.	1.00	7842	Fulton Press Employees, N.Y.C.	4.05	905	A. J. Simmons, Tucson, Ariz.	5.00
7771	B. of R. T. Lodge 931, RC, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	7843	E. Kamsol, Lorain, Ohio.	2.00	7906	C. Filzu, RC, Niagara, N. Y.	.50
7772	Mollie Greenberg, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	7844	A. W. Cnigger, Lorain, Ohio	1.25	7907	Flemens Babit, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7773	T. E. Sexton, RC, Grand Rapids, Mich.	1.00	845	J. Heslar, RC, N. Y. C.	2.50	7908	Jan Peter, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7774	Ernest Megerlia, RC, Brooklyn	1.00	7846	S. Romanchuk, Endicott, N. Y.	350.00	7909	Kard Yarsal, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7775	Bernard Esche, RC, Cincinnati, Ohio	1.00	7847	Cancelled, issued by mistake.		7910	Hugh Kaman, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7776	Marion Megerlia, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00	7848	Ivan Pyslauf, RC, Plymouth, N. C.	48.00	7911	J. Konsidine, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7777	Axel Johnson, RC, Pine River, Minn.	1.00	7849	Paul Serduchenko, RC, Hamtramck, Mich.	31.00	7912	P. Kelley, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7778	Eather Meinsterman, RC, Elizabeth, N. J.	1.00	7850	Willie Moltianinoff, RC, San Pedro, Cal.	28.00	7913	J. Staudy, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7779	Jacob Pater, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	7851	Tony Pestun, RC, Vivian, W. Va.	19.00	7914	Stef Nowak, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7780	Morris Silver, RC, N. Y. C.	20.00	7852	Rev. A. A. Bogustavsky, Denver, Col.	15.00	7915	Chas. M. Danby, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7781	Louis Chaskin, RC, N. Y. C.	13.00	7853	A. Nickolichuk, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00	7916	P. C. Morgan, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.25
7782	Liedertafel Egalite, N. Y. C.	5.00	7854	Frank Rozansky, RC, Sharno, Pa.	10.00	917	A. Mann, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7783	T. W. Hedberg, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	15.00	7855	John Chlinsky, RC, Mollenaur, Pa.	8.00	7918	J. Sexton, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7784	David Slowak, RC, N. Y. C.	2.10	7856	A. Baranowky, RC, Susquehanna, Pa.	5.00	7919	Robat Cllam Bal, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7785	Miss E. Wirthwein, Columbus, Ohio	1.00	7857	M. Boychuk, Shermokin, Pa.	3.00	7920	Frod Desak, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7786	Emery Gray, Elyria, Ohio.	1.00	858	Russian Colony, RC, Edmonton, Alta, Can.	384.78	7921	Frank J. Boger, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7787	E. Muller, Aabury Park, N. J.	1.00	7859	F. S. R. Branch, RC, East Chicago, Ind.	111.58	7922	Meckel Paltorak, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	3.00
7788	Jos. Pestal, RC, Lamar, Col.	1.00	7860	F. S. R. Br., East Chicago, Ind.	78.64	7923	Kazmer Disyk, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7789	I. Hansen, Hugesnot Park, N.Y.	1.00	7861	F. S. R. Branch, East Chicago, Ind.	18.00	7924	Yosf Kars, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7790	George Kellner, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	7862	A. Katelnikoff, RC, Yorkton, Sask, Can.	32.80	7925	Warren Dfack, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7791	F. H. Pace, RC, McGraw, N. Y.	1.00	7863	John Kiselosky, RC, Springfield, Ill.	85.04	7926	Bart Donio, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1.00
7792	John C. Hess, RC, Buffalo, N.Y.	1.00	7864	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Plains, Pa.	31.50	7927	Martin Walascek, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
7793	Sam Welse, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	1.00	7865	Union of Russian Immigrants, RC, Seattle, Wash.	29.55	7928	Peter Fita, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	5.50
7794	N. Kripulevich, RC, Dickson City, Pa.	9.25	7866	A. Vergun, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	15.05	7929	Kalenyk Patrishan, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	3.00
7795	Max Pidnow, RC, Coney Island, N. Y.	11.00	7867	S. Muslenko, RC, Transcona, Can.	13.75	7930	Baan Gatowko, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	5.00
7796	Lazo & Marica Gjaich, Midland, Pa.	10.00	7868	Russian Br., W. P., RC, San Francisco, Cal.	13.50	7931	Fred Amsin, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	6.00
7797	Rachel & Adam Gette, Bentleyville, Pa.	10.00	7869	S. Babij, RC, Waterloo, Ont., Can.	13.25	7932	Terenty Stalar, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	5.00
7798	Benj. Smith, RC, Charlotte, N. C.	10.00	7870	M. Michailovsky, RC, South River, N. J.	7.75	7933	Sam Teshuk, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	5.00
7799	Roll Call, Hallettsville, Tex.	7.00	7871	John Croocks, RC, Wyano, Pa.	2.75	7934	Henry Tuzanski, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.25
7800	Max Shrover, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00	7872	U. M. W. of A. Carbondale Local, Cdll, Coleman, Alta, Can.	134.65	7935	Emil Zinkievich, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	2.00
7801	F. W. Godfring, Buffalo, N. Y.	5.00	7873	Wm. A. Evalenko, RC, N.Y.C.	60.50	936	E. W. Brown, DC, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
7802	Samuel Joffe, MD, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	7874	A. V. Omelka, RC, Oakland, Cal.	46.75	7937	C. J. B., RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
7803	H. B. Windeman, Forsyth, Mont.	5.00	7875	F. Susajnen, RC, W. Concord, N. H.	39.25	7938	Wm. Pigott, RC, Mono, Cal.	2.00
7804	R. F. Miron, Elkhart, Tex.	5.00	7876	F. S. R. Branch, Duluth, Minn.	1,182.00	7939	Phoebe Peterson, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
7805	W. J. Basl, San Rafael, Cal.	5.00	7877	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	7940	Myron C. Shagle, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
7806	Henry Stolz, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00	7878	B. of P. D. of A. No. 261, N. Y. C.	500.00			
7807	Marion Rosenhaus, Lynbrook, N. Y.	5.00	7879	F. S. R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	200.00			
7808	P. Sodelkes, Youngstown, Ohio	5.00	7880	F. S. R. Branch, Quincy, Mass.	197.00			
7809	R. Barker, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	7881	F. S. R. Branch, San Diego, Cal.	100.00			
7810	Michael Pruzansky, Brooklyn	5.00	7882	F. S. R. Branch, Everett, Wash.	27.00			
7811	H. Lowenstein, Phoenix, Ariz.	5.00	7883	F. Roehko, RC, Bellevue, Can.	26.00			
7812	Mrs. Anna Baer, York, Neb.	5.00						
7813	Olea Baer, York, Neb.	5.00						
7814	Amelia Meyer, Tunjunga, Cal.	3.00						
7815	Jean G. Pohl, Tunjunga, Cal.	2.00						
7816	John Kolpert, Bellingham, Wash.	3.00						
7817	Wm. L. Philips, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00						
7818	Samuel Kaufman, Bklyn, N. Y.	2.00						
7819	Gertrude Schneider, Bklyn	2.00						
7820	Jos. Milasse, Detroit, Mich.	2.00						

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
7941	Mets A. Kjellerup, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00	7996	Theodora Spongel, RC, Cincinnati, Ohio	12.00	8068	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 134, Toledo, Ohio	50.00
7942	S. Murray, Oakland, Cal.	5.00	7997	August Heino, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	11.00	8069	Joseph Muell, RC, Allentown, Pa.	28.75
7943	Daniel Job, Coahen, Utah	5.00	7998	Walter H. Edwards, Clinton, Mont.	10.00	8070	J. S. Chrystall, RC, Vancouver, B. C.	27.50
7944	Richard Hofman, N. Y. C.	5.00	7999	Bertha Gunterman, N. Y. C.	10.00	8071	I. L. Quarterman, Chicago, Ill.	17.35
7945	M. M. Vickrey & Kit Vickrey, Joplin, Mo.	4.00	8000	Chas. H. Cochran, N. Y. C.	10.00	8072	John Jonke, RC, Oakland, Cal.	20.75
7946	Mrs. H. E. Wright, Coll., So. Bellingham, Wash.	4.00	8001	J. Jacobs, Deal Beach, N. J. 2 gold wedding rings		8073	Gust Bequet, Stonington, Ill.	17.35
7947	John Klownick Jr., RC, Wnamac, Ind.	4.00	8002	J. Courvitch, RC, Mount Clemens, Mich.	10.00	8074	Fred J. Murray, RC, Seattle, Wash.	10.50
7948	Victor Lomoff, RC, N. Y. C.	3.00	8003	Richard Schraml, N. Y. C.	5.00	8075	L. H. deLude, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.60
7949	Harriet P. Morse, Los Angeles, Cal.	3.00	8004	L. B. Hitrick, RC, Elwood, Ind.	5.00	8076	A. Lapidis, Hudson Falls, N.Y.	5.00
7950	Tillie Berger, Brooklyn, N.Y.	2.00	8005	Otto Ehlers, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00	8077	Acme Pump & Electrical Co., RC, Shafter, Cal.	5.50
7951	Arthur L. Macomber, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	8006	P. Bauer, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	3.00	8078	O. Rucktaschel, RC, Cincinnati, Ohio	3.50
7952	A. Brandt, Seattle, Wash.	2.00	8007	Anna Johansson, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	8079	F. S. R. Branch, Denver, Col.	250.00
7953	John Scarborough, Gardena, Cal.	2.00	8008	C. F. Johnson, RC, Rockford, Ill.	2.00	8080	F.S.R. Branch, Rochester, N.Y.	125.00
7954	Mary Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00	8009	E. L. Martin, RC, Muskegon, Mich.	2.00	8081	Ella C. McIntyre, Los Angeles, Cal.	50.00
7955	W. J. Barnes, Smyrna, Del.	2.00	8010	Pauline Horowitz, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	8082	Finnish People of Bessemer, Pa.	45.00
7956	Kathleen Dighton, N. Y.	1.00	8011	Gordon T. McGregor, RC, Crawford Bay, Can.	1.00	8083	T. Robley, RC, Cadogan, Alta, Canada	24.00
7957	Varoline Laube, Omaha, Neb.	1.00	8012	Anonymous, New Orleans, La.	1.00	8084	W. N. Patterson, RC, Zanesville, Ohio	24.00
7958	Frank Schlenker, Buckeye, Wash.	1.00	8013	H. M. Kohr, RC, Uhrichville, Ohio	1.00	8085	Jo. Vuytech, RC, Cleveland, O.	21.00
7959	Mrs. Geo. Meek, Lima, Ohio	1.00	8014	J. Meyer, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	8086	F. Thackaray, RC, Victoria, BC,	20.00
7960	Albert Kahlanberg, Crosby, Wyo.	1.00	8015	Anna Timper, N. Y. C.	1.00	8087	D.A. MacInnes, Cambridge, Mass.	20.00
7961	J. Oswald, RC, N. Y. C.	26.50	8016	Miss Theresa Fox, RC, N. Y. C.	20.75	8088	Mike Colton, RC, Moonongah, W. Va.	17.00
7962	Walter Paananen, W. Concord, N. H.	25.85	8017	Mrs. W. Stevenett, Port Alberni, BC, Canada	.50	8089	P. F. Vagenas, RC, Vancouver, B. C.	16.00
7963	M. R. Nowak, RC, Creighton, Pa. (the following contributed:) J. Bohal 50c, Mrs. Pastuha 50c, A. Sobotka 25c, Martin Carlo 25c, S. Patjako 25c, M. Zuras 25c, Stanis Janowski 25c, John Juras 25c, Kazimies Skotozki \$2, J. Morgall, \$2, Cash \$1, Antony Dick \$1, R. K. Norman \$1, Nichols & Nolf 50c, Morris Cohen \$1, W. H. Wilson 25c, F. Graczyk \$2, W. Z. Zajdel \$1, L. S. F. \$1, W. Majewski \$1, George Pohan \$1, B. Holiday, Jr. \$1, J. Gradowski \$1, G. Collins \$1, S. Bonecki \$1, F. S. Federkiewics 50c, F. Sobotka 50c, J. Klabnik 50c, B. Stpowaki 50c, Wasil Pohan 50c, J. Dolinie 50c, M. Holzway 50c.	24.75	8018	H. Malensky, RC, Chelsea, Mass.	20.00	8090	Rihti Subscribers of Bloomville, Wis., Boston, Mass.	15.00
7964	S. S. Osasto, RC, Brantwood, Wis.	19.38	8019	Victor Belokor, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00	8091	Henry Huelsdonk, RC, Spruce, Wash.	13.00
7965	Frank Herp, RC, N. Y. C.	14.50	8020	Tony Towkaniuk, Worcester, Mass.	1.00	8092	Ed. Tila, RC, Kalamazoo, Mich.	12.00
7966	S. S. Osasto, RC, Brantwood, Wis.	12.73	8021	H. Rappaport, N. Y. C.	1.00	8093	Edward Bose, Rutherford, N. J.	10.00
7967	Phillip Adelson, RC, N. Y. C.	12.50	8022	Jack Edelglass, RC, N. Y. C.	10.75	8094	Arthur S. Gibbs, Scranton, Pa.	10.00
7968	Samuel Gench, RC, N. Y. C.	11.50	8023	A. Farber, RC, N. Y. C.	6.00	8095	Margerie D. Roberts, Detroit, Mich.	10.00
7969	M. F. Goldweber, RC, Brooklyn	9.50	8024	E. Anderson, RC, N. Y. C.	12.00	8096	Stanley Sem, RC, Acme, Wyo.	7.00
7970	Harry Williamson, RC, Muncie, Ind.	8.10	8025	Mrs. Rosie Loyer, RC, Bklyn.	10.00	8097	Ralph Lowe, List, East Liverpool, Ohio	6.00
7971	Mrs. S. Berg, RC, Brooklyn	7.50	8026	G. Huth, RC, Cleveland, Ohio	9.00	8098	Lillian & Ralph Bullard, Pueblo, Col.	6.00
7972	W. Couradi, RC, New Bremen, Ohio	6.50	8027	John Hogarth, RC, Buffalo, N.Y.	6.00	8099	Samuel S. Kats, Perth Amboy, N. J.	6.00
7973	Henry Behrens, RC, Seattle, Wash.	5.50	8028	Mike Kolor, RC, Kenvir, Ky.	1.00	100	C. I. A. to the B. of L. E. No. 363, Spencer, N. C.	5.00
7974	Oscar Swenson, RC, Brooklyn	3.75	8029	Katherine Flaher, RC, Denver, Col.	1.00	8101	Geo. Bostel, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
7975	Karen Anderson, Powell River, Canada	1.00	8030	John P. Tachilda, RC, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00	8102	Adolf Zappe, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
7976	W. A. Squires, RC, Vancouver, BC, Can.	2.25	8031	A. V. Ballin, RC, Arverne, L.I.	1.00	8103	Mrs. E.C. James, Everett, Wash.	5.00
7977	Guasie Notowitz, N. Y. C.	2.10	8032	Louis Lagomarsino, RC, Santa Rosa, Cal.	11.20	8104	Richard Hofman, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00
7978	U. M. W. of A. No. 916, Hiteman, Ia.	7.63	8033	Kalle Lahtinen, RC, Kiva, Mich.	10.25	8105	Marten Kelch, Modesto, Cal.	5.00
7979	A. J. Wilson, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	6.50	8034	Julia Harrington, RC, Oakland, Cal.	5.00	8106	Paul Chamberlain, Yankton, S. D.	4.00
7980	L. H. deLude, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.50	8035	E. P. Tierney, RC, Huntington, W. Va.	1.00	8107	W. Mikulka, RC, Titusville, Pa.	4.00
7981	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	8036	A. Wildzius, RC, N. Y. C.	19.00	8108	B. Matusis, Philadelphia, Pa.	3.00
7982	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich.	400.00	8037	John Galgoes, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00	8109	Mr. Fullerbar, Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
7983	F. S. R. Branch, Superior, Wis.	100.00	8038	Alexander Dostun, RC, N. Y. C.	19.00	8110	L. I. Drake, Boston, Mass.	2.00
7984	A. Sulhkonen, Maynard, Mass.	159.00	8039	Michael Raawik, Lists, N. Y. C.	7.00	8111	Wm. F. Little, RC, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00
7985	F. S. R. Branch, Duluth, Minn.	102.80	8040	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	5.00	8112	Finnish Socialist Local, Arhyde, Minn.	2.00
7986	Sam Young, RC, Ont., Canada	24.00	8041	Ludwig Riell, RC, N. Y. C.	6.00	8113	Frank G. Bemis, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
7987	F. S. R. Branch, Wilmington, Del.	24.00	8042	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 40, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	8114	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	1,061.40
7988	Edward Hodons, Lewiston, Ida.	20.00	8043	Arvid Wenilla, RC, Brule, Wis.	10.00	8115	Math Klinger, RC, Staunton, Ill.	2.00
7989	Fred L. Owen, Lewiston, Ida.	2.00	8044	Alex Simpson, Jersey City, N.J.	10.00	8116	John A. Johnson, Colgan, N.D.	1.00
7990	P. Vidusich & J. Debnich, RC, Detroit, Mich.	20.75	8045	Alga & Emma Hogland, Orofino, Ida.	8.00	8117	L. A. O. Knoph, Colgan, N.D.	1.00
7991	W. A. Beardsley, RC, Minot, N. Dak.	16.00	8046	Quick Sales Co., RC, Springfield, Ohio	7.00	8118	Harriet Brackett, Boston, Mass.	1.00
7992	A. Petrin, Preston, Wash.	15.00	8047	M. L. Hawarth, RC, San Jose, Cal.	6.00	8119	S. Rungis, Edgewater, N. J.	1.00
7993	M. Tucker, Newton, Mass.	15.00	8048	John Kurall, RC, Panama, Ill.	5.00	8120	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	1.00
7994	Louis Miller, RC, Blanford, Ind.	13.00	8049	Paloni S. S. Jagas, RC, Aurora, Minn.	5.00	8121	Harry Stone, N. Y. C.	1.00
7995	N. Onasuk, RC, Ont., Canada	13.00	8050	Jos. Nucklas, RC, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	5.00	8122	Annie Bruce Car Sterrett, Mansfield, La.	25.00
			8051	M. A. Kuebeler, Toledo, Ohio	5.00	8123	F. S. R. Branch, Lists, Canton, Ohio	165.33
			8052	Nathan Rosen, Medford, Mass.	5.00	8124	United Finnish Brothers and Sisters, Astoria, Ore.	118.43
			8053	Jos. Fisher, Medford, Mass.	5.00	8125	E. J. Sinisalo, Fitchberg, Mass.	100.23
			8054	Anna Rosen, Medford, Mass.	5.00	8126	Louis Lasky, RC, Ziegler, Ill.	59.75
			8055	K. Bezemer, RC, Willapa, Wash.	4.00	8127	Glos Robotniczy, RC, Detroit, Mich.	199.60
			8056	Mrs. L. H. Rupel, Portland, Ore.	3.00	8128	L. Babin, RC, Tacoma, Wash.	25.50
			8057	J. Kramer, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00	8129	Finnish Br., W. P., Fort Chester, N. Y.	17.50
			8058	A. C. Roegner, Troy, Mich.	2.00	8130	Steve Chernon, RC, Browning Mont.	7.30
			8059	C. M. Gebelein, Webster Grove, Mo.	2.00	8131	M. Schmidt, RC, N. Y. C.	20.00
			8060	Abe Anderson, Tony, Wis.	1.00	8132	Sam Falberg, RC, Lists, N.Y.C.	30.00
			8061	O. J. Hanlon, New Orleans, La.	1.00	8133	Flowing Wells Sunday School, Tucson, Ariz.	13.00
			8062	Max Heinick, Youngstown, O.	1.00	8134	L. S. Lowe, Tucson, Ariz.	2.50
			8063	Nick Stasiuk, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	8135	Ruth Bluhm, Baltimore, Md.	5.73
			8064	F. S. R. Br., RC, Cleveland, O.	372.34	8136	Charles Teastore, RC, Bklyn.	5.30
			8065	Women's Div., F. S. R., Elizabeth, N. J.	48.76			
			8066	Mt. Solo Fin. Club, Mt. Solo, Wash.	42.30			
			8067	Fin. Soc. Local, Sault Ste Marie, Mich.	27.00			

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8137	Sol. Morris, RC, Kansas City, Mo.	4.30	8196	F. S. R. Branch, Central Falls, R. I.	31.60	8262	Theo. Green, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	.50
8138	F. M. Betzner, Alturas, Cal.	3.72	8197	W. Owensnikow, Akron, Ohio	21.51	8263	Nat Russ, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8139	Mrs. B. Winter, Berkeley, Cal.	2.50	8198	S. Dzubryk, Roebling, N. J. RC	20.25	8264	T. McLaughlin, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8140	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kans.	2,004.44	8199	N. Rusin, RC, Crum Lynne, Pa.	19.60	8265	Edmund Penser, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	.50
8141	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	8200	K. Kurlichik, RC, Cedar Rapids, Ia.	19.50	8266	Friend, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	.50
8142	Axel Nelson, RC, Discovery, BC, Canada.	50.00	8201	Trofin Chereahkin, RC, Iron Mountain, Mich.	18.75	8267	Morris Callus, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00
8143	M.E. Carberry, RC, Castle Rock, Wash.	34.00	8202	Alik Zarik, RC, Jessup, Pa.	14.16	8268	A. Valenza, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	.50
8144	Rudolph Strom, R. C., Battle Lake, Minn.	29.00	8203	W. Bondarik, RC, South River, N. J.	12.90	8269	A. Loxinsky, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8145	Archie Land, RC, Cleveland Heights, O.	29.00	8204	J. W. Soroka, RC, Warrington, Pa.	10.45	8270	Abr. Casper, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8146	Finnish Athletic Club, Hanna, Wyo.	15.00	8205	Stefen Cuniak, RC, Boonville, N. Y.	17.00	8271	W. C. Bartsch, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8147	Maiko Zrojcevic, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	14.00	8206	Froma Lajdich, RC, Lyndora, Pa.	9.00	8272	Chas. Drachkar, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8148	C. Carlson, RC, Belvedere, Cal.	10.00	8207	Wasyl Kapitan, RC, Fall River, Mass.	6.00	8273	Calman Kaufman, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8149	Aug. Wuerslin, RC, Youtville, Cal.	10.00	8208	Theo. Hamilton, Indianola, Ia.	200.00	8274	V.E. Walker, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8150	James Pepper, RC, Beaufield, Can.	10.00	8209	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	300.00	8275	J. G. Carleton, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
8151	F. G. Takirt, RC, Skidgate, BC, Canada	9.00	8210	Lettish Workers Educ. Soc., Chicago, Ill.	150.00	8276	John Poldorp, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	1.50
8152	Augusta Moreland, RC, Beverley, Can.	8.00	8211	A. W. Sarrmann, RC, W. Burlington, Ia.	100.00	8277	I. Czeisel, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	.50
8153	R. Gonzalez Soto, RC, Menlo Park, Cal.	8.00	8212	Mrs. J. B. McMahon, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	60.00	8278	Marvin G. Tatum, Fayetteville, W. Va.	1.00
8154	Hagen Johnson, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	6.00	8213	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	51.00	8279	Joe T. Tatum, Fayetteville W. Va.	1.00
8155	J. H. Marsh, RC, Bridgeport, Neb.	6.00	8214	J. A. Enstrom, RC, Butte, Mont.	28.00	8280	Andy Yeck, Bowlin, W. Va.	1.00
8156	T. H. Payne, Missoula, Mont.	5.00	8215	Dr. Walter E. Weis, Detroit, Mich.	25.00	8281	Geo. Gill, Bowlin, W. Va.	1.00
8157	H. Courtin, Scotia, Cal.	5.00	8216	Joe Boculak, RC, Rome, N. Y.	23.00	8282	Basil Linkaweller, Bowlin, W. Va.	1.00
8158	N. O. Rabhen, Butte, Mont.	5.00	8217	Joe Saile, RC, Tuolumme, Cal.	25.00	8283	Geo. Amick, Bowlin, W. Va.	1.00
8159	C. C. Cunningham, Crawfordsville, Ind.	5.00	8218	C. M. Geiger, Hepler, Kans.	20.00	8284	Arthur C. Anderson, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
8160	Bessie Ofner, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00	8219	A.H. Hermanson, Tacoma, Wash.	20.00	8285	August Gamble, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	2.00
8161	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.		8220	Lithuanian Sons & Daughters Aid Soc., Grand Rapids, Mich.	20.00	8286	Solito Argula, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	.50
8162	Quin A. Henninger, Emanus, Pa.	2.00	8221	Ladies Aid & Educ. Club, Eureka, Cal.	20.00	8287	Nettie Argula, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	.50
8163	Frieda Pickel, Allentown, Pa.	1.00	8222	John Soltysik, RC, N. Y. C.	16.00	8288	Alf. Young, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	.50
8164	A. Rugemer, Corona, L. I.	2.00	8223	K. Frigard, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	16.00	8289	Jack Wein, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	1.00
8166	Heary Anderson, Swift Current, Sask., Canada	2.00	8224	Emil Haaya, RC, Owen, Wis.	16.00	8290	John Sundby, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	.50
8166	T. T. Denton, RC, Long Beach, Cal.	2.00	8225	Ralph Capozzi, RC, N. Y. C.	14.00	8291	Simon Levy, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	1.00
8167	Louis N. Schummacher, Summerfield, Ill.	2.00	8226	Nellie Higman, Watsonville, Cal.	12.00	8292	Edw. B. Levy, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	1.00
8168	Geo. Lasfelt, Wilton, Cal.	1.00	8227	N. Ostorfchuk, RC, Detroit, Mich.	11.00	8293	Nat C. Levy, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	.50
8169	C. D. Thompson, Prather, Cal.	1.00	8228	Elma Bagge, Lund, BC, Can.	11.00	8294	Hans Hanson, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	2.00
8170	C. B. Scott, Beckley, W. Va.	1.00	8229	Wm. Markham, RC, New Bedford, Mass.	10.00	8295	Chas. Korstian, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	1.00
8171	F. S. R. Branch, Duluth, Minn.	535.22	8230	Paul H. Shepard, South Bay, Fla.	10.00	8296	A. Knutson, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	2.00
8172	F. S. R. Branch, Eveleth, Minn.	430.19	8231	John Schlomer, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	16.00	8297	L. R. Woodhouse, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	1.00
8173	F. S. R. Branch, Brainerd, Minn.	427.40	8232	George H. Rodenberg, RC, Buffalo, N. Y.	10.00	8298	W. C. Prouty, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	.50
8174	Women's Club of Fin. Workmen's Assn. Norwood, Mass.	82.40	8233	J. Sober, Youngstown, Ohio.	10.00	8299	W. W. Wells, RC, Pasadena, Cal.	.50
8175	F. S. R. Branch, Rockford, Ill.	55.14	8234	Julius Schorsch, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	8300	Karl Kura, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	10.00
8176	M. Kulpala, RC, Lake Isle, Can. The following were included in RC receipt No. 8176: John Peterson 5.00, Fred Alkne 2.50, James Lapin 5.00, Fred Cinther 5.00, U. Matseneek 5.00, Emilly Alkne 2.50, Fred Mntzeneek 5.00, Lizzie Kulpala 1.00, Fred Uplit 3.00, Geo. Sturt 5.00, M. Kulpala 5.00, Fritz Mntzeneek 2.00.	44.69	8235	N. Meridian, RC, Maspath, L.I.	10.00	8301	Povilas Slajius, Chester, Pa.	3.00
8177	A. Ottello, RC, Hoquiam, Wash.	84.50	8236	Genevieve M. Fuller, Milton, Mass.	10.00	8302	H. De Ridder, N. Y. C.	3.00
8178	F. S. R. Branch, Springfield, Ill.	192.00	8237	Herman Kats, RC, Oakland, Cal.	9.00	8303	J. Borodkin, N. Y. C.	2.00
8179	A. Rooko, RC, Virginia, Minn.	22.75	8238	A. E. Booth, RC, Barclay, Kans.	8.00	8304	F. Deifel, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	2.00
8180	Alex Goldring, RC, Brooklyn	21.50	8239	O. E. F. Smith, RC, Deer Lodge, Mont.	8.00	8305	Ernst Besselmann, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
8181	Mihailo Koprivica, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	18.50	8240	H. Andrea, RC, Puente, Cal.	6.00	8306	Yan Geth, RC, Rickwall, Ore.	1.00
8182	M. Havriahka, RC, Detroit, Mich.	13.75	8241	Wm. Schmidt, RC, Curtice, O.	6.00	8307	A. D. Burnett, RC, Roanoke, Va.	1.00
8183	Robert W. Atkinson, Brookline, Mass.	10.00	8242	Mrs. M. G. & Edna Good, Denver, Col.	6.00	8308	F. A. Fitzpatrick, RC, Roanoke, Va.	1.00
8184	E. W. Hardy, RC, Balboa, Cal.	9.25	8243	C. L. Fink, RC, DeFiance, O.	6.00	8309	Pat Kane, RC, Roanoke, Va.	1.00
8185	A. Kats, RC, Transcona, Can.	3.25	8244	Oscar Strom, RC, Vashon, Wash.	6.00	8310	A. W. Rose, RC, Bluefield, W. Va.	1.00
8186	H. A. Turner, St. Elmo, Ala.	2.50	8245	Ellen A. Freeman, Troy, N. Y.	5.00	8311	Jesse Fickas, R. C., San Diego, Cal.	1.00
8187	Simon M. Janulis, Moline, Ill.	2.50	8246	Aug. Beismann, San Luis Obispo, Cal.	5.00	8312	Geo. Fickas, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00
8188	N. Chachowa, RC, International Falls, Minn.	5.50	8247	Harry Collins, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	8313	Freddie A. Fickas, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00
8189	S. Bayko, Kent, O.	3.75	8248	E. Barraclough, Keyser, W. Va.	5.00	8314	Mrs. Angela Fickas, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00
8190	Aleck S. Darman, RC, Bamfield, BC, Canada	2.50	8249	J. Cherboy, Pt. Huron, Mich.	5.00	8315	Henry Fickas, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00
8191	F. S. R. Branch, Flint, Mich.	65.20	8250	Betty L. Blumberg, Kalamazoo, Mich.	5.00	8316	Louis Wyckaert, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00
8192	B. Devyatkin, RC, Winnipeg, Can.	45.00	8251	Antonio Terri, RC, N. Y. C.	9.25	8317	C.H. Verreth, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00
8193	Andry Podterob, RC, Melrose Park, Ill.	29.00	8252	Louis & Sarah F. Sachs, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	2.00	8318	G. Miller, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00
8194	N. Grech, RC, Montreal, Can.	20.00	8253	Nearhos Petropoulos, RC, Gary, Ind.	5.00			
8195	Alik Zarik, RC, Jessup, Pa.	18.00	8254	Joe Adams, RC, Sulphur, La.	2.00			
			8255	H. H. Thompson, RC, Haverhill, Mass.	1.00			
			8256	Granville A. Kelly, RC, Haverhill, Mass.	1.00			
			8257	Irving Jilbert, Tracy, Cal.	1.00			
			8258	D. Rothstein, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00			
			8259	O. N. Meyers, RC, Brooklyn	1.00			
			8260	Fritz Wiedman, RC, Bklyn, N.Y.	1.00			
			8261	Mrs. Chas. Jacobson, RC, Richmond Hill, N. Y.	4.00			

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
8320	Ch. Von Vlaender, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00	8380	Workers of Grand Trunk Roundhouse, Battle Creek, Mich.	3.20	8446	Mrs. Louise McClare, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00
8321	Felix De Bee, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00	8381	Alfred Landry, RC, Seattle, Wash.	5.00	8447	Emil Jetzer, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	5.00
8322	B. Van Rossem, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00	8382	B. W. Edwards, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	8448	Robert W. Justa, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00
8323	Mr. De Rycke, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00	8383	Mike Nipink, RC, Detroit, Mich.	1.00	8449	B. Dallard, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00
8324	R. Murseman, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00	8384	Tony Martysink, RC, Detroit, Mich.	1.00	8450	Richard Schraml, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00
8325	Alf. Clem. New Bedford, Mass.	1.00	8385	Peter Dennis, RC, Detroit, Mich.	1.00	8451	G. Patscheider, RC, Lynn, Mass.	1.00
8326	Frank Greca, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	5.00	8386	Anonymous, Napa, Cal.	2.00	8452	Mrs. J. Diatler, Fox Chase, Pa.	1.00
8327	F. S. R. Branch, Woonsocket, R. I.	52.97	8387	F. Davis, RC, Venice, Cal.	2.00	8453	R. Wight Danbury, Ohio	1.00
8328	Jacob Kotzofsky, Bklyn, N.Y.	2.00	8388	E. R. & W. R. Brooklyn	2.00	8454	Eather Miensterman, Elizabeth, N. J.	.25
8329	Oscar Olson, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8389	J. Altrichter, RC, Denver, Col.	2.00	8455	Louis G. Kosina, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00
8330	W. Johnson, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8390	Antony Lyscius, RC, Chester, Pa.	2.00	8456	Labor Church, SS, RC, St. James, Can.	25.00
8331	W.E.L. Edent, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8391	John Gerlicy, RC, Cleveland, Ohio	1.25	8457	J. W. Godkin, RC, St. James, Can.	10.00
8332	Chas. Rook, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8392	Henry Dubb, Escanaba, Mich.	1.00	8458	Mrs. M. Wheeler, RC, St. James, Can.	20.50
8333	Fred Brewer, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8393	H. Oeelsck, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00	8459	Frank Palmiter, Stoneboro, Pa.	.25
8334	Martin Henrickson, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8394	Anonynous, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00	8460	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.	
8335	W. O. Williams, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8395	S. Klein, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	8461	Onufry Yakushik, RC, N. Y. C.	3.00
8336	Mrs. A. Gullickson, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8396	R. L. Cambridge, Mass.	.34	8462	Gottlieb Brunner, RC, Ovando, Mont.	5.00
8337	L. G. Erickson, RC, Baring, Wash.	5.00	8397	Mrs. & Mr. Wm. B. Ridgeway, RC, Palmyra, Ill.	2.00	8463	Edw. F. Cassidy, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00
8338	O. H. Stone, RC, Baring, Wash.	5.00	8398	William F. Janke, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	2.00	8464	J. E. Carroll, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00
8339	Walter Patidge, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8399	Mr. M., Chicago, Ill.	10.00	8465	Aug. Ebert, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
8340	Geo. H. Williams, RC, Baring, Wash.	2.00	8400	Chicago Section, United Toolers of America	5.75	8466	Wm. Pohl, RC, N. Y. C.	16.00
8341	W. R. Scripture, RC, Baring, Wash.	5.00	8401	Russian Br., United Toolers of America, Chicago, Ill.	4.50	8467	Joseph Forlich, RC, Schenectady, N. Y.	15.00
8342	J. Balkwell, RC, Baring, Wash.	2.00	8402	Christopher Lang, N. Y. C.	1.00	8468	True Blue Lodge No. 944, B. of R. T., Pittsburgh, Pa.	15.00
8343	G. Maganson, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8403	John Heller, RC, N. Y. C.	8.00	8469	Jos. Kobylak, RC, Rayland, O.	15.00
8344	Al Modlin, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8404	John Gadomsky, RC, Lackawanna, N. Y.	10.00	8470	Daniel S. McCorkle, Bear Creek, Mont.	12.00
8345	John Otten, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8405	J. Andersen, RC, Chicago, Ill.	3.00	8471	Samuel Griffith, RC, Mirror, Alta, Can.	12.00
8346	Mrs. Phil Evans, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8406	G. Lorch, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	1.00	8472	George E. P. Lodge Jr., RC, Pasadena, Cal.	10.00
8347	M. Patridge, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8407	S. Colman, RC, N. Y. C.	7.75	8473	A. H. & H. P. Graham, Illinois, Ill.	10.00
8348	Arthur C. Nelson, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8408	A. Manz, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	8474	F. S. R. Branch, Rochester, Ohio	10.00
8349	Mrs. Gilbert, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8409	Anonymous, Augusta, Me.	1.00	8475	Nicholas Zhuck, Youngstown, Ohio	10.00
8350	Donation, RC, Baring, Wash.	.25	8410	H. Wheeler Chatfield, RC, Flushing, L. I.	1.00	8476	A. Rosen, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	11.00
8351	Mrs. Robert Gausley, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8411	Jugoslav Workers Org., RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	6.00	8477	Louis Simon, N. Y. C.	10.00
8352	Ammond, Hohn, RC, Shohomoe, Wash.	1.00	8412	John Smircich, List, Brooklyn	2.00	8478	B. Fine, Cleveland, Ohio	10.00
8353	Baring Bible Class, RC, Baring, Wash.	5.00	8413	Leon & Olga Hill, N. Y. C.	2.00	8479	John Monelis, RC, Sheboygan, Wis.	10.00
8354	Elmer Falkner, RC, Baring, Wash.	1.00	8414	W. Martin, RC, Corona, L. I.	3.00	8480	Carpenters Union No. 1211, Syracuse, N. Y.	10.00
8355	Mrs. James Michio, RC, Baring, Wash.	.50	8415	B. J. Porter, RC, Gloversville, N. Y.	5.00	8481	F. Grunthal, RC, Poukeepsie, N. Y.	10.00
8356	Balday Creek Shingle Co., RC, Baring, Wash.	2.00	8416	C. F. Churchill, RC, Gloversville, N. Y.	1.00	8482	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 133, Dayton, O.	10.00
8357	James Cleasby, RC, Baring, Wash.	.70	8417	Gustav Hagerth, RC, N. Y. C.	18.00	8483	M. Mardfin, RC, Yonkers, N.Y.	9.00
8358	M. Fitzgerald, RC, Baring, Wash.	.70	8418	Pauline Eisenstadt & Anna Sosenchein, RC, N. Y. C.	23.10	8484	O. B. Emerson, RC, Allison, Ia.	8.00
8359	M. Feinold, List, N. Y. C.	20.00	8419	Dmytro Sandulak, RC, Leamington, Can.	14.40	8485	Albin Younquist, RC, West Fort Lee, N. J.	7.00
8360	D. R. Steinman, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	2.00	8420	Jack H. Wilder, RC, Cape Scott, BC	9.65	8486	Samuel Wula, RC, N. Y. C.	7.00
8361	Harry S. Schwartz, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	2.00	8421	Ernest Hamel, Cloverdale, B.C.	9.65	8487	Wm. G. Lighthowne, RC, Bklyn	6.00
8362	Herman Sweetwine, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	5.00	8422	W. Kudarenko, RC, Nansimo, B. C.	1.93	8488	John A. Hill, RC, Moline, Ill.	58.00
8363	Mrs. H. B. Copeland, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	10.00	8423	M. Sewollos, RC, Nansimo, B. C.	1.93	8489	F. Weissenberg, RC, Toledo, O.	54.00
8364	Rosalind & Arthur Harrison, RC, Edgdale, W. Va.	17.00	8424	W. Grieves, RC, Nansimo, BC.	1.93	8490	Bishop & Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Galion, Mo.	50.00
8365	Max Caplan, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	10.00	8425	Women's Labor League, RC, Nansimo, B. C.	4.83	8491	Martha Daugh, Spokane, Wash.	25.00
8366	Isidor Block, RC, Edgewood, W. Va.	10.00	8426	Pythian Sisters, RC, Nansimo, B. C.	19.29	8492	Rosa C. Powell, RC, E. Liverpool, O.	20.00
8367	Dr. H. B. Copeland, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	10.00	8427	Wm. Struther, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	4.82	8493	Wm. Marconi Club, Sagamore, Mass.	20.00
8368	Barach & Boyran, R. C., Wheeling, W. Va.	5.00	8428	J. R. Robertson, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	4.82	8494	Mrs. Chas Forsman, RC, Juneau, Alaska	18.00
8369	F. & S. Shoe Store, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	10.00	8429	E. J. Gregory, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	4.82	8495	Henry Roenne, RC, Ithaca, N.Y.	18.00
8370	Beulah B. Calbert, RC, Moundeville, W. Va.	5.00	8430	J. S. Flashback, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	4.82	8496	John Weber, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	18.00
8371	Chas. Barrow, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	10.00	8431	Joe Defayette, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	4.82	8497	W. S. & D. B. F. Br. 98, New Bedford, Mass.	10.00
8372	Mrs. F. Laffren, RC, N. Y.	13.25	8432	A. Stewart, RC, Rock Bay, B.C.	2.92	8498	Jos. Schaffer, San Diego, Cal.	10.00
8373	M. Boyer, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00	8433	W. H. Harvey, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	4.82	8499	Leighton Harling Smith, N.Y.C.	6.00
8374	Louis Kopack, RC, Winfield, N. Y.	16.15	8434	W. Hurrell, RC, Rock Bay, BC.	2.92			
8375	Famine Scout Group No. 5, N. Y. C.	4.15	8435	M. Gustavson, RC, Rock Bay, BB. C.	5.80			
8376	Tarkoff's, Boulder, Col. two gold wedding rings.		8436	Charles Fraser, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	1.93	8500	S. S. Grange, Ruthven, Ia.	5.00
8377	S. E. Schwartz, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	8437	J. A. MacDonald, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	.96	8501	Florence Hagar, Wheeling, W. Va.	5.00
8378	D. Mocalito, RC, N. Y. C.	5.25	8438	W. Wilson, RC, Rock Bay, BC.	.96	8502	Mrs. W. H. Daugh, Princeton, Idaho	5.00
8379	Patrick C. Howard, RC, Battle Creek, Mich.	1.80	8439	Wm. Redd, RC, Rock Bay, BC.	.96	8503	Vivian Eccles Scowcroft, N.Y.C.	5.00
			8440	Jack Smyth, RC, Rock Bay, BC.	.96	8504	Samuel Libsohn, RC, N. Y. C.	5.78
			8441	D. H. Berry, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	.96	8505	Alfred Sorensen, Salt Lake City, Utah	5.00
			8442	W. Buttress, RC, Rock Bay, B. C.	.96	8506	S. S. Grange, Ruthven, Ia.	5.00
			8443	H. Stanton, RC, Rossland, BC.	.95			
			8444	Joseph Waslowaky, RC, Jersey City, N. J.	33.00	8507	V. H. Bales, RC, Deer Lodge, Mont.	5.00
			8445	John Perveiler, RC, Corona, L.I.	11.50	8509	Mary E. Logue, Buffalo, Okla.	4.00
						8510	J. Schepete, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	4.00
						8511	Max Wender, RC, Bklyn.	15.50
						8512	Charles J. Post, RC, Hartford, Conn.	3.00
						8513	Geo. Aspden, Grand View, Cal.	2.00
						8514	Jesse L. Trickle, Laketon, Ind.	3.00

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
8515	C. W. Kaley, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	8580	Bovit Bros., Summit, N. J.	5.00	8640	Ethna M. Agnew, N. Y. C.	1.00
8516	B.W.Kuhnert, RC, North Bend, Ore.	2.00	8581	Young People's Society, Grandada, Minn.	5.00	8641	Wm. Espenson, RC, N. Y. C.	13.50
8517	Lee Pritzker, Vancouver, B. C.	2.00	8582	Group of Jewish Comrades, thru F. S. R. Branch, Trenton, N. J.	152.70	8642	Thos. Pilgrim, RC, East Wellington, BC, Canada	10.50
8518	J. J. & S. F. Newton, Abilene, Tex.	2.00	8583	Mike E. Karpovich, RC, Lynch, Ky.	119.50	8643	Jos. Torio, RC, College Point, L. I.	8.85
8519	Fred Nelson, Sawtelle, Cal.	2.00	8584	Anton Pauldowsky, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	36.60	8644	Peter Maul, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	8.55
8520	F. S. Lowe, Tucson, Ariz.	1.00	8585	V.Lercowich, RC, Westerly, R.I.	30.60	8645	Fred W. Fry, Portland, Ore.	8.25
8521	H. E. Leash, Phoenix, Ariz.	1.00	8586	Theodor Gawdyda, RC, Girard, O.	28.70	8646	Polly Mfg Co., RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	46.00
8522	John O. Keefe, Sedro Valley, Wash.	1.00	8587	Luke Kucher, List, Woonsocket, R. I.	26.30	8647	Miss Rosenthal, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00
8523	F. C. Fox, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	8588	P. Frenkel, RC, South River, N. J.	22.20	8648	R. C., Clyde Park, Mont.	21.00
8524	C. W. Adams, Harbor Springs, Mich.	1.00	8589	Frank Erlach, RC, Herrin, Ill.	15.20	8649	H. L. A. Holman, Chicago, Ill.	20.00
8525	Martin E. Surface, Cass Lake, Minn.	1.00	8590	N. J. Bakly, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	10.60	8650	Gust Polo, RC, Proctor, Minn.	20.00
8526	Women's Div., F. S. R., Butte, Mont.	312.56	8591	M. Slabodnik, RC, Lewiston, Me.	10.60	8651	Erick Schmidt, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	18.00
8527	F. S. R. Branch, Chelsea, Mass.	167.32	8592	K. Aranzian, RC, Chelsea, Mass.	10.20	8652	J. Eihna, Philadelphia, Pa.	15.00
8528	Dr. J. H. Locke, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	131.75	8593	M. K. Kulhaba, RC, Edgewater, N. J.	7.50	8653	J. S. Boyd, Jacksonville, Fla.	15.00
8529	Social Study Group, New Westminster, B. C.	65.26	8594	F. S. R. Branch, Plains, Pa.	2.50	8654	P. Ustyemko, RC, Chelsea, Mass.	12.00
8530	Kaspar Bauer, RC, San Jose, Cal.	59.10	8595	M. Kristalaky, RC, Hamtramck, Mich.	34.00	8655	O.Bininger, Anchorage, Alaska	10.00
8531	Methodist Episcopal Church, La Crosse, Wash.	56.83	8596	S. Gurlin, Fall River, Mass.	30.00	8656	Kusti Nikula, Stave Falls, BC.	10.00
8532	Mrs. Hugo Peterson, Deep River, Wash.	54.95	8597	Alex Krugley, RC, Whiting, Ind.	25.00	8657	Jalo Nikula, Stave Falls, BC.	10.00
8533	Christian Reformed Church, Kanawha, Iowa	48.58	8598	C. Feinstein, RC, Chicago, Ill.	20.00	8658	Chas. Werner, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00
8534	G. D. Manos, RC, New Castle, Pa.	36.25	8599	E. Petrov, RC, Chicago, Ill.	17.00	8659	Mrs. Ch. Helm, Sacramento, Cal.	10.00
8535	Sol. N. Fertig, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	33.50	8600	M. Michalovsky, RC, South River, N. J.	16.00	8660	Victory Lodge No. 838, B. of R. T., Ladd, Ill.	10.00
8536	F. S. R. Branch, Astoria, Ore.	152.72	8601	B. Kolesnik, RC, Ont., Can.	6.00	8661	J. Merkl, Abita Springs, La.	1.00
8537	F. S. R. Branch, Astoria, Ore.	72.90	8602	Blacksmith's Union No. 461, Moline, Ill.	10.00	8662	F. S. R., Hungarian Section, N. Y. C.	600.01
8538	F. S. R. Branch, Astoria, Ore.	33.10	8603	F. S. R. Branch, Moline, Ill.	8.00	8663	C. Rodin, RC, Calgary, Can.	4.78
8539	Voice of the Worker, N.Y.C.	28.50	8604	Chas. Zahradick, Branchville, N. J.	5.00	8664	Mrs. Rodin, RC, Calgary, Alberta	1.41
8540	George Kopko, RC, Bentleyville, Pa.	22.75	8605	Louis Kudravets, RC, Norwich, Conn.	5.00	8665	John Helm, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8541	Edward Behring, RC, Alberton, Mont.	22.50	8606	W. Blumberg, Coamopla, Wash.	5.00	8666	H. Filixtruck, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8542	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Ogden, U.	21.75	8607	M. Majosck, RC, Endicott, N.Y.	5.00	8667	W. Dickson, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8543	J. Tuchin, RC, Port Chester, N. Y.	105.50	8608	S. Medwedchuk, RC, Manville, R. I.	2.00	8668	D.Pollitt, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8544	L. Kallianomi, RC, Engelwood, N. J.	14.70	8609	T. Asbjornson, Katalla, Alaska	5.00	8669	C. Gerlitz, RC, Calgary, Alberta	1.00
8545	O. Glickberg, RC, San Pedro, Cal.	14.50	8610	H. S. McIlvaigh, Tacoma, Wash.	5.00	8670	W. Furlinger, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8546	Michael Yurman, RC, Chester, Mont.	13.50	8611	Leon Balter, Bridgeport, Conn.	5.00	8671	K. Grygovich, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8547	Nela Lorger, RC, Cloquet, Minn.	10.25	8612	F. G. Strickland, Columbus, O.	5.00	8672	Mrs. K. Grygovich, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8548	James Bell, RC, Pacific, B. C.	11.50	8613	Mrs. L. V. Sweezy, Mills College, Cal.	5.00	8673	W. Horovenko, RC, Calgary, Alberta	1.88
8549	Jas. F. Bell, RC, Troy, N. Y.	11.50	8614	Plumbers' & Steamfitters' No. 71, Ottawa, Can.	5.00	8674	C. Luft, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8550	Nick De Santo, RC, Glengarry, Mont.	10.55	8615	Dena Mall, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	8675	J. Luft, RC, Calgary, Alberta	1.20
8551	I. J. W. U. No. 44, RC, Portland, Ore.	10.25	8616	Andrew Turovich, N. Y. C.	10.00	8676	A. Stewart, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8552	Frank Straks, RC, N. Y. C.	9.25	8617	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 212, Bloomfield, N. J.	5.00	8677	W. Rae, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8553	H. G. Tomich, RC, Chicago, Ill.	8.50	8618	Robert Frank, Bloomfield, N.J.	1.00	8678	L. Luft, RC, Calgary, Alberta	.94
8554	S. J. Allen, RC, Nelson, BC.	7.50	8619	Henry Bernboim, Bloomfield, N.J.	1.00	8679	F. C. Cotton, RC, Kansas City, Mo.	2.00
8555	Charles Dasse, RC, Schenectady, N. Y.	6.50	8620	Ch. Statny, RC, Bedford, Ind.	5.00	8680	S. Botwinik, RC, Kansas City, Mo.	1.00
8556	A. Apponen, RC, Coleman, Alta, Can.	6.15	8621	F. W. Flitch, RC, Cleveland, O.	4.00	8681	N. Botwinick, RC, Kansas City, Mo.	1.00
8557	Andy Oja, RC, Gvaer, Mont.	5.50	8622	Fred. F. Gale, Bakersfield, Cal.	2.00	8682	Louis Gruber, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00
8558	V. Krutarsenoki, RC, Branford, Conn.	5.50	8623	E. Curtis Ilkenhana, Hamilton, Ohio	3.00	8683	Ladies Garment Workers No. 28, Seattle, Wash.	10.00
8559	Nela Young, RC, Payne, Minn.	15.25	8624	L. A. Workman, Boise, Ida.	43.34	8684	P. Rafferty, RC, Green Court, Alberta	8.00
8560	Mrs. S. Smith, RC, Campbell, Cal.	4.50	The following were included in Receipt No. 8624: H. F. Andregg, 3.30, A Friend 1.00, A. J. Flack 1.00, O. Kunnler 1.00, Geo. Doubler 10.00, Wallace LeMoine 2.00, L. E. Workman 25.00.			8685	C. Schlegel, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	8.00
8561	V. J. Banasako, Kamloops, B. C.	3.75	8625	Chas. Anderson, RC, Livingston, Mont.	3.00	8686	F. H. Hagerman, Cincinnati, O.	5.00
8562	Regina Swack, Bowland, Minn.	2.50	8626	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	8687	Ben Dwyer, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
8563	Mrs. L. F. Sternemann, Hilo, Hawaii	2.50	8627	F. S. R. Branch, Springfield, Mass.	500.00	8688	A. Ababurko, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
8564	James T. Wilson, RC, Oakland Heights, S. I.	2.50	8628	Henry Jokl, RC, Fairbanks, Alaska	70.00	8689	W. D. Norman, Redmond, Wash.	5.00
8565	Chas. M.Krumine, RC, Hanover, Pa.	1.50	8629	John H. Grauman, RC, Dedham, Mass.	57.00	8690	Fred Belmas, White Plains, N. Y.	5.00
8566	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	8630	P. D. F. V., Central Falls, R. I.	50.00	8691	Caspar Stanic, RC, Birmingham, Ala.	3.00
8567	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	250.00	631	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kans.	2,083.90	8692	Mrs. S. F. J. Linn, RC, Birmingham, Ala.	2.00
8568	F. S. R. Branch, Lynn, Mass.	70.00	8632	Spravednost, RC, Chicago, Ill.	322.10	8693	C. Serley, Lewiston, Ida.	3.00
8569	Ch. Donigan, RC, Tupman, Cal.	61.00	8633	F. S. R. Branch, O'Fallon, Ill.	44.43	8694	W. E. Towne, Duluth, Minn.	2.00
8570	M. Dubov, RC, Portsmouth, Va.	47.00	8634	World War Veterans, Post No. 2, RC, St. Paul, Minn.	19.50	8695	Rose Weiss, N. Y. C.	2.00
8571	George Pearl, RC, Eureka, Cal.	37.00	8635	Jos. Butkus, RC, Chicago, Ill.	22.50	8696	W. J. Rogers, Battle Creek, Mich.	1.00
8572	W. E. Patterson, RC, Puyallup, Wash.	21.00	8636	Finnish Farmers Hall Ass'n. of Brookton, Minn.	44.00	8697	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 24, N.Y.C.	30.50
8573	Jeanette S. Taylor & Anne M. Couch, Brooklyn, N. Y.	20.00	8637	H. E. Sorensen, Omaha, Neb.	10.00	8698	Finnish Local W. P., RC, W. Concord, N. H.	18.25
8574	Emerik Vincro, RC, Detroit, Mich.	19.00	8638	Mrs. Hazel W. Lancaster, Omaha, Neb.	10.00	8699	C.S.Olinger, RC, Cincinnati, O.	15.10
8575	Pearl Colonna, RC, Ford City, Pa.	16.00	8639	Chas. M. Janeccek, Schyler, Neb.	5.00	8700	Emil Harju, RC, Wawina, Minn.	13.75
8576	Mrs. Ida Hoffman, List, N.Y.C.	23.50				8701	Eric Kossa, RC, Graham Ia. Canada	29.10
8577	Selma A. Weigel, List, N. Y. C.	5.00				8702	Adelard Becotte, RC, Winter, Canada	22.31
8578	Dr. A. Caspe, N. Y. C.	15.00				8703	Sandy Nelson, RC, Canin Lake, BC, Canada	4.85
8579	H. L. Nelson, Knahequ,	5.00						

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
8704	Jacob Ronneberg, RC, Sodalla, Alberta	19.78
8705	A L D L D Br. 14, Minersville, Pa.	38.77
8706	John Girdenes, RC, North Easton, Mass.	30.00
8707	L M P S Br. 36, Minersville, Pa.	10.42
8708	A L D L D, Dickson, Pa.	10.00
8709	John Wasko, RC, Edwardsville, Pa.	5.00
8710		9.70
8711	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00
8712	F. S. R. Branch, Boston, Mass.	275.00
8713	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Peabody, Mass.	200.00
8714	Ladies Aid Soc. of the Let. Bap. Church, Phil., Pa.	127.00
8715	F. S. R. Branch, Scranton, Pa.	100.00
8716	Lith. Workers Literary Ass'n, No. 216, Hartshorne, Okla.	31.00
8717	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Toledo, O.	26.00
8718	John Canjar, RC, Rankin, Pa.	22.00
8719	Louisa Levine, RC, N. Y. C.	21.00
8720	Mr. & Mrs. Louis Majovsky, Chicago, Ill.	15.00
8721	Dr. H. M. Wilson, RC, Wilkinsburg, Pa.	10.00
8722	Beatrice R. Lieberman, Kansas City, Mo.	10.00
8723	Michael Ruppert, RC, Brooklyn N. Y.	9.00
8724	S. Herz, RC, N. Y. C.	9.00
8725	Anna Hollowicko, RC, Ambridge, Pa.	9.00
8726	Arnold Zander, RC, Two Rivers, Wis.	8.00
8727	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	363.48
8728	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Wolf Point, Mont.	76.75
8729	Elmer Angell, RC, Cloquet, Minn.	22.50
8730	Pietro Zanardi, RC, Kansas City, Mo.	14.50
8731	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00
8732	F.S.R.Branch, Norwood, Mass.	220.00
8733	F. S. R. Branch, Syracuse, N. Y.	100.00
8734	Almon Davis, RC, Readville, Sask., Can.	15.00
8735	U A A & V W of A, List, NYC	14.00
8736	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	137.80
8737	F. S. R. Branch, Mt. Vernon, Wash.	52.45
8738	Women's Miss. Soc. Community Church, Manette, Wash.	29.26
8739	Circle of Light No. 1, Buffalo, N. Y.	26.50
8740	Catherine Holzer, Buffalo, N.Y.	2.00
8741	Oscar Steinmann, RC, Goldfield, Nev.	32.50
8742	M. Kraus, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	21.50
8743	F. S. R. Branch, Hibbing, Minn.	64.19
8744	George Reed, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	50.00
8745	F. S. R. Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.	83.30
8746	Joe Koncius, RC, Acme, Wyo.	39.50
8747	O. Mergell, RC, N. Tonawanda, N. Y.	16.50
8748	B of P D & P, District Council, No. 9, RC, N. Y. C.	12.50
8749	H. Kahn, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	10.50
8750	Arthur D. Roseman, RC, Granite City, Ill.	6.00
8751	Isaac Siegel, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
8752	John Burchak, RC, Cleveland, O.	9.00
8753	J. E. Hangen, RC, Hicksville, N. Y.	5.00
8754	Ralph A. Priest, RC, Placeville, Cal.	5.00
8755	J. R. Robinson, Tampa, Fla.	3.00
8756	Karl Koch, RC, Salamanca, N. Y.	2.00
8757	M. A. Wollman, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00
8758	E. A. Lincoln, Arlington, Mass.	2.00
8759	Anna C. Swenson, RC, Oakland, Cal.	2.00
8760	Tony Pearson, Kent, Wash.	1.00
8761	Julius Klenme, Springfield, Ill.	1.00
8762	O. Nickel, Schenectady, N. Y.	1.00
8763	Anton Wolf, RC, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
8764	John Kepica, RC, Wheeling, W. Va.	18.00
8765	Gustaf Brostrom, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00
8766	A. Carino, RC, Cleveland, O.	10.00

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
8767	H. Wozniak, RC, Cambria, Pa.	10.00
8768	I. Rojolin, RC, Crescent City, Cal.	4.00
8769	N. Myklak, RC, Coverdale, Pa.	3.00
8770	Victor Berjinsky, Hartshorne, Okla.	1.00
8771	B. Shapiro, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	15.50
8772	F. Darbellay, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	12.00
8773	Geo. Baschlin, Centralia, Wash.	10.00
8774	N. T. Herbat, Bklyn, N. Y.	5.00
8775	Malcom McKinnon, RC, Good Spring, Nev.	5.00
8776	Arminata Hoar, RC, Denver, Col.	5.00
8777	Carl J. Schmidt, RC, Cleveland, O.	1.00
8778	John Van Dalen, RC, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
8779	Christ Trumm, RC, Racine, Wis.	2.00
8780	Joe. Holzmann, RC, Racine, Wis.	2.00
8781	S. Nelson, Escanaba, Mich.	1.00
8782	A. Larson, Port Arthur, Tex.	1.00
8783	Gus. Lanco, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00
8784	Minnie Mandel, RC, N. Y. C.	16.00
8785	Dora Cookind, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00
8786	Bruno Goepfert, N. Y. C.	5.00
8787	Mrs. M. E. Boggs, East Toledo, Ohio	5.00
8788	Freeman office, N. Y. C.	3.00
8789	The following Contributed, amounting to RC	13.00
	N. Micalo, Joe. Ippolito, P. Pumo, Caspare Silverri, Gind Caruso, T. Margulis, F. Drehman, J. Wione, Maria Maxwelll, A. Blumstein, A. Kanin.	
8790	George R. Stetson, Washington, D. C.	5.00
8791	Arbeiter Kranken & Sterbekasse, RC, Clinton, Mass.	11.00
8792	Abram Talmud, RC, N. Y. C.	7.50
8793	Sara Talmud, RC, N. Y. C.	7.50
8794	Israel I. Perlestein, RC, N. Y. C.	25.00
8795	Lva Perlestein, N. Y. C.	5.00
8796	Bernard Perlestein, RC, N. Y. C.	1.50
8797	Bluma Garzolik, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00
8798	Samuel Perlestein, RC, N. Y. C.	20.00
8799	Mollie Perlestein, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00
8800	Anna Gorzolik, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00
8801	Pala Herabman, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00
8802	Oscar Anderson, RC, Valva, N. Dak.	5.00
8803	Rudolph Feige, RC, Velva, N. Dak.	5.00
8804	Carl H. Anderson, RC, Velva, N. D.	1.00
8805	Mrs. Heiselmann, RC, Velva, N. D.	1.00
8806	Edward Ohman, RC, Velva, N. D.	2.00
8807	Anton Rorback, RC, Sawyer, N. D.	1.00
8808	Gustav Kasper, RC, Biugame, Alberta	1.00
8809	C. H. Axelson, RC, Bingville, Alberta	5.00

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
8810	Olaf Olson, Bingville, Alberta	5.00
8811	R. H. Wedderburn, RC, Boward, Alberta	1.00
8812	M. P. Otergaard, RC, Bingville, Alberta	1.00
8813	Henry A. Sofer, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
8814	William H. Okuy, Bklyn, N.Y.	3.00
8815	Samuel E. Leventhal, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
8816	Gustav Herold, RC, Long Island City, N. Y.	2.00
8817	Gottthilf Waidolch, RC, Astoria, N. Y.	1.00
8818	International Carpenters Union, N. Y. C.	10.00
8819	Members of Int. Carp. Union, N. Y. C.	38.97
8820	Antonino Palmeri, RC, Bklyn	3.50
8821	P. Perry, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
8822	J. Simon, N. Y. C. Stone in hexagonal setting.	
8823	Euthonian Pub. Society, N.Y.C.	16.00
8824	Ida Katchka, Scout Club No. 24, N. Y. C.	11.45
8825	Sam Dubovsky, Bayonne, N.J. Lists	83.75
8826	M. Kerenaki, List, N. Y. C.	2.00
8827	S. T. A. S. R., Women's Regiment, N. Y. C.	146.00
8828	C. R. Morton, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	2.00
8829	Frances Pastor, RC, Brooklyn	1.00
8830	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.	12,636.62
8831	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.	4,212.20
8832	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.	
8833	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.	1,379.44
8834	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.	1,693.94
8835	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.	4,441.86

Note: The following names were included in RC receipt No. 6824:

- A. Halgrison, 1.00, H. Friedman 1.00, A. Lindgren 1.00, Lundstett Broa. 2.00, A. Auleen 1.00, A. Edlund 1.00, L. Wallater 50c, Geo. A. Johnson 50, R. R. Lee 1.00, B. L. Andersen 1.00, W. Burniston 50c, J. D. Rousseau 50c, E. Johnson 1.00, L. Sigvardsen 50c, S. C. Hedlund 1.00, T. L. Mattson 1.00, S. Johnson 1.00, Emil Mattson 1.00.

The following names were included in RC receipt No. 7235:

- M. R. Nowak 5.00, B. Ottowski 5.00, J. Szczepanaki 5.00, F. Masur 1.00, W. Lewicki 5.00, A. Plihysewski 5.00, Z. Gotebowski 2.00, W. Komosinski 2.00, J. Polak 2.00, J. Moszy 2.00, W. Granas 1.00, A. Usiadek 1.00, B. Renda 1.60, Mrs. H. Janowska 1.00, J. Swanson 50c, P. Janowski 1.00.

6833 should be Desencels instead of Desenick.

TOTAL for April 9197,633.61



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June 1, 1922

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The Russian Railway Commission Abroad

By M. SKOBELEV

The following article on the progress of the railway purchases made abroad by Soviet Russia was issued as a pamphlet by M. Skobelev, unofficial representative of the Russian Soviet Government, 17 rue d'Astorg, Paris.

The Beginnings of the Commission

AS soon as it attained power, the present Government of the Russian Republic was faced by a transportation situation that was seriously affected by deteriorated material, as a result of the war. The same was the situation, of course, everywhere in Europe, except in the neutral countries. But the other belligerent countries, once the armistice had been concluded, were enabled to set calmly about the task of improving their rolling stock and, in general, their railroads, while for Russia the war was by no means ended with the armistice of 1918. The interventions of the Allies in various sections of the Republic's territory, the Polish aggression, the civil war, all this meant for Russia a continuing of hostilities, with all that such hostilities involved, an intensified exploitation of transport service and rapid deterioration, for two years more.

The civil war did a great deal to weaken the transportation service. To the war there were added and are still added, the invasions of bands of cut-throats, organized or directed from abroad, one of whose tactics was to injure the railway lines. It will be recalled that not very long ago similar bands, launched by "patriots" who had taken refuge at Warsaw, caused the derailment of a train carrying foodstuffs and seeds for the peasants of the famine region!

But, in this as in other phases of the national economy of Russia, it was the blockade established by the Allies all around Russia which chiefly prevented the rehabilitation as far as transport was concerned. It was only in March, 1920, that the blockade was loosened. Up to that time, Russia had had no opportunity to purchase railway material abroad, and this fact not only prevented it from completing or renewing its reserves of rolling stock, but also paralyzed the work of its own railway shops, through the lack of spare parts necessary for repairs.

It will not be without interest to show in figures to what a profound degree the entire economic organism of Russia has been hit by the deterioration in transport service, brought about by the various causes that have been explained. Deterioration, furthermore, was not the only wound from which transport service has been suffering. There was also the lack of fuel. This situation put the transport service in a sort of vicious circle: it could not function normally without coal, wood, oil; it could not provide itself with these fuels unless it was able to run trains. The transport service was too sharply hit by the blockade to be able to improve itself immediately the latter was relinquished. In fact, the situation brought about by the blockade continued long beyond the abandonment of the blockade. As a matter of fact, it still continues, although its acuteness has been considerably blunted. As an illustration of the facts I have stated, it will be sufficient to say that toward the middle of June, 1921, the entire Russian railway system had only the following total of stocks of fuel: wood, reserves for 38 days; coal, reserves for 9 days; oil, reserves for 30 days. There were times when these reserves could be measured not in days but in hours!

Meanwhile, the deterioration was constantly in progress, and repairs did not manage to keep abreast with its ravages. The number of "sick" cars was constantly increasing. The authorities made desperate efforts to maintain the transport capacity of the system at a suitable level. But alas, they could not do much, and all the palliatives that they were able to introduce resulted only—and even that is a miracle—in maintaining the efficiency of the railroads at a level slightly over one-half the preliminary estimates. The work carried out during the Spring season is presented in the following official figures (not yet checked up).

	Daily Average	
	Work actually done	Preliminary estimate
Number of cars loaded on tracks	7,372	13,147
Numbers of loaded cars received from other railroads	5,843	8,465
Total	13,215	21,612

Of the total number of 18,451 locomotives, 11,159 were not in use and 1870 could not work for lack of fuel. Therefore there were altogether some four or five thousand locomotives that were functioning more or less well. The productivity of the shops so far as locomotive repairs were concerned had gone down in May and June, falling to 75 per cent of the preliminary program, and one of the reasons for this decrease was the lack of spare parts.

Of the total number of sleepers on the railway system, 87,000,000 are in such bad condition that it is absolutely necessary to replace them with new ones. But it will not be possible to renew more than 5,500,000 of them this year, at the most important points, while the speed of trains at other points will have to be reduced.

Telegraph and telephone apparatus on the railway system had also undergone serious deterioration. Of the 38,000 telephone instruments on hand at the end of 1920, 32,000 were out of order and required capital repairs; of the 10,250 telegraph instruments, 8,500 were in the same condition. If the work of repairs in the railway shops showed, as we have seen, an increasingly unfavorable result, the manufacture of new locomotives presented an even more discouraging picture. There were actually manufactured in Russian shops:

In 1913	609 locomotives
" 1917	410 "
" 1920	89 "

As to railroad cars, the condition was worse; there were manufactured in Russia:

In 1913	more than 20,000
" 1914	about 32,000
" 1917	13,000
" 1920	1,910

In the first half of 1921, there were manufactured 33 locomotives and 620 cars, while the manufacture in the second half of 1920 had been only 6 locomotives and 202 cars.

In view of this truly "catastrophic" situation—to resort to a term that has for some time been in considerable use in Russia—the Government very soon recognized clearly that there was no other way out of this state of things than to buy locomotives, spare parts, material, etc., abroad. As

soon as the blockade was relinquished, the Government immediately set to work on such purchases. One of the first acts of the head of the Russian Trade Delegation at London, Krassin, was to order a thousand locomotives for Russia in Swedish factories. But it soon became clear that the purchases and orders of rolling stock abroad were too gigantic an enterprise to be included in the work of this trade delegation or that. The Government then decided to create a special delegation, and by a decree of June 17, 1920, about three months after the raising of the blockade, it created the Russian Railway Commission Abroad, under the direction of Professor Lomonossov.

Difficulties with Swedish Consulate

Professor Lomonossov and his aides left Moscow June 18 for Stockholm. It is not far from Moscow to Stockholm, but the Commission, in spite of its intention to lose no time on the way, did not arrive in Sweden until July 25. If the representatives of the Russian Government needed five weeks for this insignificant trip, it was due to the fact that efforts were being made to raise obstacles in their path at every step. Whether intentionally or not, everywhere at that time some hostility and fear were shown toward the Russian Government. The Commission headed by Prof. Lomonossov, when it wanted the passports of its members viséd at the Swedish Consulate at Reval, met with a sharp refusal on the part of the Consul, who declared that he had not received any instructions from his Government on the subject, which furthermore was actually the case. Now, Chicherin had telegraphed within the desired time to the Swedish Government announcing the departure of the commission. It was necessary to wait for the instructions that the consul had not yet received. Finally they came, after a wait of ten days. But the Commission was not yet enabled to leave Reval for all that. The consul declared to it:

"You cannot enter Sweden until Madam Elsa Brandström, who was arrested in Siberia, has been released and has arrived at Narva."

After Lomonossov's telegram to Moscow, a search was made for Madam Brandström in Siberia. She was not found, because she had never gone there. Nor had she ever been arrested in Russia, having left that country, perfectly unmolested, to go to Germany. It was only after the Commission had furnished all these data to the Swedish authorities that it finally received the authorization to proceed to Stockholm.

Once on the job, the Commission first of all took up the task of adjusting the negotiations begun in March by Krassin with the Nydquist & Holm Works for the construction of a thousand locomotives for Russia, and for the delivery of certain quantities of railroad material. Krassin had also opened similar negotiations with German firms. The Special Commission, which, by the way, was appointed at Krassin's suggestion, therefore undertook to draw up and make definite all

the technical and financial details of the orders given or only tentatively outlined by him.

As for the locomotives ordered in Sweden, there were no difficulties. But it was quite different when the Commission approached the questions connected with the orders to be placed in Germany. The drawing up of a technical program and a legal contract for these orders took some time, but offered no special difficulties. The difficulties began to appear only when the following question came up between the two interested parties:

"Who will pay for the orders? How will they be paid?"

The Commission said to the German bankers:

"Russia will pay the amount of these orders in gold; you will transmit paper marks to the factories."

The Germans answered:

"We cannot do it. The Versailles Treaty is opposed to it."

"Then what is to be done?"

"You must see the English," suggested the German financiers. They may consent to arrange matters between us."

When they were consulted the English answered:

"No. It is felt in England that it is yet too early to work with the Bolsheviks."

Despairing of his mission, Lomonossov thought of placing his orders for locomotives and interchangeable parts in Germany through the intermediation of Sweden, in other words, of the Swedish firm with whom a first order of this kind had already been placed. He therefore applied to the director of the Nydquist & Holm Works.

"I shall place a second order with you, but you will forward it to the Germans in your name."

"Very well."

"What do you want in return for this service?"

"Nothing at all. Of course, it is understood that I shall retain your first order for one thousand locomotives."

"Certainly."

This being done, it was still necessary to make arrangements with the Swedish banks on the subject of the payments to be made to the Nydquist & Holm firm. The contract was drawn up to this effect with the Nordiska Handelsbanken, which first obtained the guarantee of the Bank of Sweden.

"The English seem to be quite displeased," Swedish financiers said in this connection. "But we should worry; our government will support us."

But the Swedish Government did not remain firm very long. The English protests had to be considered. But, after somewhat restricting its scope, it was found possible to maintain the contract that had been made between the Commission and the Nordiska Handelsbanken.

The Germans meanwhile did not fail to apply promptly to the Commission for further orders.

"There are difficulties in the matter of locomotives, but you still have need of other material. We are at your disposal to manufacture it."

Factories in Germany were then shut down, and it was quite natural for the German industrial

capitalists to desire them to resume their activities.

"As a matter of fact, we do need tires and tubes."

"We are ready to furnish them."

"Yes, but how about the financial side? The thorny side of every business deal with Germany? How would payments be made?"

"Let us for the present disregard the financial side," answered the German industrialists. "Place your order. Make us a small advance payment. You will pay the rest on delivery. By that time, some method will have been found."

And in this way the Krupp firm received an order for 16,000 tires and the Henschel* firm an order for 22,000 tires, both of which were accepted without any commercial guarantee by the Commission, simply on the word of the Russian Government.

But it was necessary to find a solution for the main question, which was that of a locomotive order to be placed in Germany. The device proposed by Lomonossov (orders placed through the Nydquist & Holm firm) was not considered by Krassin as devoid of risk of foreign confiscation of Russian gold. It therefore had to be abandoned. A group of Scandinavian and German bankers found another method, which was entirely safe. But it presented the inconvenience that the commission asked by this group caused an increase of 12 per cent in the cost of each locomotive ordered. Had it been possible to delay, to work without haste, it would have been possible to obtain more favorable conditions from the same group. But speed was just the one thing that was necessary. Discussions were held with the bankers and a reduction of the commission from 12 per cent to 10 per cent was obtained, and 600 locomotives were ordered in Germany. The contract was signed February 28, 1921; the first payment in gold was to be made March 14, 1921.

It will be recalled that this was just at the time of the Kronstadt insurrection. At Paris, at London, it was already felt to be certain that the Soviet Government was defeated. At Berlin the groups which negotiated the locomotive order were asking themselves whether the Bolsheviks would pay. This question was also of interest to certain other governments who were well informed concerning the orders in question.

The Bolsheviks paid on March 11, three days before the day fixed. This produced a remarkable effect at London. The Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement was signed March 16, 1921.*

Organization of the Commission

Such were the beginnings of the Russian Railway Commission Abroad.

It is not uninteresting to point out how this Commission was organized and how it operates.

Its seat is at Berlin; it also has offices at Stockholm.

*A translation of the contract with the Henschel firm was printed in SOVIET RUSSIA for February 5, 1921 (Volume IV, No. 6, pages 133-135).

*Full text in SOVIET RUSSIA, April 16, 1921, (Vol. IV, No. 16, pp. 374-377).

Its internal organization is in brief as follows: there is a "center" and a "periphery". The "center", including several subdivisions, such as "rolling stock", "water transport", "materials", "equipment", etc., draws up contracts for orders and forwards these to the enterprises concerned; it also has control over the "periphery". As for the latter, its task is that of receiving, of verifying, the orders that have been executed. The "periphery" is divided into sections corresponding to the country or territory in which the orders have been or are about to be placed. For instance, there are sections for the Ruhr, Western Prussia, Eastern and Northern Prussia, Silesia, Bavaria, Great Britain, Norway and Northern Sweden, Austria and Czechoslovakia, the Rhine Provinces, Canada, etc., etc.

As for its methods of work, we must note in the first place the resolution made once for all by the Commission to make no use of middlemen or other intermediaries of any kind. The Commission conducts its negotiations only with the enterprises directly concerned.

Before placing an order with this house or that, the Commission informs itself precisely on the conditions of the market in question (German, Swedish, English, etc.). Then it proposes to several of the most important firms that they submit their conditions for such deliveries. When in possession of all the data gathered in this way, the Commission chooses the concern or concerns that offer most advantages both from the standpoint of price and that of quality, etc.

For receiving the materials that have been manufactured, the Commission has concluded a contract with the firm of Briske & Proll, which undertakes for the Commission tests and verifications, and receives the delivered articles, under the supervision and with the responsibility of the representatives of the Commission, without whose signatures and seal the receiving may not be effected. The firm of Briske & Proll has furthermore the right to supervise the operations of the locomotive factories in Germany, in all matters concerning the construction of locomotives for Russia. This is furthermore a right which the Commission has expressly reserved for itself in its contracts with factories, in order to determine, among other things, if and to what extent further orders may be placed later with the enterprises in question.

The locomotives are tried out on a wide gauge railway line built for this purpose near Hamburg; a second trial is then made on the Nicolas Railway in Russia. These two trials are preceded by tests of the principal parts of locomotives and boilers, which are manufactured, by the way, under the direct control both of engineers belonging to the commission and of those of the Briske & Proll firm, with which—as has been said above—the Commission has made a special contract to this effect. Only after these tests and trials—and provided they have turned out satisfactory—are the locomotives received by the Commission.

The rolling stock and material ordered by the Commission are likewise subjected to such tests

and trials of engineering and chemical nature as are required by their character.

The contracts concluded with the German factories provide that the tests and trials shall apply—in accordance with the Prussian laws in railway matters, which are very rigid—to a certain percentage of the articles or products delivered. But the Commission reserves the right to be even more severe than the Prussian laws in this matter, and to try or test the *entire* equipment. And it makes frequent use of this right. As for boilers, particularly, it *always* uses this privilege, subjecting to test every sheet of metal intended for boiler construction.

As for the delivery of the locomotives, the Commission has inserted in its contract with the German factories two special clauses, one of which provides that the locomotives shall not be finally delivered until trials have been made not only in Germany but also in Russia. The second clause prescribes that all the locomotives, whose construction has been entrusted to a score of different firms, shall be interchangeable in the sense that any part of one locomotive constructed by a certain firm must be capable of being replaced by the corresponding part of a locomotive constructed by any other firm among those working for Russia.

The locomotives delivered by the constructing concern are all submitted to a trial over a line of about 25 kilometers (about 15 miles); the object of this trial is to determine whether all the portions of the locomotive work properly. A certain number of locomotives is in addition subjected to a test over a line of 150 kilometers (about 90 miles) in which they must draw a train carrying a maximum load. The object of this second test is to learn how locomotives from various places behave. In fact, all the locomotives ordered by Russia either in Sweden or in the various German factories are of the same type (the "Echo" type). The differences between them can therefore have no other origin than in the process of manufacture; and this is what the trials made in a long haul are intended to bring out.

In order to be certain that the locomotives contracted by the nineteen different German factories are really provided with interchangeable parts, the Commission undertakes very interesting tests at the Schwarzkopf Works, near Berlin. Without a previous notification of the works, the Commission orders delivery of a separate part to it by each factory, so that all when put together shall constitute a locomotive. The assembling is done by the Schwarzkopf Works.

The engineering world is very much interested in this original test, the first of the kind ever made since the beginning of locomotive construction.

Orders placed by the Commission and their Forwarding to Russia

The principal orders placed abroad by the Commission—as we have seen—are orders of locomotives, 1000 of which were ordered from the Nyd-

quist & Holm Works in Sweden, and 700 others from various German firms as follows:

<i>Locomotives</i>	
In the Works of Krupp.....	68
“ “ “ “ Henschel	137
“ “ “ “ Hannomag	68
“ “ “ “ Wolf	14
“ “ “ “ Vulcan	24
“ “ “ “ Orenstein & Koppel	27
“ “ “ “ Linke-Hoffmann	48
“ “ “ “ Karlsruhe	18
“ “ “ “ Krauss	14
“ “ “ “ Maffey	18
“ “ “ “ Esslingen	11
“ “ “ “ Elektrizitätswerke	17
“ “ “ “ Boraig	57
“ “ “ “ Hartmann	22
“ “ “ “ Jung	21
“ “ “ “ Rhein-Metall	34
“ “ “ “ Hohenzollern	24
“ “ “ “ Humboldt	21

In addition, the commission ordered 1000 tank cars in England from the Leeds Forge Works, which is to build them in cooperation with the German Linke-Hoffmann Works. The tanks have a capacity of 38 tons each, and are to be delivered in Russia, at Novorossisk. Five hundred tank cars of the same type were ordered from the Canadian Car and Foundry Company in Canada.*

Finally, the Commission placed many orders for railway and other material, such as rails, boilers, tires, springs, tubes, belts, cables, scales, lamps, motors, sheet iron, instruments, apparatus, fire-brick, etc.

The value of the orders placed up to January 1, 1922, is in round numbers about 515,000,000 Swedish crowns (about \$150,000,00). The orders are distributed as follows among the various countries:

<i>Sweden</i>	
1000 locomotives†	230,000,000
Equipment, parts, etc.	8,721,165
Total	238,721,165

<i>Germany</i>	
700 locomotives	191,000,000
Tank cars	12,750,000
Rails	18,777,500
Equipment, parts, etc.	22,701,255
Total	245,228,755

<i>England</i>	
Boilers	13,557,500
Equipment	399,663
Total	13,957,163

*These Canadian cars have been delivered at Novorossisk, as reported in SOVIET RUSSIA for December, 1921 (Volume V, No. 6, page 273).

†By January 1, 1922, the Swedish works had delivered to Russia 18 locomotives; the German works, 47. As for other orders, they have for the most part been delivered entire.

<i>Austria</i>	
Equipment	1,295,725
<i>Czecho-Slovakia</i>	
Equipment	2,702,823
<i>Denmark</i>	
Equipment	449,950
<i>Canada</i>	
Tank cars	9,962,910

In orders for equipment, an important place is held by telegraph and telephone instruments and accessories. The firms receiving these orders are, in Germany: L. M. Ericksohn & Co. and F. Schuchardt; in England: Automatic Telephone Manufacturing Co.

The Commission is at present occupied with a plan for entrusting the repair of Russian locomotives to foreign works. Of course, this can be done only in the case of capital repairs, as secondary repairs may be made in Russia.

As water transport plays a very important role in the economic reorganization of Russia, a role that will extend in the future, the Government has widened the functions of the Railway Commission, entrusting it with the duty of keeping in contact with foreign concerns, docks, and shipyards, for the purpose of building, rebuilding, or fitting out Russian ports or shipyards. The Commission is at present engaged in negotiations with the principal naval construction yards of Sweden, England, Denmark and Germany.

Orders of minor importance have already been given to the firm of J. Dreger, in Germany, which is to furnish diving apparatus. Chronometers have been ordered in Sweden. Other orders are about to be made: floating apparatus, nautical instruments, etc.

The "Derutra"

For the purpose of transporting the products and articles ordered by Russia abroad, a special Russo-German company, called "Derutra", has been formed as the result of an agreement between the Russian Government and the German Hamburg-American Line. This company will transport to Russia all goods delivered to German ports destined for Russia. The "Derutra" has already forwarded to Russia a certain number of locomotives built in Germany as well as several cargoes of goods of various kinds: rails, agricultural machinery, etc.

The Hamburg-American Line is placing at the disposal of the "Derutra" as much tonnage as may be necessary for the speedy and regular transportation of Russian orders.

The Control Commission of the "Derutra" consists of four members, two of whom represent the Hamburg-American Line and two of whom are representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the R. S. F. S. R.

From Propaganda to Terrorism

By STEPNIAK

(How the Russian revolutionists of the seventies from peaceful propagandists and preachers of Socialism became violent and merciless terrorists is the subject of this, the second, chapter of "Underground Russia", the publication of which we began in our last issue. Of course the theories expressed in this chapter, written forty years ago, essentially disagree with those of the Russian Marxists of that and the subsequent period, who did not believe in the efficacy of individual terrorism and placed their hopes only in the mass action of the industrial working class.)

THE years 1876 and 1877 were the darkest and most mournful for the Russian Socialists. The propagandist movement cost immense sacrifices. An entire generation was mown down by Despotism in a fit of delirious fear. The prisons were crammed with propagandists. New prisons were built. And the result of so much sacrifice? Oh, how petty it was compared with the immense effort!

What could the few working men and peasants do who were inflamed by Socialist ideas! What could the "colonies" do, dispersed here and there?

The past was sad; the future gloomy and obscure. But the movement could not stop. The public mind, over-stimulated and eager to act, only sought some other means of attaining the same end.

But to find one was very difficult under the conditions in which Russia was placed. Long and arduous was this work; many were its victims; for it was like endeavoring to issue from some gloomy cavern, full of dangers and pitfalls, in which every step costs many lives, and the cries of fallen brethren are the sole indication for the survivors, of the path to be followed.

The propagandist movement was a sublime test of the power of Words. By a natural reaction the opposite course was now to be tried, that of Acts.

"We did not succeed because we were mere talkers, incapable of real work."

Such was the bitter reproach of the survivors of the great movement, confronted with the new revolutionary generation which had arisen to occupy the place of the preceding; and the cry of "Let us act" became as general as that of "Among the people" had been a few years before.

But what kind of action was to be taken?

Impelled by their generous desire to do everything for the people, and for the people only, the Revolutionists endeavored, above all things, to organize some insurrectionary movement among the people. The first societies of the so-called "buntari" (rebels) of Kiev, Odessa, and Kharkov, the fixed object of which was an immediate rising, date from the year 1875. But a revolution, like a popular movement, is of spontaneous growth, and cannot be forced. One attempt alone—that of Stefanovich—very skilfully based upon local agitation and aspirations, succeeded in making some few steps, at least, towards the object. The others had not even this success. They were discovered and dissolved before giving effect to their revolutionary projects.

In the towns the same tendency manifested itself in another form; the Revolutionists made their first essays in street demonstrations.

The years 1876, 1877, and the early months of 1878 were periods of "demonstrations" more or less energetic; such as the funeral of Chernishev and Padlevsky, the demonstration of the Kazan Square which had such a tragical ending, and finally, that of Odessa, on the day of the condemnation of Kovalsky, which was a veritable battle, with dead and wounded on both sides, and several hundred arrests.

It was evident that by this path there could be no advance. The disproportion between the material forces at the disposition of the revolutionary party and those of the Government was too great for these demonstrations to be other than voluntary sacrifices of the flower of the Russian youth to the Imperial Moloch. With us a revolution, or even a rising of any importance, like those in Paris, is absolutely impossible. Our cities constitute only a tenth of the entire population; and most of them are only large villages, miles and miles apart. The real cities, those for instance of 10,000 or 15,000 inhabitants, form only four or five per cent. of the entire population, that is about three or four millions in all. And the Government, which has under its orders the military contingent of the entire population, that is 1,200,000 soldiers, can transform the five or six principal cities, the only places where any movement whatever is possible, into veritable military camps, as indeed they are.

This is a consideration which should always be borne in mind, in order to understand the cause of everything that has since happened.

Demonstrations of every kind were abandoned, and from the year 1878 entirely disappeared.

But a noteworthy change in the revolutionary type dates from this period. The Revolutionist was no longer what he had been five years before. He had not yet revealed himself by any daring acts; but by dint of constantly meditating upon them, by repeating that bullets were better than words, by nourishing sanguinary projects in his mind, something of their spirit entered into his disposition. Thus the man was formed. And the Government did everything it could to develop still more these nascent tendencies of his and force him to translate them into acts.

The merest suspicion led to arrest. An address; a letter from a friend who has gone "among the people"; a word let fall by a lad of twelve who,

for excess of fear, knew not what to reply, were sufficient to cast the suspected person into prison, where he languished for years and years, subjected to all the rigor of the Russian cellular system. To give an idea of this it need only be mentioned that, in the course of the investigations in the trial of the 193, which lasted four years, the number of the prisoners who committed suicide, or went mad, or died, reached 75.

The sentences of the exceptional tribunal, which was simply a docile instrument in the hands of the Government, were of incredible cruelty. Ten, twelve, fifteen years of hard labor were inflicted, for two or three speeches, made in private to a handful of working men, or for a single book read or lent. Thus what is freely done in every country in Europe was punished among us like murder.*

But not satisfied with these judicial atrocities, the Government, by infamous orders, augmented still more the sufferings of the political prisoners, so that in the House of Horrors—the central prison of Kharkov—several “revolts” took place among them in order to obtain equality of treatment with those condemned for common crimes. Such was their condition! And from time to time, by ways which only prisoners know how to find out, there came from these men buried alive some letter, written on a scrap of paper in which tobacco or a candle had been wrapped up, describing the infamous treatment, the vile and useless cruelty, which their jailers had inflicted upon them, in order to curry favor with superiors; and these letters passed from hand to hand, and this information passed from mouth to mouth, causing tears of grief and rage, and arousing in the most gentle and tender minds thoughts of blood, of hatred, and of vengeance.

The First Shot Rings Out

The first sanguinary events took place a year before the Terrorism was erected into a system. They were isolated cases, without any political importance, but they clearly showed that the efforts of the Government had begun to bear fruit, and that the “milk of love” of the Socialists of the previous five years was already becoming changed, little by little into the gall of hatred. Sprung from personal resentment, it was directed against the more immediate enemies, the spies, and in various parts of Russia some half-dozen of them were killed.

These first acts of bloodshed evidently could not stop there. If time be consumed in killing a vile spy, why allow the gendarme to live on with impunity who sent him forth, or the procurator† who from the information of the spy obtained materials for ordering the arrest, or the head of the police who directed everything? The logic of life could not but compel the Revolutionaries to mount these steps by degrees, and it cannot be doubted that they would have done so, for the Russian may be wanting in many things, but not in the courage to

be logical. Nay, one of the most striking peculiarities of the Russian character is that it never hesitates before the practical consequences of a chain of reasoning.

There was, however, a fact of primary importance which gave such a strong impetus to the movement, that this step, which otherwise would perhaps have required several years, was taken at a single bound.

On January 24 of the year 1878, the memorable shot was fired by the revolver of Vera Zassulich against General Trepov, who had ordered a political prisoner, named Bogolyubov, to be flogged. Two months afterwards she was acquitted by the jury.

I need not narrate the details of the occurrence, nor those of the trial, nor insist upon their importance. Every one understood them, and even now, four years afterwards,* every one remembers that wave of admiration which invaded every heart, without distinction of party, of class or of age. It is easy to imagine what it must have been in Russia.

Zassulich was not a terrorist. She was an angel of vengeance, and not of terror. She was a victim who voluntarily threw herself into the jaws of the monster in order to cleanse the honor of the party from a mortal outrage. It was evident that if every infamous act had to wait for its Zassulich, he who committed it might sleep in peace, and die hoary-headed.

Yet this occurrence gave to Terrorism a most powerful impulse. It illuminated it with its divine halo, and gave to it the sanction of sacrifice and of public opinion.

The acquittal of Zassulich was a solemn condemnation of the entire arbitrary system which had impelled her to raise her avenging hand against the bully. The press and the public were unanimous in confirming the sentence of the jury.

And how did the Government receive the judgment of the nation?

The Emperor Alexander II. went in person to pay a visit to Trepov, covered with so much ignominy, and ransacked the whole city in search of the acquitted Zassulich, in order to put her again in prison.

It was impossible to show a more impudent contempt for justice, and the universal feeling.

The general discontent grew beyond measure, for to the sting of the outrage was added the pang of deception.

Here I ought to stop for a moment to analyze the purely Liberal movement which germinated among the cultured and privileged classes of Russian society at the commencement of the reign. Being unable to do this even briefly, I will merely say that the event which imparted to it the greatest intensity was the war with Turkey, because it laid bare, like that of the Crimea, the shameful abuses of our social system, and awakened hopes of a

*Times have changed.—Ed.

†Prosecuting Attorney.

*“Underground Russia” from which this chapter is taken, was written in 1882.—Editor.

new reorganization of the State, especially after the Constitution which Alexander II. gave to Bulgaria.

The return of the Emperor to his capital exactly coincided with the trial of Zassulich.

The Liberals awoke from their dreams. It was then that they turned in despair to the only party which was struggling against despotism, the Socialist party. The first efforts of the Liberal party to approach the Revolutionaries in order to form an alliance with them date from 1878.

A Life and Death Struggle

The Government, however, seemed bent on exasperating not only the Liberals but also the Revolutionists. With a vile desire for vengeance, it redoubled its cruelty against the Socialists, whom it had in its power. The Emperor Alexander II. even went so far as to annul the sentence of his own Senate, which, under the form of a petition for pardon, acquitted most of the accused in the trial of the 193.

What government, therefore, was this which acted so insolently against all the laws of the country, which was not supported, and did not wish to be supported, by the nation, or by any class, or by the laws which it had made itself? What did it represent except brute force?

Against such a Government everything is permitted. It is no longer a guardian of the will of the people, or of the majority of the people. It is organized injustice. A citizen is no more bound to respect it, than to respect a band of highwaymen who employ the force at their command in rifling travelers.

But how shake off this *camarilla* entrenched behind a forest of bayonets? How free the country from it?

It being absolutely impossible to overcome this obstacle by force as in other countries more fortunate than ours, a flank movement was necessary, so as to fall upon this *camarilla* before it could avail itself of its forces, thus rendered useless in their impregnable positions.

Thus arose the Terrorism.

Conceived in hatred, nurtured by patriotism and by hope, it grew up in the electrical atmosphere, impregnated with the enthusiasm awakened by an act of heroism.

On August 16, 1878, that is, five months after the acquittal of Zassulich, the Terrorism, by putting to death General Mesentsev,* the head of the police and of the entire *camarilla*, boldly threw down its glove in the face of autocracy. From that day forth it advanced with giant strides acquiring strength and position, and culminating in the tremendous duel with the man who was the personification of despotism.

I will not relate its achievements, for they are written in letters of fire upon the records of history.

Three times the adversaries met face to face. Three times the Terrorist, by the will of fate, was

overthrown, but after each defeat he arose more threatening and powerful than before. The attempts against the Tsar by Soloviov and Hartman were followed by the frightful explosion at the Winter Palace, the infernal character of which seemed to surpass everything the imagination could conceive. But it was surpassed on March 13. Once more the adversaries grappled with each other, and this time the omnipotent Emperor fell dying to the ground.

The Terrorist had won the victory in his tremendous duel, which had cost so many sacrifices. With a whole nation prostrate he alone held high his head, which throughout so many tempests he had never bent.

He is noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating, for he combines in himself the two sublimities of human grandeur: the martyr and the hero.

He is a martyr. From the day when he swears in the depth of his heart to free the people and the country, he knows he is consecrated to Death. He faces it at every step of his stormy life. He goes forth to meet it fearlessly, when necessary, and can die without flinching, not like a Christian of old, but like a warrior accustomed to look death in the face.

He has no longer any religious feeling in his disposition. He is a wrestler, all bone and muscle, and has nothing in common with the dreamy idealist of the previous period. He is a mature man, and the unreal dreams of his youth have disappeared with years. He is a Socialist fatally convinced, but he understands that a Social Revolution requires long preparatory labor, which cannot be given until political liberty is acquired. Modest and resolute, therefore, he clings to the resolution to limit for the present his plans that he may extend them afterwards. He has no other object than to overthrow this abhorred despotism, and to give to his country what all civilized nations possess, political liberty, to enable it to advance with a firm step towards its own redemption. The force of mind, the indomitable energy, and the spirit of sacrifice which his predecessor attained in the beauty of his dreams, he attains in the grandeur of his mission, in the strong passions which this marvellous, intoxicating, vertiginous struggle arouses in his heart.

What a spectacle! When had such a spectacle been seen before? Alone, obscure, poor, he undertook to be the defender of outraged humanity, of right trampled under foot, and he challenged to the death the most powerful Empire in the world, and for years and years confronted all its immense forces.

Proud as Satan rebelling against God, he opposed his own will to that of the man who alone, amid a nation of slaves, claimed the right of having a will. But how different is this terrestrial god from the old Jehovah of Moses! How he hides his trembling head under the daring blows of the Terrorist! True, he still stands erect, and the thunderbolts launched by his trembling hand often fail; but when they strike, they kill. But the

*The man who killed Mesentsev was Stepmiak himself.
—Editor.

Terrorist is immortal. His limbs may fail him, but, as if by magic, they regain their vigor, and he stands erect, ready for battle after battle, until he has laid low his enemy and liberated the country. And already he sees that enemy falter, become confused, cling desperately to the wildest means, which can only hasten his end.

It is this absorbing struggle, it is this imposing mission, it is this certainty of approaching victory, which gives him that cool and calculating enthusiasm, that almost superhuman energy, which astounds the world. If he is by nature a man capable of generous impulses, he will become a hero; if he is of stronger fibre, it will harden into iron; if of iron, it will become adamant.

He has a powerful and distinctive individuality. He is no longer, like his predecessor, all abnegation. He no longer possesses, he no longer strives after, that abstract moral beauty which made the propagandist resemble a being of another world; for his look is no longer directed inwardly, but is

fixed upon the hated enemy. He is the type of individual force, intolerant of every yoke. He fights not only for the people, to render them the arbiters of their own destinies, not only for the whole nation stifling in this pestiferous atmosphere, but also for himself; for the dear ones whom he loves, whom he adores with all the enthusiasm which animates his soul; for his friends, who languish in the horrid cells of the central prisons, and who stretch forth to him their skinny hands imploring aid. He fights for himself. He has sworn to be free, and he will be free, in defiance of everything. He bends his haughty head before no idol. He has devoted his sturdy arms to the cause of the people. But he no longer defies them. And if the people, ill-counselled, say to him, "Be a slave," he will exclaim, "No"; and he will march onward, defying their imprecations and their fury, certain that justice will be rendered to him in his tomb.

Such is the Terrorist.

Results of the New Economic Policy

By LEONID

The Congress of the Communist Party which convened at Moscow late in March and early in April this year resolved that Soviet Russia would yield no further ground to the bourgeoisie. Leonid, who is not unknown to our readers, contributes the following article on this subject to the "Rote Fahne", Berlin, of April 6, 1922.

How "Nep"* Originated

THE great economic retreat known as "the new economic policy" has been in progress in Russia for a full year. Much has changed in that country since. We now behold in Russia a privately owned industry in addition to the nationalized industry, we find national banks, exchanges, stock corporations; free trade has again appeared, and relations with foreign capital are already established.

Why was this retreat begun?

In 1921 Soviet Russia faced a condition of tremendous economic ruin. First the imperialistic war, and then the struggles against the counter-revolution, had completely disintegrated the weak economic structure. Agricultural production dropped to one-half the pre-war level. As the impoverished peasants were sending only a very insufficient amount of grain to the cities, famine prevailed among the urban population. Because the workers had no bread, because the best forces were drawn into the army, because there was lack of transportation facilities, fuel, machines, technical material, Russian production went down very fast. The capitalistic blockade cut off Russian economic life from the outer world and prevented any importation of foreign products.

It was clear to the Bolsheviks that things could not go on this way. A way had to be found to

save the Soviet Republic from economic collapse. This way was found in the "New Economic Policy".

The Character of "Nep"

The most important point was to get bread for the cities. This was possible only by a complete alteration of the preceding policy of the Soviet Government toward the peasants. The "New Course" put an end to the earlier system of requisition of all agricultural surplus products; the old system made the peasants hostile to the Soviet power and took away any incentive for increasing their production. Now a "tax in kind" was introduced, which left the peasants a great portion of their surplus production and spurred them on to extend their farming. This afforded the basis of a slow improvement of Russian agriculture and thereby also of the standard of living of the workers and industry in general.

The second task of the new economic policy was the transformation of industry. Some of the concerns, particularly the petty enterprises, which could no longer be maintained at State expense and threatened to disintegrate, were denationalized and leased out, for the most part to cooperatives, but also in part to national organizations and in part to private owners. The greater portion of industry—large-scale industry—as well as the entire transport system, remained in the possession of the State. But from now on the chief attention in production was given to the matter of results obtained. In the course of several months a number of national industrial trusts arose in Russia, which

*"Nep" is the abbreviated Russian name for the phrase "New Economic Policy", and, by a fortunate coincidence, may be understood in English also.

united the great establishments of certain branches of industry under a single control. Simultaneously the Soviet Government also put through a reform in the mode of rationing the workers. In these establishments there were no longer individual wages for individual workers, but a common wage fund for the entire force, consisting of money, foodstuffs and objects of personal use. This common wage fund, called the "Collective Maintenance Fund", was then distributed among the working force in accordance with the performance of the individual workers. Each industry also received back a portion of its products for a special goods fund, which was designated for use in exchange for agricultural products, in trading with the peasants.

The third task of the "New Course" consisted in the resumption of economic relations with foreign countries. Soviet Russia, starved for commodities, had to make important concessions to the foreign bourgeoisie in this matter. A decree was issued granting foreign capitalists the right to acquire certain industrial and economic concessions under very difficult conditions, to be sure. The center of gravity of the new economic policy in international politics did not lie in the distribution of concessions, but in the breaking of the economic blockade of Soviet Russia by the capitalist world. In 1921 Russian foreign trade began again to blossom.

After these three important matters—agriculture, industry, foreign trade—had been more or less regulated, the new economic policy continued on its path. It removed the prohibition on free trade, since the maintenance of this prohibition had become pointless after the admission of private enterprise and private initiative. Russian financial life also passed through a corresponding transformation. Money, which had lost its meaning during the first years of the Soviet Republic, regained a great part of its significance under "the new course". The urgent necessity of a credit organization to supply industry with money became at once apparent. The Soviet State in this field anticipated the action of private capital, by creating a national bank for credits to industry and not admitting any private banking establishments. Similarly, a cooperative exchange was established, whose main task was to regulate commodity exchange.

This in essence was the content of the new economic policy. There was no denying that it represented a certain retreat of the proletarian power before the bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements. But this retreat pursued a goal which justified its means: to save Soviet Russia from economic destruction, to maintain the rule of the working class.

"Thus Far and No Further!"

The economic retreat in Soviet Russia continued in all fields until 1922. On March 6 of this year Lenin delivered a speech at Moscow before the Metal Workers' Conference—a speech of historic

significance.* In this speech Lenin declared: "It is now time to stop the retreat which began with the introduction of the new economic policy. The retreat has gone far enough and has now reached its limits. From now on there will be no further concessions to the bourgeoisie, but we shall retain and work within our present framework. No further retreats!"

Late in March, Comrade Lenin submitted a report on the political situation to the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of Russia. The Congress unanimously adopted a resolution in which it was again expressly declared that the economic retreat must be stopped and there must be no more yielding to private capital.

The importance of this resolution, taken immediately before the Genoa Conference, is tremendous. The Bolsheviki thereby declared to the entire capitalist world: "Your plans to make Russia capitalist once more will not be fulfilled. Russia will remain politically and economically under the control of the proletariat. Politically—because the working class is in possession of the entire state apparatus and of all military and political resources. Economically—because the working class maintains its possession of the most important fields of Russian economic life: all the large scale industries, the metal industry, transportation, all stocks of raw materials, foodstuffs and fuels, the cooperative system, finances, foreign trade, its great influence on agriculture, etc."

But it would be entirely wrong to assume that the stopping of the economic retreat, as resolved by the Party Convention of the Bolsheviki, would mean something like this: "The new economic policy has done its job, it is time to dispense with it." The "new course" is not being abandoned, but merely not being extended. What it has already attained, will be retained. And it has attained much.

Results of the Policy

The urban workers in Russia do not yet obtain bread in sufficient quantities. One year is not a sufficient time for this adjustment, and the crop failure of 1921 was too severe a blow. But the basis for improving agricultural production has finally been found in Russia. The tax in kind has fulfilled all expectations. The peasants, encouraged by the Government's abandonment of requisitions, are today giving their attention to the extension and technical improvement of their husbandry. It is now reported from all sides in Russia that the peasant is giving up the old fashioned mode of cultivating the soil (for instance, the three-field system) and taking up new methods. From the villages that had not been able to renew their implements for seven years, there is at least a call for new agricultural machinery. And it is self-evident that the approaching improvement of agricultural production in Russia will redound to the advantage not only of the peasants but also

*The text of this speech was printed with a few minor omissions in SOVIET RUSSIA for May 1, 1922.

of the cities: first, owing to the natural tax; second, to the direct exchange of commodities between city and country. The Russian peasants can now be more easily won over to a cooperation with the cities than ever before, as the new economic policy has now considerably diminished the economic and political opposition between city and country which was expressed with great sharpness during the civil war in Russia. The workers, supported by the rural Soviet institutions, Soviet estates (former noble estates now transformed into Communes of city workers), the collective farms, and particularly the peasant agricultural cooperatives, may count in the immediate future on a close economic relation with the peasants.

The new economic policy has also had great success in the field of industry. Here, in the first place, a great increase in the intensity of labor, an improvement of production, particularly in the fuel industry—an improvement of rationing and expansion of all activities—are to be recorded. It is precisely in the rehabilitation and building up of big industry that the Soviet Government finds its principal task. For Soviet Russia has no intention of remaining forever a backward agricultural country and thus being dependent on foreign products; rather, it will in the near future attempt to make itself further independent of foreign capital by encouraging its own industrial development.

Only in one field has the new economic policy not satisfied all hopes: that of economic relations with foreign countries. Except for the slowly growing foreign trade, there is very little to be

observed of any accession of foreign capital in Russian economic life. The conditions set by the Soviet Government for foreign capitalists have turned out in most cases to be "unacceptable" to them. For the Soviet Government has not fallen for any of the predatory schemes of foreign capital.

Practical Tasks

The following economic tasks now face the Russian proletariat:

Agricultural. To increase production by increasing cultivated area and improving cultivation and the entire agricultural technique; to encourage economic cooperation between city and country.

Industrial. Further to increase production by new concentrations in industry (possibly uniting the already existing trusts into syndicates), to improve the standard of living of the workers; to improve transportation, and to raise production of fuel and raw materials, as well as machinery; to combat the first small beginnings of unemployment.

Financial. To raise the ruble quotations by decreasing issues of paper money, issuing metal money, extending activity of the national bank, obtaining aid from abroad, etc.

Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. To increase imports and exports, conclude economic treaties with individual countries, prevent foreign consortiums of any kind from exploiting Russia, and, on the other hand, to encourage mixed Russo-Foreign trading companies, foreign loans.

Our Agricultural Relief Unit

By H. M. WARE

By this time, the F. S. R. Agricultural Unit, representing an investment of nearly \$100,000, has probably reached Russia. Comrade Ware, head of the unit, explains its organization and purposes below.

THE long Russian winter is over. It has taken its hideous toll and left piles of whitening bones throughout the once productive Valley of the Volga.

Weakened and listless the peasants gaze over their wasted and barren fields. It is Springtime, but the fields are not green with the growing grain which would mean the end of famine. Seven years of war have taken too many Russian farmers and their horses from the land. The armies of the counter-revolutionists have laid waste their fields and wantonly destroyed their agricultural machinery. Then came the droughts of 1920 and 1921. The whole Volga area became a land of starvation which has since been swept by pestilence and death. Throughout the country the same drain upon its agricultural resources has proceeded until Russia—once the second largest exporter of foodstuffs in the world—became a famine stricken country.

Sympathetic organizations the world over sprang into existence to fight the Russian famine. Workers

in every country realizing the menace to their Russian brothers responded. In America, the Friends of Soviet Russia was organized and carried the appeal to all corners of the country.

The immediate necessity was food. And the F. S. R. changed the pennies, nickels, dimes and dollars given by American workers, into food, and sent shipload after shipload to Russia. In the few brief months of its existence the F. S. R. has sent over \$400,000 worth of milk, flour, meats and clothing—each bale and box marked—"From the workers of America to the workers of Russia".

When winter came, clothing drives were organized and the workers of America gave their clothes—thousands of dollars worth. These measures were taken to meet the needs of the famine-stricken people who faced not only starvation but the rigors of a Russian winter.

As spring came and the Russian Government and relief workers generally were able to take the measure of the famine—it was clearly not a temporary condition but a tremendous agricultural

problem. To prevent the recurrence of famine in Russia and even in all Europe depends upon the reconstruction of Russian agriculture. The old primitive agriculture must be rapidly displaced by modern methods of machinery, or famine will sweep the entire continent of Europe.

We have entered the second stage of our famine relief work. Our efforts must now be directed to permanent relief. We must send modern agricultural equipment which will enable Russia once again to plant its fertile plains and again to become the bread basket of Europe.

There can be no doubt of Russia's ability and courage, when one hears of peasants who live on acorns and roots and save their seed grains for planting. Picture, if you can, those Russian farmers literally starving—yet plowing in the seed—hoping against hope for next season's crops.

It is in answer to the needs of such men that the F. S. R. is directing its efforts. These men need tools—particularly agricultural tools—and they need also comrades who come with fresh enthusiasm to initiate their brother farmers in the newer methods of American agriculture.

The F. S. R. has organized its first Agricultural Famine Relief Unit. The primary object of this Unit is to plow and plant winter grains in the very heart of the famine valley. Somewhere between Tambov and Saratov—near enough to river and railroads to get fuel oil for the tractors.

The personnel of the Unit is well adapted to the work. Most of them come from America's Northwest—the Dakotas and Canada—broad and husky as the West makes them. There is Charlie Heck, for instance, as hardy a farmer as ever tamed a tractor, and who by the way tamed the old-line politicians, as one of the original organizers of the Non-Partisan League out in North Dakota in 1916. All have been farmers in the grain country, but all of them have received their engine and tractor experience in different schools; some right on the home farm—others from aeroplanes and tanks. All together—and that means eleven men, including one doctor, a Russian whose first job in America was on a farm—they are a husky modern set of American farmers whose varied experience and cheerful courage fits them for the inevitable hardships and the job of handling a complete modern grain-farming equipment.

In the organization of this equipment, the F. S. R. has kept its primary object strictly in mind—that is, actual production of food on a large scale. It has however equipped the Unit so it may be of the utmost service in assisting the Russian Department of Agriculture in demonstrating and teaching modern machine farming. Fifteen thousand feet of moving picture films, showing internal operation of engines and the construction and operation of farm tractors and agricultural machinery in the United States, are part of the equipment.

They plan to teach specially qualified Russians, by actually working beside them, every detail of American methods. It is the replacement plan. The Farm which the Unit will establish will at the

end of the season be turned over together with all its products to the Russian comrades who have learned to handle its equipment.

To grasp fully the completeness of this Unit and what it is capable of, it is necessary to outline just what machinery these Americans take with them. First of all come the twenty big farm tractors, each pulling three fourteen-inch plows, capable of plowing at the rate of 3 miles per hour speed, and so turning over 20 acres per hour or 200 acres per 10 hour shift. Carbide lights go with each tractor, so that it will be possible to run two shifts—keeping the tractors in operation at least 18 hours per day, with an average of 300 acres turned over each 24 hours. This can be accomplished, beside the harrowing after each tractor, to preserve the precious moisture which the dry air sucks out of the fresh furrows. In America a sturdy farm team of two good horses and a modern walking plow and one man do well to turn over an acre and a half per day. In Russia the weakened horses and men, with worn out and antiquated plows, would do far less. Surely the very difference in acres per man accomplished by the Americans and the Russians whom they teach to run tractors will have great educational effect on the community generally. Nor must the amount of actual food produced be overlooked—considering delays, breakdowns, etc. In fifty days of work the Unit should plow fifteen thousand acres. Ordinarily the Russian peasants, with primitive equipment, average 10½ bushels per acre. With improved machinery, deep early plowing and modern methods of conserving soil moisture, and lastly, with improved seed, the yield will at least equal the old figure. On that basis more than twenty thousand bushels of grain should be harvested in the summer of 1923 from the direct effort of this Unit. That means over one million pounds of grain—enough to fill the bread ration for eight to ten thousand people.

It is easy enough for a "Book-taught Bilkens" to sit down and push a pencil over a paper farm and make wonderful "records". The F. S. R. Unit is not organized or equipped for fancy farming. The calloused hands of its personnel and the aggregate experience of the Unit as a whole fits it to grapple with the inevitable difficulties to be encountered in Russia. One of its most important parts is a complete machine shop—especially equipped for repairing tractors—for be it known that no other internal combustion motor gets the knocks and jars and strains which fall upon the farm tractor. Anyone who drives a car "in low" knows how hot his engine gets. Add to this the strain of heavy pulling, the jars of uneven traveling, and it ceases to cause wonder that tractors are constantly in need of "tuning up". It is this necessity for repairs that Russia feels most. Almost everyone reports having seen tractors standing idle — not in Russia alone but in the United States. Spare parts and repairs are inevitable requirements. The Unit is prepared. The Tractor Company has sent one of its best field

men along as official veterinarian to our iron horses. He will have our acetylene welding outfit, a lathe, drill press, forge benches and vice and over two thousand dollars' worth of spare parts to work with.

Besides the twenty Case 15-27 tractors, modern power lift drills, gang plows, cultipackers, disc harrows and spike harrows, there are included one Ford car and one Ford light truck, also a Fordson tractor to pull the fuel tanks and wagons about from tractor to tractor as they work in the field.

Tents for sleeping, eating and storage are being taken. No matter where the Unit is dropped, it is "ready to go". Foods, dishes, medicines—all are included in the equipment which is planned to feed and house twenty men for six months on the job. And that job, as the men understand it, is "somewhere in the famine area of Russia" preferably between Saratov and Tambov, because on reliable information the grain-farming equipment as organized is best suited to that region.

Each man goes fully aware of the personal risks involved. Each knows the dangers of typhus and cholera. But all are convinced that real famine relief on a permanent constructive basis necessitates a fair demonstration of modern methods. In this spirit they go to teach by doing rather than by talking. They realize that farmers the world over believe only when they see results.

The several thousand feet of educational moving picture films are taken to assist in showing Russian farmers how the American farmer farms.

The entire equipment has arrived in New York and when the S. S. "Latvia" sails, May 10, the initial F. S. R. Agricultural Relief Unit will actually become a factor in the historic fight against the worst famine recorded in history.

CHURCH TREASURES USED FOR FAMINE RELIEF

The following items on the subject of confiscation of treasures in the churches for the purpose of raising money for famine relief, while they are fully a month old, are interesting in that they show to what extent the Russian population is in sympathy with this procedure, and also because they indicate, in certain instances, the resistance offered by some of the clergy to this necessary step.

Kharkov, April 25.—The Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars has appropriated 75,000,000,000 rubles for the purchase of seed grain abroad, on the basis of the treasures already taken and about to be taken from the churches.

Petrograd, April 26.—In the Province of Petrograd the collection of church valuables has already begun. It is proceeding without friction, as most of the clergy are giving real cooperation. In Petrograd the collection has already been carried out in twenty-six churches in the city proper, resulting in the gathering of seventy poods of silver.



FRENCH RENAISSANCE CLOCK

Eighteenth Century Work, with Figure of Diana

Pskov, April 24.—The Jewish population of the Province of Pskov has voluntarily placed the treasures of its synagogues at the disposal of the Famine Committee.

Voronezh, April 24.—In the Province of Voronezh 325 poods of silver and about 2400 jewels have already been taken from the churches.

Petrozavodsk, April 24.—The collection of ecclesiastical treasures in the Karelian Workers' Commune is proceeding without friction and is finding full support in the clergy and the population.



DRESDEN CHINA VASE, WITH COVER
*Eighteenth Century Work, from the Royal Porcelain
Factory at Meissen.*



Moscow, April 23.—The Supreme Court has begun to sit at Ivanovo-Voznesensk in the investigation of the disturbance that took place at Shuya when the deliveries of ecclesiastical treasures were made. Twenty-four persons are accused, including three clergymen, two school teachers, and also merchants, manufacturers, and former police officers. The defense of the accused is in the hands of four lawyers. Owing to the great crowds present at the trials, they were held in the City Theatre.

Moscow, April 25.—It is reported from Minsk that the representative of the Catholic Church admitted in his declaration that the giving up of the church treasures was necessary indeed, but that the Church was subject to the Pope and that as the latter's representative had come out against such deliveries, he could not surrender the valuables in the possession of the Church. But a meeting of Catholics passed a resolution in favor of surrendering the church objects for the benefit of the starving.

In undertaking to sell precious objects for famine relief, the Soviet Government will not limit itself to ecclesiastical utensils, but will dispose of some of the fine specimens of industrial art now in Russian museums. From *Zritel* we take the pictures of the two specimens on the preceding page, to be sold for famine relief.



Above: Priests Revelling in the Monastery.
Below: Fooling the People.—From Russian Posters.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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THE direct forerunners of our present European civilization, the contemporaries of Demosthenes, that ardent patriot whose one objection to the Macedonians was that "we (the Athenians) did not even get a decent slave from them", were decidedly not fit to survive. They were sophisticated enough, to be sure, but they lacked sufficient understanding for that prerequisite of civilization that is as necessary for the existence of every parasitic social structure, as mimicry is necessary for animals in their struggle against other species. They neglected the element of hypocrisy. They called things by their right names and in endowing their various divinities with specific functions made Hermes (Mercury) the god of "merchants and thieves". Maybe it was then not necessary to hide the relationship of these two vocations — for in those days Goethe's "*Krieg, Handel, und Piraterie*" (war, trading and piracy) was an association of terms accepted not only as a figure of speech, but also as the literal truth. Times have changed. Piracy and theft, as well as conquest, plunder and enslavement, are no longer officially sanctioned by our Christian civilization and its brutal content is veiled with a thick layer of hypocritical cant about honor, fairness, reciprocity, decency and brotherly love. When the Russian Delegation at Genoa in its final memorandum refused to accept the terms of the Allies that would have meant for 130 million Russians worse slavery than that of the subject peoples of the Roman empire, Lloyd George declared that "Europe was gradually filling up the gap left by Russia's decline, but he was sad to see millions of Russians in despair and starvation," and that the Russians must recognize the Western "prejudices", as he sarcastically remarked, as to the paying of one's debts. Even if historical precedents in similar cases—such as, e. g., in the case of such respectable countries as France and America, were of contrary

implication, Chicherin's answer as to the "prejudices" of the Russian people, to the effect that "if a neighbor burns down your house, he must pay for the damage", was of course not to the point. For to deny the Allies the right to make war on Russia, to help the counter revolution and to ruin the country would mean an intolerable encroachment upon their sovereignty.

* * *

THE "fool propaganda" of Chicherin, as Lloyd George's secretary termed the answer of the Russian Delegation, has been certainly read by all our readers in the daily press and we can therefore dispense with reprinting it. It would be carrying coals to Newcastle to attempt to add a single word to this magnificent exposition of the Russian and international situation. But our readers may perhaps be interested to read the *Memorandum* that was submitted by the Russian Delegation during the first days of the Conference, as an answer to the Memorandum drawn up at London (March, 1922) by the Allied experts. Some of the arguments propounded in Chicherin's final reply are here expanded and illustrated with more detailed data. (See pages 298-301.)

* * *

WE have read of cases of condemned men who had met with serious accidents, nursed to health with great solicitude—only that they might be done to death as soon as they recovered. Such must have been the idea of Lloyd George and the other champions of European democracy and civilization when they suggested to the Russian delegation terms for the "reconstruction" of Russia which meant not only the complete enslavement of the Russian population—on the African or Chinese model—but also certain death to the members of the government that would dare accept such stipulations. But if the European statesmen were pursuing such a policy, they forgot only one thing—namely, that the analogy with the prisoner was not perfect. For although Russia is sorely wounded, she is still far from being a captive, nor has she been disarmed. She still is in a position to defend herself against all the military and diplomatic attempts to enslave her—and her representatives will remain equally undisturbed by the impudence of French war-mongers, the craftiness of British imperialists, and the arrogance of parvenu "philanthropists".

* * *

SPEAKING of the conferences at Washington and Genoa the *New York Times* of May 12 uses the happy expression that the various powers are "wise enough, meanwhile, to cover the nakedness of national interest with a near-silken garment of idealistic language". We are so dreadfully shocked at this venomous weed of Marxian thought in the intellectual gardens of the chief organ of American capitalism that we are incapable of haggling over the meaning of the expression "national interest" which is also "a near-silken

garment of idealistic language", to "cover the nakedness" of the interest of certain capitalist and parasitic groups. It is the interest of those groups—which are not only not representative of the majority of the American people, but not even of the majority of the industrial bourgeoisie—which stands behind all the juristic and economic wisdom so generously exhibited by Messrs. Hughes and Hoover on the Russian question. Russia and America have the largest deposits of raw materials, and are therefore potential competitors as salesmen of such materials. The economic recovery of Russia aimed at by a number of European powers for the obtaining of cheaper raw materials would impair the monopoly enjoyed by the aforesaid interests in this field. Hence the absolute hostility to any scheme that would put the Russian transportation and industrial system on its feet and would make those natural riches of Russia accessible to the world market. But the voice of the American workers, as well as of a large part of the farming and manufacturing interests, which are suffering from the present situation, will no doubt make itself heard sooner or later.

* * *

FOUR hundred persons at a gathering in Moscow held more than a month ago, founded the *Deutsch-Russische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* ("The German-Russian Cooperative Alliance"), an organization intended to further the interests of a close cooperation between Russia and Germany on the economic field. Frequently in the first sessions of this body the thought was expressed that Russia, the great agricultural country, and Germany, the great industrial country, should "get together" in an effort mutually to supplement each other's work and production. A German representative pointed out that "the Germans are coming to Russia not only in order to obtain raw materials there, but also to give assistance of every kind in building up the industry of the country. There should not be competition between the two countries, but cooperation."

Perhaps so, perhaps not. No doubt German industrialists would prefer to continue deliveries to Russia without any Russian competition, and it is possible that Russia may for some time remain predominantly an agricultural nation. But the country will be obliged to establish its industrial life on very broad lines, in order to be independent, as far as possible, from foreign capitalism. The intentions of leading Soviet statesmen on this subject have been clearly expressed. The current issue of SOVIET RUSSIA shows, in the article on the Russian Railway Mission, the readiness of the Soviet Government to patronize foreign manufacturers by making necessary purchases abroad, but the reader will also learn, from Leonid's article on the "New Economic Policy", how much it is desired in Russia, in spite of the German expectations to the contrary, to have an industrial life that may function as an independent productive unit.

THE requisitions of precious metals and gems from Russian churches and synagogues have resulted in the collection of a substantial sum which will be expended for foodstuffs for the famine-stricken regions. The wholehearted support given everywhere to the Government in this action is in sharp contrast with the attitude of the upper clergy. The reactionary elements of the Greek Orthodox Church, headed by Patriarch Tikhon, beheld in these "sacrilegious" seizures an opportunity to turn the religious superstitions of the ignorant peasant masses against the Soviet Government. A clever scheme indeed—but it came to nought. The peasants who once before—in November, 1917—had seized the rich lands belonging to the Church—had grown accustomed to "sacrileges"—especially when they coincided with their interests. The venerable Patriarch had left this change in the peasant psychology out of his calculations. He still thought in terms of the old times, when the docility and stupidity of the muzhik was practically bottomless. And the only consequence of Patriarch Tikhon's uncompromising and inhuman stand was—aside from his indictment for blocking relief work—the revolt of the lower ecclesiastical hierarchy in the provinces. More in touch with the masses, they felt that Tikhon's stand would undermine, better than any atheistic propaganda, the authority of the Church and religion in the eyes of the peasants, and they forced the Patriarch to resign. Soon all will understand that backward as the Russian peasant may be, he will never again permit himself to be used by the Church for counter-revolutionary purposes.

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SOVIET RUSSIA
201 West 13th St., New York, N. Y.
Room 31

The Russian Delegation to the Genoa Conference

A Memorandum submitted to the members of the Conference before its sessions opened. The Annexes mentioned in the text will be printed in our next issue.

The Resolutions of Cannes

WHEN, by the decision of the Supreme Council dated January 10, Russia was invited to participate in the Conference of Genoa, she was informed of the resolutions adopted by the Supreme Council at Cannes, the 6th of January preceding, but without the invitation being conditioned upon the acceptance of these resolutions or upon any other demands whatever.

Nevertheless the Russian Delegation, believing that an exact and consistent interpretation of the Resolutions of Cannes might furnish a basis for mutual understanding, and for the settlement of questions in dispute between the republic of Russia and the Western countries, declared at the first plenary session of the Conference that she accepted in principle the stipulations of the Resolutions of Cannes, at the same time reserving the right to offer amendments to it and to propose new articles. The Delegation was of the opinion that a ground of agreement for the questions in dispute might be found in the three fundamental theses of Cannes:

1. Respect of the absolute sovereignty of each nation in the establishment of a regime of property and an economic and administrative system for its own people;

2. Legislative, judiciary and administrative guarantee of the personal and property rights of foreigners desiring to go into any country in order to engage in economic activities;

3. Recognition on the part of all the governments of the principle of reciprocity in the execution of their engagements, and compensation for injuries suffered by foreign citizens—as was stated in the note prepared for the press by the ministers and the experts of Cannes, the official character of which was emphasized by the prime Minister of Great Britain in his speech in parliament on the 3rd of April.

The Memorandum of the Experts and the Resolutions of Cannes

Now, the Memorandum drawn up at London between the 20th, 28th March, 1922 by the Allied experts, of which the Russian Delegation was able to take cognizance only at the Conference itself, clearly deviates in its most essential propositions from the theses of Cannes, and contradicts in its practical demands the principles enunciated in its own preamble. While affirming that the Russian question has been examined from the point of view of "justice" and of the necessity of "economic reconstruction" of Russia, without "exploitation of the Russian people" the Memorandum nevertheless presents practical demands equivalent not only to the exploitation but even to the complete enslavement of the working population of Russia to foreign capital. At the same time it passes in silence the essential question of the means necessary to obtain the aforesaid economic reconstruction of the country. This silence is all the more incomprehensible, in that without the revival of the productive forces of Russia, one cannot even imagine an economic renaissance of Europe, in the profound industrial crisis which it is now passing through, with the shrinkage of the export market, the scarcity of food and of raw materials, and finally with the steadily growing number of unemployed, which has not fallen below nine millions for Europe and America during these last years. England, Italy, France and Germany produced from 1916 to 1920, 25 millions of tons of wheat a year less than before the war. And the prolonged loss of 8 million tons which they used to import annually from Russia has condemned them to a very serious food crisis, and deprived their industry of every possibility of further development. American wheat is already today too expensive for Europe. The lack of markets and the absence of purchasers capable of paying, bring it about that industry operates at the present time at less than 50 per cent of its productive capacity.

Such is the situation which led to the Resolutions of Cannes as well as to the conference of Genoa; and meanwhile, although the center of the problem is most obviously the reconstruction of Russia and of Western Europe, and not the reestablishment of the rights and the revenues of the little groups of creditors of Russia, it is upon this latter question that the Memorandum of London centers its attention.

The Conditions of Future Work

According to the general principles set forth in the preamble of the Memorandum of London, the representatives of the governments of Europe assembled at the Conference ought to give particular attention to the question of the measures necessary to revive the productive forces of Russia, and not to the means of satisfying the demands of its creditors, as the Memorandum does.

Valid as they may be in general, the demands of isolated citizens of this or that country, ought to pass to a second place, in the presence of the enormous problems presented, on the one hand by the economic reconstruction of Europe, disorganized by the war, the peace policy and the universal economic crisis, and on the other hand by the amelioration of the conditions of existence of the working masses. The sole means of obtaining a rapid rebirth of the economic power of Russia, is an immediate and energetic aid offered to the Russian people by European capital and technique under the form of long-term credits in money and merchandise; and not the plundering of its resources and the retarding of its economic development for the profit of a group of foreign capitalists.

Assuming the necessity of reestablishing the economic prosperity of Russia by all the means now accessible, the government of the Republic, since the adoption of its new economic orientation, has reformed the civil legislation and the judiciary procedure in a manner which offers to foreign capital guarantees more than sufficient, and places it in a condition assuring to its interests and to its juridical conceptions, within the frame-work of the established order, an atmosphere of fruitful work.

The demands for guarantees of the rights of foreigners which are presented in paragraph 8, and following, of the Memorandum of London are evidently based upon an insufficient knowledge of the new legislation of Russia. During these last months the Russian Government has already adopted the following juridical measures:

1. Freedom of internal trade.
2. Legal guarantees of the freedom of industrial initiative and of private capital in the enterprises entrusted by the State to private exploitation.
3. Freedom for everyone to commit himself to the forms of industrial and commercial activity not expressly prohibited.
4. Guarantee of the persons of all citizens and particularly of foreigners against all illegal requisitions, confiscations, arrests and so forth.
5. Special guarantees ensuring to foreign concessionaires their contracts of concession.
6. A civil code and civil courts, involving the services of lawyers.

The workers' organizations of the Soviet Republic have decided to give their attention above all to the protection of labor, and the regularization of the relations between workers and employers by means of collective contracts. They have renounced all interference in the management of the industries.

The Russian Delegation, attaching a primary importance to the placing of foreign capital in the most favorable conditions, is prepared to take into consideration all the demands which may be submitted to it for the development and consolidation of the guarantees mentioned above. The Delegation does not doubt that it will be easy to arrive at a practical agreement in all that concerns the work of

foreigners in Russia, and the protection of their persons and their property. But it must call attention to the fact that the legislative and administrative measures of the Government can produce their full effect in protecting the interests of foreign capital, within as well as outside of Russia, only when the government shall have been recognized *de jure*, and its rights and competence cannot be subject to any question. If the foreign business-men, who understand better than their governments how important and indispensable it is for them to penetrate Russia, refrain from it at present, it is not because the Tsarist debts have not been paid, but because the formal rights of the Soviet Government are still in doubt in the eyes of foreign governments, and hence it is possible for new conflicts to arise, which would endanger the capital invested in Russia.

The delegation considers it necessary to note that the authors of the Memorandum of London, indicating in Part 2 the guarantees they find indispensable to the operation of foreign capital in Russia, deviate radically from paragraph 1 of the Resolutions of Cannes. They seek to impose upon Russia an internal legislation repugnant to its regime and tending, under the pretext of creating "advantageous conditions of labor" for foreign capital, to introduce a system of capitulations involving an impairment of the sovereignty of Russia. The most convincing examples are (1) paragraph 24 of the Memorandum, which tends to establish a judiciary extra-territoriality for the benefit of foreigners; and (2) the entire organization of the commission of the Russian debt, the plan of which is presented in annex 1 of the Memorandum, and which if it should be realized, would undoubtedly change into an organ of foreign control over the whole economic life of the Republic, following the example of the Reparations Commission established by the Treaty of Versailles for Germany.

The Soviet Power and Its Contracts

The Delegation declares that the power of the Soviets, issuing from the great Russian Revolution, has always fulfilled and intends always to fulfil the contracts which it makes, and that the legal guarantees which it offers are no less solid than those of any other sovereign state. During these two last years, although the Soviet Government has concluded a number of foreign contracts for important advances in gold, not a single case presents itself in which it has transgressed or failed to execute the engagements undertaken by it. The Delegation declares in a manner absolutely categorical that all the statements to the contrary which appear from time to time in the press, are pure inventions.

If the power of the Soviets has refused to recognize the contracts of preceding governments, or to satisfy the demands of persons who have suffered from its measures of internal politics, such as the nationalization of industries, the municipalization of buildings, the requisition or confiscation of private property, it is not because it is "incapable" or "unwilling" to honor its contracts, but on the contrary, for reasons of principle or upon the ground of political necessity.

The Revolution of 1917, from the very fact that it destroyed from top to bottom the old political, social and economic state of affairs, in order to put in its place a totally different organization of society, and that it transferred the power into the hands of new social classes, interrupted the continuity of civil contracts. These contracts were an integral part of the economic regime of the disappearing society and fell into forfeit along with that society itself. This Revolution was an immense cataclysm such as the world has known only at exceptional moments in its history, and its character of *force majeure* will not be questioned by any objective statesman.

Moreover one can apply to revolutionary Russia, more than to any other country subjected to social perturbations, the opinion of many authorities on international law, who deny to the governments of countries whose nationals have suffered from such perturbations the right to claim compensation for damages suffered, and still more that

of employing violence for the satisfaction of these claims. (Annex 1).

In rejecting resolutely all responsibility for damages caused to foreign property by the economic crisis resulting from the war and its consequences, or by the abandonment of these properties by their owners emigrating to foreign countries, as well as the responsibility for injuries suffered by foreign property in the course of the allied intervention in Russia and the civil war promoted by the allied governments, the Russian delegation must call the attention of the conference to the fact that even the measures systematically applied by the Soviet power, such as the nationalization of the means of production and the requisition of goods belonging to foreigners, do not put it legally under the obligation to compensate the losses suffered. The allied governments, and under their pressure the neutral governments also, were from the beginning hostile to the Soviet revolution, and refused to enter into official relations with the new government, even before it had adopted the first measures of nationalization.

They did not attempt for a single moment to obtain any accord whatever with the power of the Soviets for the protection of the rights of their citizens, and the friendly liquidation of their property rights in Russia. And this, although in every case without exception, where certain representatives of foreign governments did enter into contact with the Soviet power for the defence of the interests of their nationals, the Russian Government took all measures possible in order to stop the requisition and repair the damages caused.

Such was the case with certain foreign factories whose owners or directors put themselves in relation with the government, and which for this reason avoided nationalization and are still functioning today as private properties. Instead of applying themselves to defend the interests of their nationals in the social cataclysm which Russia was passing through, the foreign governments, belligerent and neutral alike, recalled from Russia not only their diplomatic and consular representatives but even the private persons who would respond to the invitation.

Foreign properties were abandoned to chance, a fact which, considering the exceptional importance of many of these properties for the economic life of Russia, endangered the entire industry of the country.

Foreign Intervention

Far from contenting themselves with this rupture of relations with Soviet Russia, the Powers of the Entente undertook a military intervention and a legal blockade, openly supporting the local uprisings fomented by their own agents (the revolt of the Czecho-Slovaks, the Cossacks of the Don and of Kuban, the White Guards of Siberia, the Yaroslav uprising and so forth), and coming to the aid of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel and others, by the sending of Allied forces into Northern Russia, the Black Sea and the Caucasus. Documentary data prove that even in the first months of its existence the Soviet Government did not experience any difficulty in triumphing over the local revolts of elements discontented with the new regime, and that only where these elements were organized by the allied governments, and received active aid from them, in money, munitions, military supplies, and bodies of instructors, did these little sporadic revolts give birth to veritable fronts of civil war, with their retinue of savage violations, destructions of whole villages, pogroms of Jews, and other atrocities. The opinion of military experts is categorical on this point: without the intervention of foreign powers, the different local revolts which took place in Russia would never have assumed the character of atrocious civil war, which they did assume in consequence of it. The blame and the responsibility of the allied governments for the organization and maintenance of the civil war in Russia, and for the colossal losses which the people and the State of Russia have suffered, are not subject to the least doubt. (Annex 2). Part of this responsibility falls equally upon the neutral countries which, offering their hospitality to counter-revolutionary elements, to organize upon their territory plots against Russia, enroll troops for the civil war, pur-

chase and transport arms, and so forth, took part also in the boycott and blockade.

Driven by foreign intervention and the blockade to the necessity of a desperate defence, the Soviet power was constrained to accelerate the nationalization of industry and commerce, and also to apply to the holders of foreign property in Russia the same measures of liquidation, of confiscation, or of nationalization without indemnity, which were taken, according to international custom among belligerents, by the Allies themselves. It is necessary to say, however, that the Soviet Government has never applied measures abridging the personal and property rights of foreigners for the simple reason that the state of defence against intervention gave it the right to do so.

These measures were applied only to the extent demanded by security and the public welfare, and by the plan of nationalization of industry and commerce rendered inevitable by the new legal and economic regime, and the urgent necessity of re-organized production and distribution in a State isolated and cut off from the entire world by the blockade. And the Soviet Government in so doing used only the undeniable right of every state to impose public charges upon its nationals and upon foreign citizens, as well as to dispose of their goods when the highest interest of the State demands it.

The intervention and the blockade of the Allied powers, the civil war nourished by them during more than three years, have caused losses to Russia far surpassing the claims which foreigners injured by the revolution can present to her. Without mentioning the gold, the stocks and merchandise sequestered in foreign countries, or carried out of Russia, the Russian State demands that it be indemnified for the destructions caused by the war, for the railroads, the bridges, the rolling stock, the equipment of ports, the buildings of all sorts destroyed, and the ships sunk, as well as for the shops, the factories, the mines, and the private goods of its nationals, the farms and houses burned and ravaged. It demands, moreover, the restitution of its maritime and merchant fleet seized by the allied powers themselves, or by the White armies under their protection.

Apart from these claims concerning the damages caused directly to the wealth of the nation and of its private citizens, there is still to be compensated a long list of damages inflicted upon the nationalized industry, or upon private property, as a result of military operations upon territories occupied by the foreign or White armies, and finally the support of several hundreds of thousands of invalids of the civil war, and of the families of its victims.

These losses suffered by the Russian State and people unquestionably have better claims to indemnification than the former owners of property in Russia or of Russian bonds, especially since the latter belong to peoples victorious in the world war, who have benefited from immense contributions paid by the vanquished, while their demands are addressed to a country entirely ruined by the war and the foreign intervention, and struggling desperately for its right to existence within the only forms of organization possible to it.

It is truly strange to hear demands for indemnities advanced by citizens of states which have made war without success against Russia, and by representatives of governments who throughout the war have applied upon their territory the right of confiscation to the nationals of the opposing party, and who in the Treaty of Versailles have raised this right to the height of a principle even for the time of peace, imposing upon the entire population of a vanquished state the material responsibility for damages caused to its victors by the military acts of its governments.

The Soviet Power Is Disposed to a Mutual Indemnification of Damages

Nevertheless the Government of the Russian Republic, desiring to find a propitious ground for an agreement and for the reestablishment of business relations with foreign capital, is ready to admit the right of foreign citizens to compensation for the losses which they have suffered, on the condition, however, of the complete reciprocity demanded by the note to the press of the 11th of

January, before cited, which spoke of the "recognition by all countries of their public debts and of the indemnification of losses and damages caused by the action of their governments". The Soviet Government, opposing to the losses of foreign citizens due to acts of the Soviet power the losses suffered by Russia from the ravages of allied troops and White Guards supported by them, agrees to discuss them both, and to compensate the former if the balance is not in its favor.

The "War Debts" of the Russian Government

It is regrettable that the allied experts, abandoning the principles of justice and of reconstruction without exploitation, which their memorandum proclaims, have refused to adhere to this point of view, and propose to meet the claims of Russia for the destruction which she has suffered, by a very special category of allied claims; viz. the war debts of the Russian Government. (Paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Memorandum).

This desire to eliminate the legitimate claims of the Russian people for incontestable damages which the military intervention of foreign governments has caused them, by opposing to them what they have agreed to call the "war debts"—otherwise to be described as a category of inter-allied engagements, the complete annulment of which has been put upon the order of the day by the allies themselves—appears, to say the least, strange to the Russian Delegation. It is obliged to reject in the most categorical fashion every invitation to pay these debts, as an inadmissible attempt to charge ruined Russia with a considerable portion of the expenses of the war of the Allied Powers. What they call the war-debts of Russia represent in reality the war material manufactured by the allied factories and sent to the Russian front in order to assure the success of the Allied armies. The Russian people have sacrificed to the common cause of the Allies more lives than all the others put together. They have endured immense material losses, and the result of this war has been the loss of vast territories of primary importance for the development of their country. At the very moment when the other allies have obtained by the treaties of peace enormous increases of territory and great contributions, they wish to make the Russian people pay the expenses of an operation which has been so lucrative for others. The Russian Delegation invites all the members of the conference to appreciate the inconsistency and the unreasonableness of such a demand.

The Desire for the Re-establishment of Private Property in Russia

The Russian Delegation ought finally to point out that, in spite of Section 1 of the Resolutions of Cannes, which acknowledges each nation's right to establish the system of property and economy which it chooses, the memorandum of the experts raises at many points the question of the restitution of the nationalized industries to their ex-proprietors, or in other words the re-establishment, open or veiled, of the private ownership of industrial enterprises, in opposition to the system of State ownership established in Russia. The Soviet Government, desiring the most rapid possible re-establishment of industry and its maximum productivity, will itself try, in leasing the mines, the factories and other enterprises, to give preference to the ex-proprietors, who possess experience and knowledge of the country. But it will not permit anyone to impose as a condition the restitution of these industries as a private property title, or even their obligatory leasing to their ex-proprietors, because that would involve an impairment of the sovereignty of the republic, and of its liberty to dispose of its productive forces according to the needs and the best interests of the Russian people. It is superfluous to add that the return of private property, with the re-establishment of former possessions within the bounds of the big industries, such as naphtha, coal and electricity, would present a serious obstacle to the revival of the productive forces of Russia, and the rapid reconstruction of its national economy.

The Obligations of Russia According to the Memorandum of London, and the National Income

The memorandum does not indicate the possible amount of the debts of Russia arising from all her former obligations and private claims, but according to the calculations made by the foreign economic press, the sum of the debts of all the categories enumerated in the memorandum, ought clearly to amount to 18½ billions of gold roubles. Deducting the debts of war, we have for the pre-war debts and the private claims, with interests due up to December 1st, 1921, a total of about 11 billions. Supposing for a moment that the Soviet Government should consent to pay these debts in full within the time fixed, the first payment with the interest and the amortization of 1.25 per cent of the capital, would demand a sum of about 1.2 billions. The Imperial Government in imposing upon the population the maximum of effort, relying besides upon the production and upon the foreign commerce of the period before the war, with its excess of exports over imports, was in a condition, in the last five years preceding the war, to pay on the average 366 millions, or about 400 millions of roubles a year of interest and amortization. In order to be able to pay the sum indicated of 1.2 billions a year, Russia would have not only to attain the rate of production which prevailed before the war of 1914, but surpass it three times. As the national income of Russia per annum was, before the war, 100 roubles per head of the inhabitants, and is at present about 30 roubles—that is to say, it has diminished more than two thirds—the memorandum seems to suppose that in the space of five years our national income will increase by nine times. One can see to what degree this supposition is unrealizable, by the example of England, of France, of Germany and of Russia, whose national income per head of the inhabitants increased on the average by 60% between 1894 and 1913, or by 3% on the average, per year. The Russian Delegation agrees that under the Soviet regime the productive forces of Russia will develop much more quickly than in the capitalist States of the West, or than under the Tsarist regime in Russia. It is ready even to admit that this income will increase twice as fast. But the Delegation, flattering as that might be to the Soviet power, nevertheless considers unfounded the supposition that the increase of annual income between 1922 and 1927 might go sixty times as fast as before the war. The Russian economy is profoundly disorganized. According to the most optimistic estimates the net annual national income has fallen from 12 billions before the war, to 4 billions. If our national income increases twice as fast as before the war, and doubles in 16 years, it will take 25 years for Russia to regain her pre-war level.

Now, as the country will be compelled before all, and with the maximum of promptitude, to pay the interests and the amortizations of the new loans which will aid her to recover, and as these payments will have to begin long before the date indicated, Russia will not have, for as long a time as we can foresee, any resource with which to honor her other engagements. This conclusion will be necessarily confirmed by any impartial and scientifically conscientious commission of experts which may have the opportunity to study our economic situation.

How monstrous are the payments demanded of us, the following data will show: the Tsarist Government expended each year before the war, on account of its debt, a sum of 3 3/10 per cent of all the annual national income, and approximately 13 per cent of its budget. The memorandum of the experts thinks it possible to exact from Russia in 5 years, the annual payment of a sum which is equal to 20 per cent of its national income, supposedly increased by 30 per cent, and to about 80 per cent of its present budget. And these payments are to be made, it should be noted, for the profit of countries whose national income per head of the inhabitants is 7 or 8 times that of Russia.

The Payment of Former Obligations and the Re-establishment of Russia

If the Soviet Government engaged to pay, upon the national income of a ruined country, even a part only

of the sums arising from the obligations enumerated in the Memorandum of London, that would not only lead to a systematic non-satisfaction of needs, and to a chronic pauperization of the population, but it would also fatally clog the process of economic revival. Russia would find herself incapable of regaining with the least possible delay her role of the chief purveyor of wheat and raw materials for Europe, of becoming again an immense market for western industry, and in re-establishing her economic situation, becoming one of the principal elements in the economic re-establishment of the whole world. If the obtaining of new credits destined for the economic reconstruction of Russia, is subordinated to the payment of former obligations, and if all the positive results of the new loans and the economic revival resulting from them, are devoted to the payment of old debts, these new credits will lose all sense for the Russian people, and Russia will be obliged to continue by its own means and without hoping for the help of foreign capital, the work of its economic rebirth, commenced already and naturally progressing very slowly. And moreover it is not only the Russian people, but all the peoples of Europe and America, and even the overwhelming majority of the industrial and commercial classes of all countries, who are interested above everything, not in indemnifying a small number of former creditors of Russia, but in renewing economic relations with Russia, and putting their capital to work there under conditions guaranteeing sufficient advantages and at the same time favoring the economic development of the country.

Necessity for the General Liquidation of Financial Engagements of the War Period

As a result of the war all the states of Europe find themselves in a state of complete economic impotence, and all the interest bearing titles in the hands of the possessing classes, dating from before the war or during the war (deeds, stocks, bonds, and so forth) no longer correspond in any way to the volume of the real national income, just as the obligations of the State no longer correspond to the amounts in the budget. Hence the necessity, more and more clearly felt, of putting all these titles and obligations into relation with production and the national income. And this necessity finds its expression both in the bankruptcy towards which several States are moving little by little, being obliged to renounce the payment of their war debts, and in the numerous failures of banks and of private firms. It finds expression also in the constant fall in value of notes and papers of every kind.

While the Governments refuse payment, or exempt themselves from it in practice, while industries and private banks declare bankruptcy, while the working masses pay with an enormous lowering of their level of existence for the disturbances of the war, throughout the world according to the memorandum of the experts, one single category of individuals in going to be indemnified—the creditors of Russia. They alone are going to cash the full value of their titles, as if the Russian revolution had guaranteed them against all the risks and all the damages endured throughout the entire world by the masses of the people and by the capitalist groups.

In consequence of what precedes, the Russian Delegation proposes in the matter of debts and mutual obligations, the solution of which has been set forth above, and which is in full accord with the real economic situation resulting from the world war and from the subsequent disturbances, as well as with the absolute necessities of the economic reconstruction of the entire world.

The Delegation of Russia once more and with particular energy, draws the attention of the public opinion of all the States to the fact that the Soviet Government throughout these pourparlers, in seeking an agreement, desires to defend the interests of the future of Russia and the economic progress of all Europe, whereas that agreement is in danger of being rendered impossible, or postponed, by the narrow and egotistical demands of a little group of former creditors of Russia, who exercise, unfortunately, too much influence upon the policies of the governments.

Capt. Hibben and Mr. Lippmann

Letter I, of May 14, will serve as an explanation why letter II was written on April 30, 1922.

I.

CAPTAIN HIBBEN TO THE EDITOR

New York, May 14, 1922.

The Editor of Soviet Russia,
201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Sir:

The *New York World* of this morning publishes a lengthy article which purports to set forth the facts of the Russian relief situation and to defend "the honor of Mr. Hoover and of the American Nation" as if the two were identical—in the order named. The article is signed by Mr. Walter Lippmann who wrote it, he says, after investigating the matter for a good many weeks.

The article in question is far from setting forth the facts of the Russian relief situation, nor has Mr. Lippmann made any investigation whatever worthy the name of those facts. An investigation, even of the most casual kind, would require of course (1) that the Russian relief organizations not under Mr. Hoover's direct or indirect control be given an opportunity to be heard; (2) that the investigator approach the Russian Government directly and not through Mr. Hoover's agents for its figures on the need in Russia and the relief so far rendered by Mr. Hoover; or (3) at least that the investigator make a study of the facts available in *Russian Information and Review*, a fortnightly magazine published in London, and take some of those facts into consideration. Mr. Lippmann did none of these things. His article is therefore merely another example of the vast personal Hoover propaganda with which every newspaper office in this country is familiar through the publicity matter daily sent out by the American Relief Administration at a cost presumably borne out of contributions to Russian relief.

On March 24, Mr. Lippmann approached me in regard to the investigation which he said he planned to make of the Russian relief situation. He assured me that whatever he might write he would be willing to print also my reply. On this clear understanding, on March 29, I met Mr. Lippmann and Mr. George Barr Baker, Mr. Hoover's publicity man, in the American Relief Administration office and for three hours and a half listened to Mr. Baker laud Mr. Hoover, while adducing very little of real bearing on the situation save his assertions. On April 29, I received Mr. Lippmann's article substantially as now printed. He gave me 48 hours to make a reply. In that brief time I did so, and sent it to him, so that he might publish it, as he had promised, in conjunction with his own summary of Mr. Hoover's side of the case. I enclose my carbon copy of that reply.

While taking a fortnight in which I presume to syndicate his own article, Mr. Lippmann has not seen fit to print the other side of the story, despite his assurances. His article therefore remains what it was evidently intended to be from the first—a mere polemic in favor of Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Walter Lippmann, then an editor of *The New Republic*, and Mr. Frank I. Cobb, editor of *The World*, were, it will be recalled, the gentlemen who, two years ago, launched Mr. Hoover's campaign for the presidential nomination. This is now, I doubt not, a new move in the same political game, designed to inspire sympathy for Mr. Hoover as the maligned great man, persecuted by his political enemies. Mr. Cobb and Mr. Lippmann are, of course, entitled to their taste in Presidents; but I object very much to being used to forward Mr. Hoover's political ambitions.

I have and have had no desire to persecute poor misunderstood Mr. Hoover. But my sympathy is all for the 9,000,000 Russians who, according to the eye-witness testimony of Mr. W. N. Ewer, in *The Nation* of May 17, have not been fed by Mr. Hoover.

Sincerely yours,

PAXTON HIBBEN.

II.

CAPTAIN HIBBEN TO MR. LIPPMANN

April 30, 1922.

My dear Lippmann:

I fear I cannot agree in any particular with your summary of the Russian relief situation as it affects Mr. Herbert Hoover. Certainly I cannot accept the capital role you assigned to me in what you are pleased to term "the whole campaign against Mr. Hoover". So far as I am aware, there is no campaign against Mr. Hoover. Neither my speeches, of which you quote only selected parts and which were delivered before small audiences, nor my correspondence with Mr. Hoover on the matter of Russian relief were reported in full save in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, a magazine whose circulation is necessarily limited. Perhaps a few thousand people out of a hundred million ever heard that I had asked Mr. Hoover, publicly, certain questions in regard to the relief of the starving of Russia, to which I received no answer—or ever heard of me, for that matter.

When you say, therefore, that "the whole criticism of Mr. Hoover has drawn its authority, its facts, its point from Captain Hibben", you are, I feel, flattering but scarcely accurate. There was, as you point out, criticism of Mr. Hoover's attitude towards Russia long before I spoke or thought of Mr. Hoover in connection with Russia. You are, I believe however, wrong to dismiss Mr. Hoover's previous position on Russia so lightly. To be quite frank, I did not myself know that he had any previous position on Russia until I read what you have written. Then I looked it up and found that as far back as January 1921, Dr. Judah L. Magnes broached the matter of relief for Russia with Mr. Hoover and got no reply to his urging that Mr. Hoover ascertain the terms upon which the Russian Government would welcome American relief of Russian children. A month later, when the Friends received a cable from Moscow saying that the Soviet Government would give them "fullest opportunity" to distribute relief supplies from America, Mr. Hoover was again approached but could not be persuaded to undertake the task.

I can readily understand that those two facts stick in the minds of many people. So also does the Gregory incident which you say "though disavowed, has been hard to live down". I have seen no disavowal of this incident by Mr. Hoover. On the contrary, in her book, "The Making of Herbert Hoover"—a book which I am informed was prepared under Mr. Hoover's supervision, and which was widely used in Mr. Hoover's campaign for the presidential nomination—Rose Wilder Lane is quite lyric on the head of Mr. Hoover's services in using "a power greater than Emperors had dreamed of" to overthrow the Hungarian Government. She says:

"It was Herbert Hoover in Paris and his man, Captain Gregory on the ground, who made the counter-revolution in Budapest—made it with their tremendous power of food control and a skilful handling of the political situation.... It was Herbert Hoover who swung him [Archduke Joseph] off his throne again, Herbert Hoover, white faced with fury in the Council of Four and coldly determined at the end of the telegraph wire that reached to Captain Gregory in Budapest", and so on. It was in the office of the American Relief Administration that a well known liberal was asked to "meet Captain Gregory—the man who changed the map of Hungary!"

These things are not forgotten in a day. For them you must blame Mr. Hoover and his associates, not me. To be candid, I did not know of them until now.

My sole concern in this whole business is starving people, not Mr. Hoover. And I cannot permit you to shift the ground of my contentions to something which does not interest me. For this reason I fear I must re-

state the case of my participation in this controversy. The facts are these:

Early in January various persons of standing connected with Russian relief agencies in no wise radical came to me with the following statement:

"You know of course that Mr. Hoover is interfering with the collecting of funds for famine stricken Russia by telling people that there is not transportation for any more food than the American Relief Administration are already sending. He says that even if the capacity of the ports is increased, there is a point in the railway system beyond which only 4,000 tons a day can be carried. This point he compares to the narrow neck of a bottle."

As a matter of fact I did not know that Mr. Hoover was doing this, but I made enquiries and found that he was.

Now up until Mr. Hoover had obtained his \$20,000,000 from the Congress, there had been no mention whatever of transportation difficulties in Russia. On the contrary, Mr. Hoover's publicity bureau, which is the most extensive and complete publicity organization this country has ever seen, had filled the press with the need of more and more money to feed what were variously given as anywhere from 15,000,000 to 40,000,000 famine stricken people. It was within a few days—a fortnight at most—after he had secured the grant of \$20,000,000 that Mr. Hoover began to tell people that no more food could be sent into Russia than the amount his own funds would purchase, though at this time not a single ship bearing American grain had yet reached a Black Sea port, and no trial had been made of the railways running to the famine district from the Black Sea.

All of this came as a distinct shock to me, as to many people. I knew of no "neck of a bottle" in the Russian railway system—know of none now; but it seemed to me that if Mr. Hoover had anything of this sort to say, it would be placed frankly before the public, and the facts be ascertained. So at a luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association on January 21st, I brought the matter up, adduced such figures as I had as to the capacity of the Russian railways—carefully citing my source of information, a fact which you neglect to mention—and put the plain question as to the reason, if any, for Mr. Hoover's sudden discovery that no relief could be transported to the famine sufferers save his own.

I see nothing in this to be disturbed over, but Mr. Hoover wrote me at once saying, "I understand that you have recently criticized the work of the American Relief Administration in Russia in public and that you have likewise taken occasion to make very disagreeable statements in regard to me personally." Of course I had done nothing of the sort, and I so informed him, at the same time asking him, definitely, to help undo the harm that was being done to all independent Russian relief agencies. I wrote:

"Will you not assist those who want to see 100 per cent. relief of the Russian people—who want to see no child that can be saved die—by publicly stating that there is need for relief additional to that now going to Russia through the American Relief Administration?"

Mr. Hoover did not make this statement. On the contrary, on the very date my correspondence with Mr. Hoover on this subject terminated, there was launched in the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and other papers, an amazing attack on certain Committees seeking relief for the starving of Russia, but not controlled by Mr. Hoover, in support of which attack a letter signed by Mr. Hoover was quoted. This letter implied that relief funds and supplies collected by one organization, the Friends of Soviet Russia, were not all transmitted to Russia, but, presumably, as the newspapers in which the letter was printed made clear, were used in this country to forward "bolshivist" propaganda. This was false. Mr. Hoover likewise wrote that he understood that "Dr. Dubrowsky states that all supplies collected through the Russian Red Cross are dispatched to the Soviet authorities for distribution", which was equally false. The Russian Red Cross is as distinct an organization as the American

Red Cross, and has precisely the same international standing, a fact of which Mr. Hoover is aware.

The only campaign of which I or any large number of people in this country have any knowledge against any Russian relief agency is the campaign, launched by the newspapers mentioned, and supported by letters furnished by Mr. Hoover. To pretend that this attack did not hurt the work of securing aid for the famine stricken Russians would be absurd. To pretend that the newspapers conducting this attack published letters written by Mr. Hoover without his knowledge of the use to which they were to be put, would be more absurd still. You say that the charge of sabotage of Russian relief rests upon my assertions. This senseless attack upon those trying as earnestly, if not always as effectively, as Mr. Hoover to relieve the sufferings of the Russian people was sabotage, indeed. It rested upon no assertion of mine, thank God!

And now as to what you call my assertions. You say that they are "the whole of the charge of Mr. Hoover's critics". On my facts, you say, they stand or fall, because admittedly I alone have any direct knowledge of the Russian famine. This is ridiculous. People do read *The World*, for example. And when they read in *The World* of December 7, 1921, (editorial) that Governor Goodrich had estimated the "population affected by the famine at 25,000,000" and in *The World* of February 12 the headlines "30,000,000 Total of Russian Hungry", it required only a little rudimentary arithmetic to figure that at a pound a day this would mean 3,000,000 not 275,000 tons of grain to keep the Russian famine victims until the harvest was in. And at the minimum price for American corn of somewhere around \$40.00 per ton, delivered in Russia, that would mean not \$20,000,000 but \$120,000,000 for Russian relief. Many people preferred this simple calculation and confronted with the result, asked themselves why Mr. Hoover had sought only \$20,000,000 from the Congress instead of say, \$50,000,000, as suggested in *The World's* editorial of December 1st, 1921. It was indeed very much this question which I myself asked in the speech of January 21, 1921, to which you refer. People also read Dr. Nansen's statements published by the Newspaper Enterprise Association and by the *Christian Science Monitor*, in which he appealed for funds in one country after another in Europe, raising over £1,250,000 in about four months. Dr. Nansen admitted that transportation in Russia left much to be desired, but he insisted that his supplies go there. He had much more direct knowledge of the Russian famine than either I or Mr. Hoover. People also learned that the Friends were still appealing for funds, and getting them, and the Friends' supplies also were reaching the starving in Russia. In England, an All-British Appeal for the Russian Famine was entrusted to Sir Benjamin Robertson. You can see its advertisement in the current issue of the *Manchester Guardian*. Nothing is said about inability to get the food purchased by this Committee to the starving. Do you or Mr. Hoover imply that these people are obtaining money under false pretenses?

A short time ago I was in Canada. Col. Herbert J. Mackie, former member of the Canadian Parliament, who also has first hand knowledge of conditions in Russia, was conducting a Dominion-wide campaign for funds, and the Canadian Government was printing and handing out a ton and a half of circulars a day, free of cost, to bring the story of the famine to the people of Canada and to enlist their sympathy to send food into Russia. Mexico has sent one shipload of wheat and is sending another, to be distributed on the Volga by the Russian Red Cross. Italy has just sent a mission with supplies for 2,000,000 rations, daily, for distribution on the lower Volga. The German Red Cross and the Swedish Red Cross are doing yeoman service. All of this has been recounted in the daily press, where he who runs may read. It is not in the least necessary for me to give figures as to the transportation system in Russia. People who read their newspapers know that supplies are going into Russia every day that are not being sent in by the American Relief Administration, and they say: "If the Canadians

and the British and the Swedes and the Germans and the Italians and Dr. Nansen can get their little gifts to the starving, so can we get ours there." They want to give. They want to help. Why in God's name should they not help their suffering fellow-men, if their hearts move them to it?

And finally, the questions of the American public as to Mr. Hoover's accuracy in asserting that the transportation system of Russia could not handle even all the American Relief Administration supplies were frequently answered not by my figures at all, which few saw, but by published statements of Mr. Hoover's own men. You will recall that it was in January (before any ship carrying grain bought with the \$20,000,000 had reached Russia) that the legend got about concerning the utter breakdown of the Russian railways. Well, on January 28, Governor Goodrich, in *The Sun*, declared that the transportation problem had been settled. On January 30, Mr. Walter L. Brown, Mr. Hoover's man, informed the Universal Service that on transportation "we see our way clear to a successful outcome", and Mr. Brown made it even stronger to *The Herald*. On February 6, Col. Haskell told Walter Duranty, of *The Times*, that the Russian railroad system was "equal to the task of transporting American grain to the famine areas." On the same date, Col. Gaskell, the A. R. A. transportation man, was equally optimistic. Dr. Nansen, on January 27, declared that 600,000 tons could be transported by the end of May and said of a story that it was impossible to transport supplies, "that men who, in pursuance of some political intrigue, invented such lies as these took a heavy responsibility, for they caused the loss of millions of lives." Mr. George Barr Baker spoke of "the astonishing efficiency with which our food is delivered"; Prof. A. C. Coolidge, sent to Russia by Mr. Hoover, admitted the transportation difficulties (which no one has denied) but added: "No doubt transportation will improve", going even further with the statement that "we have no cause to complain of any loss of our provisions, which reach their destination sometimes with disappointing delay, but still which get there."

All of these things naturally created in the minds of many people the impression that Mr. Hoover must be mistaken in asserting that the Russian railways were what stood between the starving of the Volga valley and life. And in the creation of this impression I had no part whatever. My part in this whole business was to make public what information I had, carefully giving its source, so that none might be deceived as to its character. I endeavored in the speech to which you refer, to do precisely what you say you are trying to do in your article, namely, to bring out into open and salutary discussion various questions which were being whispered about by people as something secret. What I was trying to get at was reports and reputed statements, etc., that were actually hurting the relief appeals of the Wardwell Committee and the Friends, and so were preventing generous people in this country from aiding the starving Russian peasants, while your article is aimed, I take it, at reports and reputed statements that you feel are hurting "the honor of Mr. Hoover and of the American people", as you put it.

Aside from the fact that I cannot quite concede that the honor of the American people is necessarily bound up with Mr. Hoover's, I certainly feel, and I have felt all along, that this is not a personal matter. I have been interested in saving starving people, not Mr. Hoover's feelings; and while on each and every occasion in which I have written or spoken about this subject I have given Mr. Hoover full credit for his truly remarkable achievement in Russia, I have devoted the bulk of my time rather to thinking about, working for and worrying over the starving people over there, and how to get food to them.

For this reason, I see nothing gained in taking up your analysis of my figures, which were given in round numbers and for the most part plainly stated as estimated, or in haggling over a matter of 700 tons a day one way or another. I did not say that all the southern ports could be used all the time; I merely suggested that they were there to be used. You speak of the silt in the Sea

of Asoff, and yet 3,500 ton ships are now using the Sea of Asoff. You may object that this would require transshipment of cargoes. Well, what of it? If it means that the Don can be used to within fifty miles of the Volga and thus relieve the railway block, is it worth it, or not?

As to ports. Naturally our Commission did not cable the name of every port in Russia to Mr. Hoover, nor did we think it necessary to remind Col. Haskell in our report of the existence of a railway which he had used for a year in 1919-1920—the Batum-Baku railway. When you say, therefore, that when in Russia, I thought there was only one practicable Black Sea port, Novorossiisk, and that when I returned to America I took another view, you speak without knowledge. If you will get the hearings before the Senate Committee on Agriculture of March 2, 1922, you will find on pp. 245-299 some interesting reading. This document has been on file in Washington since October 27, 1921.

You will find among other things that Mr. Hoover was fully aware of the extent of the famine on American testimony as far back as August 22, 1921, though he appeared before the House Committee on Foreign Relations to ask a Congressional appropriation for relief purposes only December 13. You will find the whole railway situation in Russia discussed in detail, though Mr. Hoover did not, so far as I know, refer to transportation difficulties in asking for his \$20,000,000. You will also find that when our Commission started into Russia attempts were made to stop us and when that failed, to muzzle or censor what we might make public as to what we found "as apparently we did not understand correctly the viewpoint of the American public". It is not clear just what the viewpoint of the American public had to do with the facts of the famine.

All of this is, perhaps, beside the point. You say, "everything turns on the question of transportation". And you add that I criticized Mr. Hoover heavily for not using all nine Black Sea ports. I did nothing of the sort. I do think that he might have been using the Black Sea ports earlier. You say that on August 8, Mr. Hoover proposed to use the Black Sea ports and that Litvinov insisted that the only practicable one was Novorossiisk. Odessa was supposed to be impossible on account of brigandage and bad communications. I was in that part of Russia at the time. The stories of brigandage were mere rumors, and the alleged bad communications have not prevented Odessa from being used now. The statement that Batum was rejected as a port because there was a shorter haul to Tsaritsain is grotesque; if there were any truth in the claim of congestion of railways, that would be a reason for using another port and railway, not for arguing against such a course. The second reason, that the railway traverses a country not definitely under Soviet control is simply untrue. The XI Red Army is very much in control of the two Soviet Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan. I traversed this line four times. The advantage of being able to use the Batum-Baku route and the Caspian Sea throughout the winter, to store supplies in Astrakhan, at the mouth of the Volga, so that they might be shipped north the moment the ice was out, is obvious. Your statement that Rostov, Taganrog, Kerch and Mariupol would discharge on the same railroad lines which are already congested by the supplies moving from Feodosia and Novorossiisk, is simply fantastic. Sebastopol, Kerch and Feodosia discharge on the same main line. So do Berdiansk and Mariupol. But Taganrog and Rostov do not and neither do Odessa and Nikolaiev.

You give a great many figures furnished by the A. R. A. as to tonnage the railways can handle. In our conference, Mr. Baker asserted that Russia lacked both cars and engines. There are 349,266 cars and some 7,000 locomotives in working order in Russia, and relief supplies have priority over all other railway traffic whatsoever. Today's *New York Times* contains a photograph of the first of the 950 new Swedish locomotives being delivered in Russia. Fifty were delivered last November.

However, when Mr. Hoover persisted in his assertions that the Russian railways could not handle all his sup-

plies, I asked the Russian Red Cross to cable to Russia as follows:

"Continued assertions in American press that thousands of tons of cargoes for the starving are held up in Baltic and Black Sea ports owing to inadequate internal transportation facilities are preventing further collections for the famine stricken. Cable immediately condition of transportation and the approximate daily railroad capacity from the ports to the famine region."

To this enquiry the following succinct reply was received:

"Statements in American press incorrect. Details by letter."

The letter has arrived. It is most interesting, and I attach a translation for the benefit of the readers of *The World*.

THE RED CROSS SOCIETY OF RUSSIA

63 Lincoln's Inn Fields,
London, W. C. 2.

Representative for Great Britain:

Mrs. V. N. Polovtsev, Ph. D.

Our ref. 6/124

April 3, 1922.

Dr. Dubrowsky,
New York.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your telegram of March 28, your No. 570:

The statements in the American press so far as they apply to Black Sea shipments are entirely without foundation. You will find sufficient evidence of this in the attached letter from A. R. C. O. S. to the London office of the A. R. A. in regard to Hoover's statement on the subject of railway transportation in Russia. I am enclosing copy of this letter, which has been reprinted in one of the English agricultural magazines.

The statements in the American press, so far as they apply to the Baltic ports, have even less foundation. As a matter of fact, only one Baltic port has been handling American shipments, namely, Reval. Petrograd and Riga are ice-bound; Libau has only a narrow gauge railway connection with Russia, while the port of Windau is too shallow. Reval is the only port left and the following are the figures of the movement of cargoes for Russia from that port, in English tons:

Week Ending	Arrived	Dispatched	Left Over
Feb. 4			8,517
11	4,350	9,840	3,027
18	515	3,332	210
25	9,484	4,395	5,299
March 4	43,872	11,206	37,965
11	18,048	24,736	31,277
18	8,112	20,382	19,007
25	7,952	14,864	12,807
26-30	41,822	14,864	39,765

It is clear from these figures that despite the very difficult situation created by the arrival of cargoes in uneven amounts in this way, Reval is handling the task satisfactorily. The movement of rail traffic is being rapidly adapted to meet the requirements of arriving freight.

It will be noted that during 30 days of March 120,000 tons of freight arrived, of which amount 82,000 tons were dispatched into the interior of Russia.

Yours truly,
V. N. POLOVTSEV.

(Copy)

March 7, 1922.

The American Relief Administration,
67 Eaton Square, S. W.

Dear Sirs:

Subject: Shipments of Seed Wheat.

In our negotiations with yourselves regarding the purchase of Seed Wheat for our account it was definitely

understood between us that the whole of the wheat purchased is to be shipped from Atlantic ports not later than the 1st and 6th of March, respectively.

Your New York office confirmed this understanding in their telegram No. 693 of the 17th January, in which they state that "all purchases are for January shipment" however, in the same telegram they promise "to get all on its way as quickly as humanly possible".

In accordance with information received from yourselves the actual shipment of our Seed Wheat took place as follows:

	To Baltic Ports	carrying	tons	sailed	
S. S. "Acquarius"		7,563		24/1/22	
" " "Argus"		7,266		1/2/22	
" " "Gasconier"		5,606		2/3/22	
" " "Castellano"		6,897		6/2/22	
" " "Kledo"		5,727		10/2/22	
" " "Eastern Crown"		5,150		16/2/22	
" " "Meanticut"		7,664		16/2/22	
" " "Tenafly"		5,521		17/2/22	
" " "Flangerland"		9,783		18/2/22	
" " "Hinckley"		5,612		20/2/22	
" " "Westmead"		6,531		24/2/22	
" " "Eastern Admiral"		8,362		27/2/22	
	To Black Sea Ports				
S. S. "Eastern Ocean"		6,988		30/1/22	
" " "Lloyd"		4,022		6/2/22	
" " "Eastern Glade"		4,671		7/2/22	
" " "Narvo"		7,198		14/2/22	
" " "Eastern City"		8,024		22/2/22	

Now changed to the Baltic.

You will see from the above not only was our Wheat not shipped during the specified period but the bulk of it was actually shipped during the latter half of February only.

It is quite unnecessary for us to point out to you the importance for Russia to get her seeds in time. It was through your offices in Moscow, that our friends there were advised to purchase seed wheat for arrival in ports not later than by the middle of March. As the position stands now we can hardly expect a half of the whole quantity to reach its destination even by the time specified by your own people.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) B. CRYSIN.

There is something plainly wrong here. You have the official Russian statistics, and you have Mr. Hoover's. The latter's not unnaturally tend to prove a preconception that Mr. Hoover voiced before any American ship carrying grain bought with the \$20,000,000 appropriation reached Russia. I do not pretend to judge between these two statements, but it is obviously inadmissible to say that I am talking without sufficient knowledge when I have these facts, isn't it?

One further point. When the legend of the complete breakdown of the Russian railway system did not stop the flow of independent relief to Russia, it was suddenly found that the famine was all over. Mr. Hoover had saved Russia. I would to God he had! But Governor Goodrich's statement of April 6 that "no Russian will die of hunger after April 20, if the railroads are able to move food to the American Relief Administration's distribution centers", Col. Haskell's declaration on March 30 that "the peak of the famine has been passed," Mr. Walter Lyman Brown's assertion of April 15 that "America has broken the back of the biggest famine in the world's history" and Mr. Hoover's report to the President that he "now had the famine in the Volga valley under control" leave me unconvinced. All of these gentlemen said last December that 15,000,000 people were starving in the Volga valley then. On January 24, *The World* reported that 7,000,000 children and adults in the Ukraine must be added to this appalling figure.

Now if all the 575,000 tons of food sent to Russia by the American Relief Administration were at this moment in its distribution centers and had been there since Feb-

ruary 1,—which was not the case by any manner of means—not 6,000,000 of the 15,000,000 whom the President, in his message to the Congress of December 6, 1921, said had been “plunged into grievous famine” could have been saved. The official famine statistics of Russia are as follows, from *Russian Information and Review* of April 15, 1922:

	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	
Famine stricken ..	20,749,000	2,398,000	23,147,000
Bad harvest	2,837,000	151,000	2,988,000
Total	23,586,000	2,549,000	26,135,000

President Kalinin, of the Russian Soviet Republic, in a pamphlet published by the International Red Cross at Geneva on March 21, 1922, and circulated by it to stimulate further relief, says:

“You have the total number of famine-stricken persons officially estimated at the present time at 22,000,000. In addition to this there are about 3,000,000 officially regarded as on the verge of starvation, but in my estimation 5,000,000 is a figure more likely to be correct. This means that this disaster affects no less than 27,000,000 to 28,000,000 people.”

In the face of these figures, of Dr. Nansen’s declaration of March 24 that “the danger of renewed famine—which would mean the death in torture of still more millions of our fellow men next winter—becomes greater and greater”, for the American Relief Administration to send out at about that same date, the publicity statement I have before me with the heading in capitals, underlined: **STARVATION IS ENDED!** is to accept a frightful responsibility.

I have only one position. I want to see as many pitiful, innocent victims of a stupendous disaster saved as it is humanly possible to save. Mr. Hoover has done great work. I am the first to recognize it. But there is greater work still to do. Why rest on our oars? There are difficulties—terrible difficulties—I know. Mr. Hoover has surmounted others in his life, and can surmount these, I am convinced. You may say it will require a miracle. May be so. But I believe in miracles. Don’t you?

PAXTON HIBBEN.

Our New Address is 201 West 13th St.

Room 31
New York, N. Y.

Our subscription price is \$2.50 per year; \$1.25 for six months. We appear twice a month, on the first and fifteenth. Send us a list of friends who would like to receive sample copies.

A pleasant way of making money during the Summer is by selling subscriptions for **SOVIET RUSSIA**. Write us for information on the subject.

DEBS MAKES NEW RELIEF APPEAL

Asks Machinery and Tools for Soviet Russia

IN connection with the International Tool Drive for Soviet Russia, Eugene V. Debs has just issued the following appeal to the American workers in behalf of the Friends of Soviet Russia, who are conducting the campaign in this country:

All Can Unite Upon This Issue

“This is the one issue upon which we can all unite; the one crying demand to which we can all respond; the one supreme duty we are all bound to perform. It matters not how we may be at variance upon other matters, we recognize a common obligation to our starving Russian comrades and their families.

“The Russian revolutionists staked and sacrificed everything in the struggle for human emancipation; tormented by hunger pangs, they fought in rags the combined autocracy of the world; they stood their ground and shed their brave blood not only in their own defense, but to give liberty to the workers of every land on earth; and now that they are face to face with grim and relentless starvation the workers of this and every other country on the globe are charged with the solemn responsibility for their relief and rescue.

“A splendid beginning has been made here in America and all credit is due to the workers without regard to their affiliation who have united with loyal hearts and willing hands in this great humanitarian work. But this beginning must be followed up, enlarged, and persisted in to the utmost to meet the magnitude and urgency of the demand.

Tools and Machinery Must Be Supplied Now

“It is not food alone that is now needed for our starving fellow-beings in Russia. Farming machinery must be supplied and for this ample funds must be collected without delay. We are advised that unless everything possible is done to combat the calamity, a repetition of the famine is possible next year. The necessary seed did not arrive in time to supply the full demand for the spring sowing. Machinery was painfully lacking, while horses and cattle had to a large extent been devoured by the famishing natives.

“To supply the necessary machinery to the Russian people in this desperate crisis is peculiarly the duty of the workers of the world. They have it in their power to provide the means with which this machinery, so vitally essential at this supreme juncture, may be supplied to the Russian people.

Call to Share in the Emancipation of the Future

“With the machinery to cultivate the soil, agriculture can be at once revived and the suffering people made secure against future famine. Let us at once get into action in every village, town, and city throughout the country in responding to this final appeal of our famine-scourged, desperately struggling Russian comrades and fellow-workers, and by rescuing them and their loved ones from their impending fate, in the spirit of our common kinship, prove ourselves worthy to share in the emancipation of the future for which they have made the supreme sacrifice.”

State Salaries Go to Russian Relief

In the Contribution List, which begins below, we do not want our readers to overlook Numbers 9438 and 9564. The former of these was accompanied by the following letter from Harry Winitsky:

Dear Comrades:

Attached hereto is a check for the sum of \$8.48, which represents the salary I received from the state of New York for the two years and two months I spent in prison. I regret that I cannot make it more at present but this money represents two years of labor for the cause. I appeal to every man and woman of the working class to give and give liberally to the cause of Soviet

Russia. Workers, show your solidarity, stand by your comrades in Russia who are blazing the trail for a better world.
HARRY WINITSKY.

Contribution No. 9564 came together with the following letter from C. E. Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson:

To The Friends of Soviet Russia:
The \$13.11 herewith was earned during a year and a half in prison paid for by the State of New York at 1½c per day. This money has cost us more than anything else in our lives. We gladly give it to the cause of the Russian workers and peasants.
C. E. RUTHENBERG,
I. E. FERGUSON.

Relief Contributions, May 1-15

The following is a complete list of contributions received at the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., during the first half of May. Is your contribution listed here? With each name on the list appears the serial number on the official National Office receipt issued to the contributor. For explanation of the abbreviations F. S. R., S. T. A. S. R., RC, see the note at the head of the Contribution List in the May 1 issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
8836	Yan Urganinac, RC, Palmer, Mass.	7.00	8877	Wm. Luuger, Plainfield, N. J.	5.00	8921	A. Schens, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	8.50
8837	J. H. Reao, R. C., Washington, D. C.	6.00	8878	L. E. Blochman, Berkeley, Cal.	5.00	8922	P. Hlebofsky, East Moline, Ill.	1.75
8838	Chas. Zeitelback, Westfield, N. J.	5.00	8879	Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, Paducah, Ky.	5.00	8923	Wojciech Rablajak, RC, Chicago Heights, Ill.	30.00
8839	Mr. & Mrs. W. J. Doran, Cuyahoga Falls, O.	5.00	8880	Famine Scout Club No. 7, Hartford, Conn.	5.00	8924	Vaclav Hlavaty, New Baden, Ill.	9.10
8840	Caspar Wallpe, RC, Elk, Cal.	5.00	8881	John Strasser, RC, Onoloko, Wash.	5.00	8925	Sam Makila, RC, Ozark, Mich.	6.00
8841	O. R. Barnes, Jefferson, Ohio	5.00	8882	Workmen's Circle No. 36, NYC	5.00	8926	Workers Hall Soc. of Millwart, Arthide, Minn.	10.70
8842	A. L. Kooperman, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	8883	Louis Musel, Binghamton, N. Y.	5.00	8927	F. F. Local, Gowan, Minn.	66.30
8843	K. Antoshinko, Detroit, Mich.	5.00	8884	E. Israelite, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	8928	F. F. Local, Temple, Mo.	27.95
8844	Harry Victor, N. Y. C.	15.00	8885	R. B. Hayes, Redding, Cal.	4.00	8929	F. F. Local, RC, Marquette, Mich.	41.50
8845	Ida H. Williams, Greensburg, Pa.	5.00	8886	Jacob Plass, RC, Fairfax, Wash.	3.00	8930	Mrs. Almo Harja, Cile-Montreal, Wis.	18.60
8846	Clara A. Slade, Santa Ana, Cal.	5.00	8887	C. A. Lindauer, Seattle, Wash.	3.00	8931	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	3,000.00
8847	Lina Isaacson, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00	8888	Axel Johnson, Seattle, Wash.	1.00	8932	F. S. R. Branch, Portland, Ore.	140.00
8848	Lucile E. Shafer, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00	8889	Florence Lindauer, Seattle, Wash.	1.00	8933	F. S. R. Branch, Quincy, Mass.	80.00
8849	J. B. I. U. of A., No. 828, Bristol, Conn.	2.00	8890	John Kloes, RC, Brooklyn, Wash.	3.00	8934	F. S. R. Branch, Worcester, Mass.	60.00
8850	Doris Aggers, White Salmon, Wash.	2.00	8891	Mrs. Mary Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00	8935	E. Behuke, RC, Lyons Farms, N. J.	58.00
8851	Mrs. L. Barnett, N. Y. C.	2.00	8892	S. Sirotnik, Youngstown, Ohio	5.00	8936	V. Andraieff, RC, Rosenberg, Ore.	55.00
8852	L. C. Valera, Akron, O.	1.00	8893	Mrs. Rubinowitz, Dorchester, Mass.	2.00	8937	P. Dogon, RC, Kingcome River, B. C.	40.00
8853	Charley Potter, RC, Yuma, Ariz.	32.75	8894	N. Rosenberg, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00	8938	W. E. Kelly, Coll., Kettle Falls, Wash.	37.00
8854	Peter Maczuzak, RC, Slickville, Pa.	11.25	8895	John N. Bodendick, El Centro, Cal.	8.75	8939	Thos. Beattie, RC, Edmonton, Alberta	35.00
8855	John Sebestyen, RC, West Allis, Wis.	10.80	8896	Ellis Lindeman, N. Y. C.	5.00	8940	F. S. R. Branch, Salt Lake City, Utah	34.00
8856	Angelo Conz, RC, Northampton, Mass.	10.50	8897	C. Mordhorst, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	7.25	9041	C. F. Young, RC, Washington, D. C.	31.00
8857	Leo W. Pokorny, Lawton, Okla.	1.50	8898	Nate T. Rickey, Akron, Ohio	4.25	8942	James Jupanoff, RC, Powell, S. D.	29.00
8858	A. Z. Anderson, Curlew, Wash.	4.19	8899	Soc. Party, Camden, N. J.	2.50	8943	George Ray, RC, Winlock, Wash.	28.00
8859	W. H. Marcon, Alberni, BC.	3.75	8900	Frank Makela, RC, Fort Bragg, Cal.	18.00	8944	J. Braitto, RC, Benicia, Cal.	27.00
8860	Walter Somppi, RC, Marengo, Wis.	3.25	8901	Jos. Muvrin, RC, Chisholm, Minn.	47.00	8945	Martti Salmi, RC, Wilton, N.H.	24.00
8861	Mike Krenholm, RC, Bryant, Wash.	17.75	8902	Francis Dimes, RC, Oakland Beach, Calif.	11.00	8946	Hungarian Section, F. S. R., N. Y. C.	750.00
8862	Wm. J. Schwaneckamp, Eggersville, N. Y.	12.50	8903	B. K. Wheeler, Esq., Butte, Mont.	10.00	8947	Fritz & Louise Lobeck, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	21.00
8863	Louis Lipfert, RC, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	10.50	8904	Gottlieb Wurst, RC, N. Y. C.	9.00	8948	Mrs. Ruth S. Baldwin, Bklyn.	20.00
8864	L. E. Stacy, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	9.50	8905	Louis Saare, RC, Santa Rosa, Cal.	5.00	8949	M. Voorhees, Berkeley, Cal.	20.00
8865	Housewives Federation, Crookston, Minn.	8.80	8906	Geo. Hofmann, Pratt, Kans.	5.00	8950	F. S. R. Branch, Everett, Wash.	20.00
8866	Sam Walkonen, RC, Pennellville, N. Y.	7.05	8907	U. Fruch, Belair, Md.	5.00	8951	Edw. O. Sterns, RC, Columbus, Ohio	19.00
8867	M. M. Bryan, Marshalltown, Ia.	5.00	8908	E. N. Crandell, RC, Radville, Sask.	4.00	8952	Thos. Rudy, RC, Chicago, Ill.	17.00
8868	J. H. Thoroughnes, Denver, Col.	2.00	8909	Friend, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	8953	Henry Catoni, RC, Cassidy V. I. B. C.	16.00
8869	Louis I. Forten, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	8910	Mrs. R. T. McGinis, Alice, Arm. BC.	2.00	8954	Carl Bramin, RC, Dallas, Tex.	16.00
8870	John Crawford, Phoenix, Ariz.	3.75	8911	H. Finkel, Phila., Pa.	1.00	8955	Several Alanne, RC, Superior, Wis.	15.00
8871	Nathan Siegel, RC, Evanston, Ill.	4.50	8912	Kathleen Dighton, N. Y. C.	1.00	8956	F. S. R. Lithuanian Section, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3,033.92
8872	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	321.45	8913	A. Denivich, List, Maynard, Mass.	15.60	8957	F. S. R. Branch, Haverhill, Mass.	300.00
8873	John Maatta, RC, Marengo, Wis.	7.50	8914	Chas. Eisenberg, Rochester, N.Y.	1.25	958	Wasyi Chorney, Lecture & Ball, Amherst, Mass.	150.00
8874	Finnish Soc. Local, Mining, Mich.	6.75	8915	Wm. Guske, Rochester, N. Y.	2.50	8959	M. Zaborowsky, RC, Montreal, Can.	22.00
8875	S. J. Jaffe, RC, Flint, Mich.	6.50	8916	Richard Boecker, Rochester, N. Y.	2.50			
8876	Isidor Lesonsky, RC, Brooklyn	5.50	8917	Karl Wiestner, Rochester, N. Y.	1.50			
			8918	M. A. Rothmund in Memory of B. M. R., Rochester, N. Y.	5.00			
			8919	Alex Robertson, RC, Watson, Sask.	12.40			
			8920	Al. Schneider, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	11.50			

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
8960	C. Dragoner, RC, Cleveland, O.	22.00	9036	L. Igelheimer, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	9094	Dr. Levi Parker, Newton Highlands, Mass.	5.00
8961	Dmytro Kloetnyuk, RC, Hempstead, L. I.	22.00	9037	Harry Cohen, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00	9095	C. F. Sturman, Detroit, Mich.	5.00
8962	T. Pollichuk, RC, Man.	17.00	9038	P. Goldwater, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	9096	Oscar Tannhauser, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
8963	J. Chukin, RC, Chicago, Ill.	16.00	9039	M. Temple, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	9097	May Walden, Avon Park, Fla.	5.00
8964	F. Belyk, RC, Girard, Ohio.	8.00	9040	Sarah Nutkis, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00	9098	P. Maurice McMahon, Hilo, Hawaii	5.00
8965	P. Motenko, RC, Chicago, Ill.	6.00	9041	Mrs. Ruth, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00	9099	Fred L. Comstock, Jamaica, N. Y.	5.00
8966	N. P. Marin, San Pedro, Cal.	5.00	9042	I. Kirachner, RC, Bklyn, N.Y.	2.00	9100	Mark Merwin, N. Y. C.	5.00
8967	Teo. Eremew, N. Y. C.	5.00	9043	Chairlady Lion Costume Co., RC, N. Y. C.	2.75	9101	Jos. Shanta, Vallejo, Cal.	5.00
8968	Paul Schneider, RC, Omaha, Neb.	215.25	9044	B. Pantuck, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00	9102	Benj. Hammerschlag, Brooklyn	4.00
8969	N. Krasener, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	22.50	9045	Frank Wachtler, Vananda, Mont.	3.00	9103	Harry Melnick, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00
8970	S. Andreevsky, RC, Shenandoah, Pa.	21.50	9046	Al Ulfsg, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	9104	Fred Fickas, RC, San Diego, Cal.	4.00
8971	Karl Chop, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10.60	9047	F. Franklin, RC, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00	9105	Frank Uydebouck, RC, N. Y. C.	3.00
8972	Pete Balan, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	22.00	9048	Hillel Newman, RC, Brooklyn	1.00	9106	Mrs. M.E. David, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00
8973	Daniel Rarchuk, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	13.75	9049	Harry & Lauri Koskinen, RC, Amaja, Cuba	1.00	9107	Max Lehman, RC, Sturgis, So. Dak.	3.00
8974	W. Owczaykow, RC, Akron, O.	18.43	9050	Viola Keskinen, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.50	9108	Carl Johnson, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00
8975	John Koehel, RC, Whiting, Ind.	16.75	9051	Eva Keskinen, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.60	9109	Lacitida Moore Conard, Crippen, Ia.	3.00
8976	Feodor Tohako, RC, Chicago, Ill.	14.50	9052	Juan Rubio, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.20	9110	Ward Kepler, Johnston, Pa.	2.00
8977	S. Babij, RC, Waterloo, Ont.	14.05	9053	Mary DeHaff, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.50	9111	K. G. Lohre, Fallon, Nev.	2.00
8978	Max Bobreck, RC, Detroit, Mich.	13.75	9054	Mrs. Blosser, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	1.00	9112	T. Hoffman, RC, Stratford, Conn.	2.00
8979	Wolter Wojewodzki, RC, Detroit, Mich.	15.50	9055	Mrs. Arter, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.50	9113	Peter Hinaberger, Granda Minn.	2.00
8980	M. Homenock, RC, Montreal, Can.	13.50	9056	Nathan Williams, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.50	9114	John E. Wiest, Tacoma, Wash.	2.00
8981	John Kachmar, RC, Detroit, Mich.	12.50	9057	Felipe Rojas, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.50	9115	William Kaulich, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
8982	Ann Ballsoob, RC, Saginaw, Mich.	5.10	9058	Angel Fernandez, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.10	9116	H. C. Weeks, N. Y. C.	2.00
8983	Frank Renko, RC, Lovington, Ill.	4.75	9059	Wm. D. Boltel, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.40	9117	A. Karpi, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
8984	V. Bortov, Meadville, Pa.	1.75	9060	Juana Perez, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.50	9118	R. W. Bassett, Hood River, Ore.	2.00
8985	C. J. Olree, R. C., Redford, Mich.	13.00	9061	Julia Alvarez, RC, Omaja-Oriente, Cuba	.40	9119	A. H. Lyman, RC, Whitefish, Mont.	2.00
8986	Jos. H. Barberich, RC, So. Omaha, Neb.	13.00	9062	Joseph Adamaki, RC, Buffalo, N. Y.	5.00	9120	Henry Morak, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00
8987	Workers Hall Concert, Gibsons Landing, BC.	12.00	9063	Matt Lehtinen, RC, Aahabula, Ohio	6.78	9121	Russian Famine Relief Com., Ansonia, Conn.	300.00
8988	Carl Johnson, Davis-Miami, Fla.	12.00	9064	J. A. Barnes, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	9122	F. S. R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	300.00
8989	M. A. Raginaki, RC, Plymouth, Pa.	12.00	9065	Leo Scherzinger, RC, Plainfield, N. J.	2.10	9123	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	2,000.00
8990	W. G. Raymond, RC, Portland, Ore.	12.00	9066	Harriet W. Patterson, Randolph, Vt.	1.00	9124	Lucy Hall, Watertown, Wis.	200.00
8992	John Lee, RC, Duluth, Minn.	11.00	9067	Salome Jackson, Flourtown, Pa.	1.00	9125	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00
8993	John Virostek, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10.00	9068	Albert Stoll, RC, Cincinnati, O.	1.00	9126	Theo. Talley Lists, Utica, N.Y.	94.45
8994	John Janahewits, Seattle, Wash.	10.00	9069	R. L. Cambridge, Mass.	.84	9127	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Lowell, Mass.	86.49
8995	A. M. Coffen, M. D., Bklyn.	10.00	9070	Annie Hauck, RC, N. Y. C.	6.00	9128	B. Levine, New Bedford, Mass.	97.50
8996	C. G. King, Yarrow, Pa.	10.00	9071	O. A. Olson, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	5.00	9129	O. B. U., RC, Juneau, Alaska	76.50
8997	Carl Wittke, RC, Columbus, O.	10.00	9072	George Biederman, RC, Cincinnati, O.	5.00	9130	Hermann W. Herrlich, Scotia, N. Y.	69.52
8998	E. S. Cordozo, Richmond, Va.	10.00	9073	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	2.00	9131	I. A. of M. No. 112, St. Paul, Minn.	69.25
8999	B. W. Freeman, Collinsville, Ill.	10.00	9074	Albert Adams, RC, Grueth, Tenn.	1.00	9132	Unity Benefit Ass'n, Brighton, Mass.	43.22
9000	Dr. Sidney B. Levy, N. Y. C.	10.00	9075	Rud. S. Goedecke, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	9133	A L D L D, Brighton, Mass.	12.08
9001	D. Broder, RC, N. Y. C.	7.00	9076	E. Baum, RC, Buffalo, N. Y.	6.00	9134	Finnish Athletic Club, Painesdale, Mich.	44.65
9002	A. Zaun, RC, N. Y. C.	27.00	9077	J. Wegrang, RC, Brooklyn	5.00	9135	Fin. Soc. Local, RC, Woodland, Wash.	44.50
9003	Emil Liedtke, RC, N. Y. C.	29.00	9078	Anton Urevitch, RC, Wilton, N. Dakota	20.00	9136	S. S. J. Ossasto, RC, Northport, Wash.	35.50
9004	Katherine B. Bennett, RC, Katoanah, N. Y.	15.00	9079	A. Korenchuk, R. C., Chelsea, Mass.	29.00	9137	W. H. Marcon, Albemarle, BC, Can.	39.51
9005	K. Petronia, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	9080	Jos. Milay, Coll. Bayonne, N.J.	16.00	9138	J. J. Molyas, Auburn, N. Y.	23.50
9006	B. Pederson, RC, Warren, Ore.	5.00	9081	The following contributed to this amount: Fred Lohr 50c, Christian Fuhrman 1.00, Emil Schwauk 50c, Alois Ruster 1.00, Fred Velepce 50c, M. Semolich 50c, Silvio Petroino 1.00, Vincent Bradesich 1.00, Louis Luca 2.00, Anna Poldrugo 2.00, Mary Milay 2.00, Jos. Milay 2.00.		9139	Weldon Hall Club, Weldon, Mont.	21.87
9007	T. E. Averill, RC, Rockland, Me.	5.00	9082	A. Hordzevich, Diamondville, Wyo.	10.00	9140	Fred Hieber, RC, N. Y. C.	21.80
9008	H. De Ridder, N. Y. C.	2.00	9083	Adolf Lutz, RC, Cleveland, O.	8.00	9141	E. Kowkly & B. Argewics, Lists, Detroit, Mich.	32.50
9009	E. Muller, Asbury Park, N. J.	2.00	9084	I. Botos, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	7.00	9142	E. Kowkly & B. Argewics, List, Detroit, Mich.	20.50
9010	M. McNeill, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00	9085	C. A. Dekker, RC, Rochester, Mich.	43.00	9143	E. Kowkly & B. Argewics, RC, Detroit, Mich.	5.00
9011	Margaret M. Blair, RC, Bon Air, Va.	1.00	9086	Fred Washburn & W. G. Spencer, Battle Creek, Mich.	6.00	9144	John Nigra, RC, Collinsville, Ill.	15.65
9012	Otto Makela, RC, Highbridge, Wis.	.50	9087	John Reich, RC, N. Y. C.	14.25	9145	Wolly Pawlowaki, RC, Rome, N. Y.	12.50
9013	Oscar Wuari, RC, Highbridge, Wis.	.50	9088	Peter Colaprete, Phila, Pa.	2.00	9146	J. Faull, RC, Vancouver, BC.	16.38
9014	Helen B. Goldenberg, RC, N. Y. C.	5.50	9089	Wm. Green, Orleans, Cal.	5.00	9147	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	9.80
9015	Marie Lutlich, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00	9090	Jos. Buhler, R. C., Woodhaven, N. Y.	5.00	9148	Carl Ivanstrom, RC, East Molina, Ill.	6.25
9016	Anton Ludna, RC, N. Y.	.25	9091	Jonas B. Brynjolfson, Canyon City, Ore.	5.00	9149	L. W. Hammond, RC, Fillmore, Cal.	7.50
9017	Thomas Lamara, RC, N. Y.	.50	9092	Larkin L. Daniels, RC, Clayton, N. M.	5.00	9150	Joe Greavair, RC, Warren, O.	7.50
9018	Frank Vantacich, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	9093	Dolly F. Hoffmann, Syracuse, N. Y.	5.00	9151	A. Korbel, RC, Endicott, N. Y.	8.75
9019	John Lyntich, RC, N. Y. C.	1.50	9094	U. G. Moore, RC, Seattle, Wash.	5.00	9152	Christine Berg, RC, Bklyn, N.Y.	8.50
9020	Jose Lutich, RC, N. Y. C.	.25				9153	F. S. R. Branch, Spokane, Wash.	1.80
9021	Mike Lsch, RC, N. Y. C.	.25				9154	United Trades Council, West Brownsville, Pa.	2.85
9022	Frank Herzich, RC, N. Y. C.	.50				9155	Wm. E. Kerr, Chicago, Ill.	2.50
9023	Peter Kosick, RC, N. Y. C.	.50				9156	C. H. Stinson, Spokane, Wash.	2.80
9024	Jos. Bonifacini, RC, N. Y. C.	.25				9157	Theosophical Society, Norfolk, Va.	8.00
9025	Frank Milcetch, RC, N. Y. C.	.25				9158	O. Krotzman, Nutley, N. J.	3.80
9026	Anthony Segulja, RC, N. Y. C.	.50						
9027	Marion Gardiner, RC, N. Y. C.	.25						
9028	Geo. Spicer, RC, N. Y. C.	.25						
9029	Nick Spicer, RC, N. Y. C.	.25						
9030	John Fabianch, RC, N. Y. C.	.25						
9031	Andrew Manzang, RC, N. Y. C.	.25						
9032	H. Pantuch, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	5.25						
9033	Louis Zacher, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00						
9034	Sam'l Finniakind, RC, Far Rockaway, N. Y.	1.00						
9085	V. Moments, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00						

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
9159	Dora D. McHale, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.50	9225	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 220, Brooklyn.	10.00	9296	Finnish Soc. Club, Jamaica, L.I.	133.15
9160	S. Laalo, RC, Detroit, Mich.	2.50	9226	Terrence J. O'Reilly, RC, Bklyn	2.50	9297	Thomas Otwirk, RC, Livingston, Ill.	97.50
9161	Charles T. Watkins, Benton, Ill.	2.02	9227	E. Gurvetch, Waco, Tex.	10.00	9298	A. Mackie, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	18.50
9162	Jacob Usutala, RC, Brantwood, Wis.	2.25	9228	A. Srymaniak, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	9.00	9299	Glos Robotniczy, RC, Detroit, Mich.	55.30
9163	F. S. R. Branch, Syracuse, N.Y.	50.00	9229	C. O. Laine, RC, Palisade, Minn.	8.00	9300	Leopold Hoffman, Elyria, Ohio	4.00
9164	H. A., RC, Washington, D. C.	28.00	9230	Norwegian News Co., Chapel, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	8.00	9301	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash.	200.00
9165	Dr. S. D. Woods, RC, Connellsville, Pa.	25.00	9231	D.Dibrich, RC, Bloomfield, N.J.	7.00	9302	Nelson & Lind, RC, Lost Creek, Wash.	14.00
9166	C. Gray, Grandlawn, Alberta	4.85	9232	Josephine Cole Macy, Modesto, Cal.	5.00	9303	Matt Jaakkola, RC, Iron River, Wis.	7.00
9167	J. Crow, Gibsons Landing, BC.	.97	9233	A. L. Hanson, RC, Glenwood, Minn.	7.00	9304	P.S.Dbradovich, RC, Ambridge, Pa.	4.00
9168	I. Popka, Jachine Lockey, Que.	.97	9234	Carrie M. Chapman, Boise, Ida.	5.00	9305	John Bottegan, RC, Furnace Run, Pa.	2.00
9169	R. Champion, Lists, Danville, Ill.	20.00	9235	Leon Haures, RC, Danville, Ill.	4.00	9306	F. S. R. Branch, Gardner, Mass.	300.00
9170	Matti Wesala, RC, Weirton, W. Virginia	16.00	9236	Osw. Schmalfusa, RC, Lawrence, Mass.	4.00	9307	Russian Dramatic Soc., Boston, Mass.	100.00
9171	L. Nicrman, RC, Santa Cruz, Cal.	15.00	9237	R. W. Giles, Bow, Wash.	3.00	9308	F. S. R. Branch, Akron, Ohio	50.00
9172	Mary Soukup, Neffs, Ohio	10.00	9238	A. Wilkomm, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00	9309	Nick Kutas, Washutca, Wash.	32.00
9173	Albert Kotlik, Neffs, Ohio	2.00	9239	Wm. Heilman, Owosso, Mich.	2.00	9310	Mrs. Mary Matulewicz, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	31.00
9174	Frank Schwab, RC, West New York, N. J.	10.00	9240	Mrs. Aug. J. Kaiser, Columbus, Ohio	1.00	9311	Textile Group of S T A S R, Paterson, N. J.	29.00
9175	J. Melnick, MD, RC, Portland, Me.	10.00	9241	Anna M. W. Pennyacker, Phill., Pa.	1.00	9312	The Kishon Pharmacy, RC, Detroit, Mich.	25.00
9176	George Lawrence, RC, Cloverdale, B. C.	10.00	9242	Kathleen Dighton, N. Y. C.	1.00	9313	Mary Iwas, RC, Chicago, Ill.	19.00
9177	Walter Nelson, RC, So. Royalston, Mass.	10.00	9243	I. C. Straha, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	9314	De Pasquale, List, N. Y. C.	3.00
9178	Louis Crokarta, Downey, Cal.	10.00	9244	M. Granzini, RC, Cicero, Ill.	8.25	9315	N. Spodnith, RC, Toledo, O.	19.00
9179	J. Wallace Grayson, RC, San Antonio, Tex.	10.00	9245	Finnish Soc. Local, RC, Waukegan, Ill.	57.50	9316	Fred Samosovich, RC, Montreal, Can.	16.00
9180	W. W. Cornas, Sacramento, Cal.	2.00	9246	F. S. R. Branch, Kent, O.	40.16	9317	P. Krivoshein, RC, Toronto, Can.	13.00
9181	S. S. Osasto, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	16.50	9247	Rena Mooney, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	31.50	9318	H. Mikuc, RC, New Castle, Pa.	10.00
9182	Josef Morawetz, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	16.00	9248	V. Kaisanen, RC, Mirror Landing, Alberta	31.25	9319	P. A. Pastuchow, RC, Malia Walla, Wash.	10.00
9183	B. Seger, Coll., Oakland, Cal.	5.00	9249	Finnish Soc. Branch, Wilmerding, Pa.	25.65	9320	A. Klimkowaky, RC, Russelltown, Pa.	10.00
9184	Wm. Maches, RC, Lowell, Mass.	9.00	9250	Finnish Soc. Branch, Fitchberg, Mass.	16.50	9321	Julia & Victor, RC, Canada-America	8.00
9185	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 1, N. Y. C.	5.00	9251	A. Slavic, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	9322	H. Bilenki, RC, Sydney, N. S.	6.00
9186	Celia Portnoff, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	9252	M. Weinberg, RC, Brooklyn	1.00	9323	J. Siegel, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	6.00
9187	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 158, NYC	5.00	9253	Nat Blankfield, List, Brooklyn	1.75	9324	P. Beskorowiny, RC, Chicago, Ill.	6.00
9188	Herman Selnick, Jersey City, N. J.	5.00	9254	Paul Slnsarcku, RC, North Tonawanda, N. Y.	5.00	9325	V. Ezator, RC, New Castle, Pa.	5.00
9189	Dr. A. Caspo, N. Y. C.	10.00	9255	G. R. Zeitler, RC, East Brady, Pa.	1.00	9326	Emelian Gdan, RC, Claremont, N. H.	4.00
9190	F. Bednaraki, Detroit, Mich.	5.00	9256	R. V. Warner, RC, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00	9327	Sophia Kauk, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.00
9191	Ferdinand Werry, RC, East Stoudburg, Pa.	5.00	9257	Joe Drilaka, RC, N. Y. C.	3.00	9328	F.S.R. Branch, Providence, R.I.	265.00
9192	James P. Dougherty, Tonawanda, N. Y.	5.00	9258	S. Lukeniuk, N. Y. C.	17.00	9329	Russian Famine Relief Society, Ansonia, Conn.	185.00
9193	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 8, Paterson, N. J.	5.00	9259	Woodside Branch No. 44, Long Island City	2.00	9330	F. S. R. Branch, Flint, Mich.	156.90
9194	Martin Abern, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00	9260	Woodside Branch No. 44, L. I. City, Coll.	5.35	9331	Seymour Relief Committee, Seymour, Conn.	121.75
9195	A. Wynkoop, RC, Chicago, Ill.	4.00	9261	Otto Jung, RC, Woodside, L. I. City	8.00	9332	P. Kaahubin, RC, Portland, Ore.	75.05
9196	Mrs. M. Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00	9262	Louis Eichwald, RC, N. Y. C.	6.00	9333	D. Korop, RC, Honolulu, Hawaii	47.50
9197	Fred E. Paul, Tacoma, Wash.	1.00	9263	Christo Gasich, N. Y. C.	7.50	9334	Ignatz Osaulinko, RC, Plains, Pa.	22.85
9198	Samuel Levinson, RC, Bklyn.	1.00	9264	Steve Fody, RC, Cleveland, O.	11.26	9335	Nicholas Nepokroeff, RC, Martinville, N. Y.	20.50
9199	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	293.57	9265	Bakery & Conf. Union No. 39, RC, Cleveland, Ohio	8.75	9336	David Saciuk, RC, Maynard, Mass.	19.75
9200	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	160.48	9266	Leon Birdsall, RC, Berthold, N. D.	7.50	9337	I. Hrabovski, RC, Transcona, Man.	18.50
9201	F. S. R. Branch, Wadsworth, O.	65.44	9267	I. Eisencher, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	9338	Peter Baker, RC, Claremont, N. H.	17.50
9202	Mae Bishop, RC, Salt Lake City, Utah	26.50	9268	August Mencke, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00	9339	Maxim Wasilenko, RC, Manchester, N. H.	16.75
9203	A. Vurek, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	23.25	9269	Thomas West, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00	9340	Alex Arseny, RC, Chicago, Ill.	12.50
9204	Ike Isaacs, RC, Wilkes Barre, Pa.	13.50	9270	Mrs. M. Spanburgh, Cleveland, Ohio	25	9341	L. Tertycny, RC, Ford City, Pa.	11.50
9205	Carl Tingquist, RC, Becker, Minn.	13.25	9271	Joe Fript, RC, Chicago, Ill.	4.75	9342	S. Gurin, Fall River, Mass.	4.65
9206	I. Ryricher, RC, N. Y. C.	12.50	9272	C. G. Bjurmark, RC, Brooklyn	4.20	9343	Alex Shubin, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	3.50
9207	R. Auerbach, RC, N. Y. C.	8.50	9273	J. M. Olsen, List, Blind Slough, Ore.	1.50	9344	Erik Klinke, Kensington, Pa.	2.00
9208	Sam Walkonen, RC, Pennellville, N. Y.	3.50	9274	J. Hovantz, RC, Chicago, Ill.	20.00	9345	George N. Lindsay, Evanston, Ill.	5.00
9209	W. C. Br. 150, N. Y. C.	2.50	9275	F.S.R. Branch, Bay City, Mich.	11.00	9346	E. W. Collins, Addy, Wash.	2.00
9210	J. Maslanyk, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.50	9276	Famine Scout Club No. 4, Wilmington, Del.	.98	9347	A. C. Powell, Cleveland, Ohio	3.50
9211	Mr. & Mrs. James Woods, Port Hardy, BC.	2.05	9277	Fin. & Lith. Groups, DeKalb, Ill.	87.24	9348	Anonymous, Scotland	3.13
9212	D. E. Henry, Spokane, Wash.	1.50	9278	W. E. Staples, Boulder, B. C.	5.00	9349	Hungarian Section, F. S. R., N. Y. C.	600.00
9213	E. W. Krehn, RC, San Jose, Cal.	7.50	9279	David Stecy, Maricopa, Cal.	5.00	9350	George Sahlman, Tag Day, Cloquet, Minn.	590.46
9214	H. Drut, RC, N. Y. C.	4.65	9280	Jas. Sullivan, Maricopa, Cal.	5.00	9351	Nick Sincheff, RC, Madison, Ill.	63.00
9215	Meta Cohn, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	9281	D. L. K. Gedyminko Soc., Hartshorne, Okla.	25.00	9352	F. S. R. Branch, Madison, Ill.	141.66
9216	F. S. R. Branch, Lynn, Mass.	125.00	9282	Enyedy Miklos, RC, Jacksonville, Fla.	17.00	9353	M. Fabyanchick Bessemer, Pa.	60.23
9217	U. B. of C. & J. of A., Local No. 1417, Tonpaph, Nev.	50.00	9283	Aug. Sutkus, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	9354	U. M. W. of A. No. 4639, Belleville, Ill.	25.25
9218	Mrs. P. Refseth, RC, Millbank, So. Dak.	30.00	9284	Coll. W S B & E F, Farrell, Pa.	1.55	9355	Albert Moysis, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	24.25
9219	I. Shippman, RC, Chelsea, Mass.	30.00	9285	George Tracy, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00	9356	F. Welassenburg, RC, Toledo, O.	12.05
9220	F. Audaitis, RC, Helen, W. Va.	22.00	9286	Alexander Warju, List, Harrison, N. J.	1.50	9357	Ona Greblich, RC, Detroit, Mich	10.50
9221	U. B. of M. of W. Emp. & R. S. Laborers, Terry, Mont.	20.00	9287	O. G. Guerlac, Ithaca, N. Y.	5.00	9358	Milo Hartman, Coll., Centralia, Wash.	9.75
9222	Hedge Kollgren, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	19.00	9288	S. Cutler, Providence, R. I.	5.00	9359	Vallance A. Corus, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.50
9223	J. M. Kennis, RC, New Westminster, B. C.	16.00	9289	J. A. Hamilton, RC, Munhall, Pa.	3.00	9360	M. J. Maki, RC, Salmon Arm, B. C.	8.50
9224	M. Molnar, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	12.00	9290	D. K. Hallowell, Phila., Pa.	3.00	9361	Co-operative Central Ex., Superior, Wis.	300.00
			9291	G. Burzichelli, Norvinger, Mo.	5.00	9362	F.S.R. Branch, Springfield, Ill.	126.00
			9292	Martino Paone, Wheaton, Ill.	2.00			
			9293	D. Masini, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00			
			9294	B. Sokalot, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	3.00			
			9295	Morai Wolfman, RC, Brooklyn	1.00			

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
9363	F. S. R. Branch, Stelton, N.J.	100.00	9430	Sask.	15.00	9499	C. E. Johnson, Harrisland, Sask.	1.00
9364	Henry Joki, RC, Fairbanks, Alaska	126.00	9431	W. W. Whalen, RC, Buffalo, Okla.	12.00	9500	C. A. Lewis, Harrisland, Sask.	1.00
9365	F. S. R. Br. San Diego, Cal.	102.00	9432	M. J. Backer, List, Cleveland, Ohio	10.00	9501	J. M. Shultz, RC, Brooklyn	10.00
9366	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	57.00	9433	Gustav Wittmuss, RC, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	9502	Rose Holland, N. Y. C.	2.00
9367	Rodney Salisbury, RC, Plentywood, Mont.	51.00	9434	C. A. Whitney, Oakland, Cal.	10.00	9503	M. Nacht, N. Y. C.	1.00
9368	J. J. Mastin, RC, Guthrie, Ky.	50.00	9435	Jon. Jaroslaw, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	9504	B. Weisman, N. Y. C.	2.00
9369	F.S.R. Branch, Everett, Wash.	43.00	9436	V. Cristo, RC, Hammond, Ind.	10.00	9505	C. Friedenber, N. Y. C.	1.00
9370	F.S.R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	200.00	9437	Edmund Rieckehr, RC, Hoboken, N. J.	7.00	9506	L. Brown, Richmond Hill, N. Y.	1.00
9371	Mrs. S. Abrahams, S. Norwalk, Conn.	40.00	9438	F. S. R. Branch, Lists, Belleville, Ill.	38.00	9507	R. Protzky (N. Y. C.)	5.00
9372	L. Siegel & A. Goldberg, RC, Detroit, Mich.	41.00	9439	Harry M. Winitzky, N. Y. C.	8.48	9508	Mr. Skots, RC, Cambridge, Mass.	4.00
9373	Faculty & Students of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.	35.00	9440	Geo. T. Cline, RC, Fort Bidwell, Cal.	5.00	9509	Z. Stenchenko, RC, Boston, Mass.	2.00
9374	A. K. W. Union, Brooklyn, N.Y.	22.00	9441	Karl Pendt, Troy, N. Y.	5.00	9510	J. Klinovich, RC, Thorpe, W. Va.	5.00
9375	A.J. Kreeckas, RC, Grand Rapids, Mich.	16.00	9442	C. Wacker, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	9511	J. Zagowdny, RC, Hartford, Conn.	3.50
9376	G.V. Sumner, McMurray, Wash.	15.00	9443	W S & D B F No. 22, Newark, N. J.	4.00	9512	P. Pechersky, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9377	Louis Giesberg, Mount Vernon, N. Y.	10.00	9444	John Hoffman, R. C., Watsonville, Cal.	3.00	9513	O. Dierr, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	.25
9378	Lund Public School, RC, Lund, B. C.	10.00	9445	Anonymous, Montreal, Can.	13.00	9514	S. Pechersky, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	.50
9379	C. Susser, RC, Cleveland, Ohio	10.00	9446	S. S. Asato, RC, New Castle, Pa.	7.00	9515	H. Pecharsky, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	.50
9380	Settino Fant, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	9447	F.S.R. Branch, Washington, D.C.	245.00	9516	Sol. Abramson, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9381	Robert Johnson, RC, Massett, B. C.	10.67	9448	A. Rabina, RC, Elburne, BC	31.00	9517	H. Slatkin, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00
9382	M. Kupplis, RC, Lake Isle, Alberta	3.88	9449	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Great Falls, Mont.	17.00	9518	R. Hykina, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00
9383	R. Maider, Newark, N. J.	10.00	9450	A. Rabot, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	16.00	9519	D. Louis, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00
9384	Finly T. Wilcox, Florence Villa, Fla.	10.00	9451	S. A. Fuller, RC, Transconia, Man.	12.00	9520	Saul Freedman, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9385	N. Zhuck, Youngtown, Ohio.	10.00	9452	I. A. of M. No. 197, Brainerd, Minn.	10.00	9521	M. Kraut, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9386	Carl O. Roth, RC, Chicago, Ill.	8.00	9453	F. E. Williams, RC, Confidence, Cal.	1.00	9522	M. Kraut, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9387	L. Vomocil, Cadaden, Ariz.	5.00	9454	S. T. Rablin, RC, Standard, Cal.	1.00	9523	S. Freedman, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9388	Chas. F. Laemmle, RC, Bklyn	6.00	9455	Chris Sauers, RC, Erie, Pa.	3.75	9524	J. P. Rice, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9389	Samuel S. Katz, Perth Amboy, N. J.	6.00	9456	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Racine, Wis.	1.50	9525	M. Sloan, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00
9390	Y. Sharof, Coll., N. Y. C.	9.00	9457	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich.	1,100.00	9526	C. Weber, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
9391	Jacob L. Finkelstein, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	9458	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	9527	L. Rookman, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	.50
9392	Greenberg & Wise, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00	9459	F.S.R. Branch, Rochester, N.Y.	400.00	9528	L. Weinstein, RC, N. Y. C.	3.00
9393	Waino Lehto, Waiola, Mich.	5.00	9460	P. D. Lith. Br., F. S. R., Pittsburg, Pa.	100.00	9529	P. Mayza, RC, Mt. Vernon, NY	7.80
9394	I. S. Stull, Forbes, Mo.	5.00	9461	Ella O. Findelcan, RC, Lawrence, Mass.	44.00	9530	Julius Miko, RC, Newark, N.J.	4.00
9395	Albert M. Firey, Forest Park, Ill.	5.00	9462	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	5,041.92	9531	T. Pollok, Newark, N. J.	3.00
9396	Mr. & Mrs. A. S. Ganong, Sturgis, Sask.	5.00	9463	R. Hradsky, RC, Chicago, Ill.	36.00	9532	S. Hucknik, RC, Brooklyn, NY	5.00
9397	Emil Zimmerman, Yaak, Mont.	5.00	9464	W. C. Br. 94, Stamford, Conn.	35.00	9533	C. Le Grand, Montclair, N. J.	19.50
9398	E. J. Redmond, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	9465	Thos. K. Dubetz, RC, Troy, Mont.	25.00	9534	L. Gastica, Coll., Astoria, N.Y.	20.00
9399	Mrs. L. M. Stuner, N. Y. C.	10.00	9466	J. Schlom, N. Y. C.	20.00	9535	J. Domenico, RC, Brooklyn	3.05
9400	M. T. Siegel, N. Y. C.	6.00	9467	A. Sepphammer, RC, Prince Rupert, B. C.	18.00	9536	Ph. Harper, Coll., N. Y. C.	3.00
9401	Mrs. Luella T. Robey, Bon Air, Va.	8.00	9468	C. Kiselis, Lists & RC, Racine, Wis.	22.30	9537	I. Siegel, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
9402	J. Schwartz, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00	9469	H. Anderson, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	9538	J. P. Miller, RC, Anchorage, Alaska	10.00
9403	John Wasle, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00	9470	F. W. Grand, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	9539	H. Ellison, RC Kennebecot, Alaska	8.00
9404	W S & D B F No. 147, Fall River, Mass.	3.00	9471	Samuel A. Harrison, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00	9540	P. Honcarud, RC, Newark, N.J.	1.00
9405	G. J. McDonald, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00	9472	S. E. Coble, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	9541	N. Pasochesik, RC, Newark, N.J.	2.00
9406	Bertha E. Jager, Kingfisher, Oklahoma	2.00	9473	C. A. Kaley, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	9542	J. W. Booker, RC, Barleyton, Tenn.	2.00
9407	C. F. Snyder, Summerland, Cal.	2.00	9474	W. J. Conarty, Hammond, Ind.	2.00	9543	Mrs. J. Gould, N. Y. C.	2.00
9408	Rose Weiss, N. Y. C.	2.00	9475	Mrs. D. Ballantine, Prairie du Chien, Wis.	2.00	9544	R. G. Dunbar, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
9409	John J. King, Frankfort, Ky.	1.00	9476	M. F. Shields, Lansing, Mich.	3.00	9545	O. S. Curtis, New Hall, Cal.	2.00
9410	Theodore R. Wics, N. Y. C.	1.00	9477	Frank J. Flaig, Cincinnati, O.	5.00	9546	E. T. Coros, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	1.00
9411	Frances Miller, Bozeman, Mont.	1.00	9478	C. H. Franzen, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00	9547	H. Hanson, Colorado Springs, Col.	1.00
9412	John Lundblad, Portland, Ore.	1.00	9479	Mrs. G. Hagen, RC, Ozona Pk, L. I.	5.00	9548	P. Kusner, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00
9413	Jenny C. Lind, Portland, Ore.	1.00	9480	F. Stanze, RC, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	9549	J. Serros, RC, N. Y. C.	.50
9414	Selma Lind, Portland, Ore.	1.00	9481	M. S. Hooke, RC, Boston, Mass.	2.00	9550	H. Theodogon, RC, N. Y. C.	.50
9415	Faustine J. Carly, Port Richmond, N. Y.	1.00	9482	E. P. Hutchins, RC, Boston, Mass.	2.00	9551	S. A. Pfuhl, Phila., Pa.	.10
9416	Finiah Ed. Assn, Cleveland, O.	65.52	9483	A. Hammer, Rosindale, Mass.	2.00	9552	A. F. Tropea, RC, Youngstown, Ohio	5.25
9417	Dr. E. Hillinger, RC, Chicago, Ill.	31.75	9484	W. J. Rogers, Battle Creek, Mich.	2.00	9553	Donald Amter, N. Y. C.	.34
9418	Wester Sillanpaa, RC, Nanaimo, B. C.	27.74	9485	Mrs. J. Forback, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00	9554	Marxian Class in Economics, Phila., Pa.	2.50
9419	Czechoslovak Workmen School, RC, Chicago, Ill.	24.45	9486	Bruno Richter, Portland, Ore.	1.00	9555	Chas. De Kyne, Phila., Pa.	1.50
9420	William Wainola, RC, West Berkeley, Cal.	14.50	9487	F. S. R. Branch, Wilmerding, Pa.	156.65	9556	Fin. Soc. Local, RC, S. Range, N. Y. C.	28.00
9421	W. Christie, RC, N. Y. C.	12.75	9488	F. S. R. Branch, RC, W. Frankfort, Ill.	167.48	9557	A. R. Gold, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.50
9422	Erich Fiesche, RC, Venice, Cal.	5.50	9489	Ch. Cajanus, RC, Melrose Park, Ill.	12.25	9558	Mr. & Mrs. H. Linn, RC, N.Y.C.	2.00
9423	A. Krajaniskas, RC, Spring Valley, Ill.	4.50	9490	Bess Geb. RC, Racine, Wis.	3.20	9559	A. Adanick, Essington, Pa.	2.00
9424	I. M. U. of N. A. No. 20, Covington, Ky.	4.40	9491	W. J. Rogers, Battle Creek, Mich.	2.00	9560	O. Strom, Vathon, Wash.—1 gold wedding ring, silver watch-chain and 5 coins.	38.20
9425	Angelo Pellegrini, Coll., Swatara, Pa.	58.00	9492	Mrs. J. Forback, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00	9561	A. Sandstrom, RC, N. Y. C.	1.46
9426	Sebastian Tedde, RC, Nanty, Glo, Pa.	3.50	9493	Mrs. J. Forback, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00	9562	N. Haykin, RC, Brooklyn, N.Y.	13.50
9427	George Pappas, RC, Washington, D. C.	20.00	9494	Bruno Richter, Portland, Ore.	1.00	9563	C. E. Ruthenberg & I. E. Ferguson, N. Y. C.	13.11
9428	Finish Group, Deer River, Minn.	17.00	9495	F. S. R. Branch, Wilmerding, Pa.	156.65	9564	C. L. Boltz, RC, West Huntington, W. Va.	12.00
9429	Ernest Jennings, RC, Gull Lake,		9496	F. S. R. Branch, RC, W. Frankfort, Ill.	167.48	9565	J. Albrecht, RC, Brooklyn, NY	5.00
			9497	Ch. Cajanus, RC, Melrose Park, Ill.	12.25	9566	Wm. F. Auerswald, RC, Har-marville, Pa.	2.00
			9498	Bess Geb. RC, Racine, Wis.	3.20	9567	Geo. Sarkanj, RC, Harmarville, Pa.	2.00
			9499	Dr. B. M. Sakin, RC, Brooklyn	10.00	9568	S. Villas, N. Y. C.	2.08
			9500	Dr. C. J. Lerner, RC, Brooklyn	10.00	9569	V. Wendzinaki, RC, Cristobal, Canal Zone	7.00
			9501	J. Milstein, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	9570	S. Davidson, RC, N. Y. C.	31.00
			9502	R. Chelsberg, Roche Plain, Sask.	1.00	9571	V. Martinkovich, RC, N. Y. C.	8.00
			9503	O. E. Oyen, Waldville, Sask.	1.00	9572	J. W. Kay, Harrisland, Sask.	1.00
			9504	J. Soderlund, Harrisland, Sask.	1.00	9573	G. Chelsberg, Roche Plain, Sask.	1.00
			9505	L. Hayes, Harrisland, Sask.	1.00			
			9506	A. Johnson, Harrisland, Sask.	1.00			
			9507	R. J. Johnson, Harrisland, Sask.	1.00			
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Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
9575	Nils Nicolarsen, Roche Plains, Saak.	1.00	9649	S. M. Bowes, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00	720	G. Baracchi, West Hoboken, NJ	5.00
9576	L. E. Nelson, Harrisland, Saak.	1.00	9650	Geo. A. Stephens, San Diego, Cal.	2.00	9721	W. H. Kingery, RC, Spokane, Wash.	2.50
9577	W. Aspeland, Harrisland, Saak.	1.00	9651	K. Serier, Kennewick, Wash.	1.00	9722	P. E. Mischenko, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	4.50
9578	M. Crowe, Roche Plain, Saak.	.50	9652	F. S. R. Branch, Gary, Ind.	163.00	9723	P. Pahinka, RC, Timmins, Ont.	19.00
9579	H. Tinsdal, Roche Plain, Saak.	1.50	9653	F. S. R. Branch, Ziegler, Ill.	45.75	9724	F. Wilga, RC, N. Y. C.	7.00
9580	G. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio	2.00	9654	F. S. R. Branch, Brainerd, Minn.	44.40	9725	Stanley Chopas, RC, Farmington, Ill.	6.00
9581	O. Jansem, Balfour, N. D.	3.00	9655	Victor Hauts, Conneaut, Ohio	40.60	9726	M. Kuyawa, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	4.00
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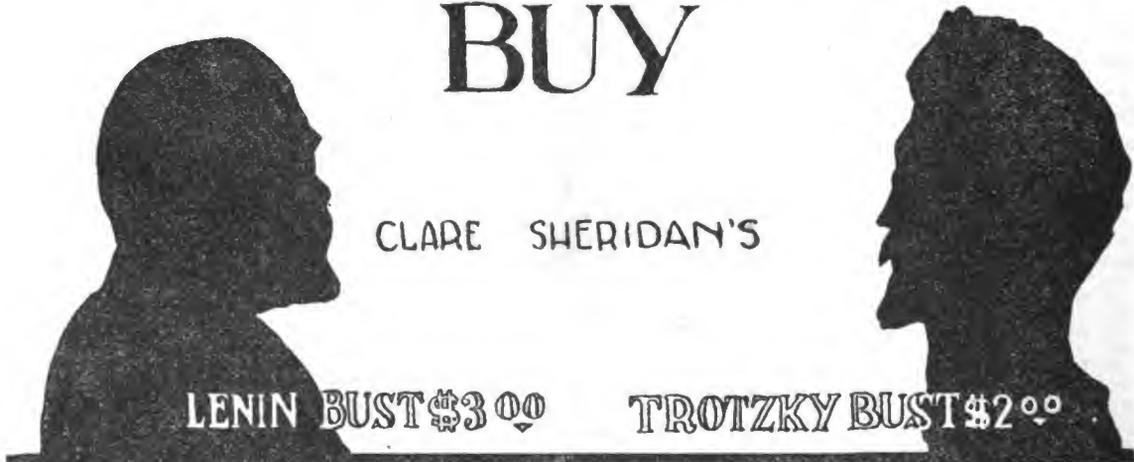
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Soviet Russia's Fight for Socialism

By KARL RADEK

An article appearing in "Die Rote Fahne", Berlin, of May 13, immediately after the delivery of the note mentioned in the first paragraph.

THE note to those conducting the conference at Genoa in which the Russian delegation at Genoa answered the memorandum of the capitalist powers is a document which deserves the attention not only of the working class, but of all classes of the population of every country:

Soviet Russia, a Breach Cut in the Capitalist World System

"Russia has not been conquered. The only language which would result in a common agreement, is that observed between States negotiating on a footing of equality."

It is not national pride that speaks through these words of our note. In the imperialist war Tsarist and bourgeois Russia were defeated by German imperialism. But the defeated Russia whose soldiers had fled from the front drew new strength from the proletarian revolution. The working class, which had conquered the bourgeoisie in Russia, found the moral and material energy not only to defend their country with their own breasts but also to inspire millions of peasants with the will to combat and to win. When the Soviet delegation declares that Russia has not been defeated, it says to the capitalist world: "You are a thousand times richer than we; but you are not able to raise armies of millions against us, for even the workers who are not communists would not fight against us; and your mercenary "White" Russian hirelings have been forced to flee although we were lacking in every resource. We have replaced our lack of equipment, our lack of foodstuffs with the will of millions to create a new world, a world without capitalist exploitation. And this declaration of the Soviet delegation means for the international proletariat: When a whole people is ready to fight and defend itself it is indomitable.

"Russia is not defeated", says the Delegation's note. This means that if you would force Soviet Russia to her knees, if you would banish the accomplishments of the November Revolution from the world, you will have to resort to a new war and defeat us, but if you have recognized the im-

practicability of such a plan, if you would have peace, then know that the first breach in the system of world capitalism has been cut, that the first state has arisen in which a new construction is to take place, based on new, non-capitalist principles, and then you will have to condescend to regard Soviet Russia as of equal station with you; you, the mighty ones of this earth, you, the old capitalist Europe, must recognize that you must now seek a new *modus vivendi* for the period intervening before the moment comes at which the working class shall be victorious in all countries, a *modus vivendi* with the first state organization embodying the proletarian revolution.

The Right to Revolution

Capitalism has transformed the whole world. It has burst the bonds of feudal serfdom. It has abolished the provincial particularism of nations. It has united the world with railroads, steamers, and airships. It has taught the continents to speak to each other with the voice of the electric spark. It has built cities out of steel and glass. Capitalism is the greatest revolutionary of the world. But the present bourgeois and their capitalist governments, are reactionary pigmies. Not only will they not admit that the world must pass beyond the stage of capitalism, and that in the long run great nations that have learned to control nature will not permit the means of control over nature, which are equivalent to means of control over men, to remain in the hands of a small clique of persons! They are even unwilling to remember that they also passed through revolutions, in which they threw the gauntlet in the face of the old feudal world. M. Barthou, the French representative at Genoa, once wrote a book on the great orator of the revolution, Mirabeau, the same revolution which proclaimed in a Resolution of the Convention, of September 22, 1792: "The sovereignty of peoples is not bound down by the treaties of tyrants", the same revolution which annulled the treaties of the old regime and its national debts, and year in and

year out the French people, on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille celebrate the memory of the French Revolution.

The Marseillaise is the national anthem of France, but the French Government is a government of the petty and big bourgeoisie. Its representatives take off their hats when the band plays the battle song of the *sansculottes*, but they hate the memory and the spirit of revolution. In the name of the new world, writhing in terrible pain, in the name of the international working class, which will place its mark on the epoch that is to come, the Soviet delegation calls attention to the right of revolutions to break old laws, to shatter old alliances, to found a new law of society. At the moment when Soviet Russia frankly and plainly declares that it is obliged by the alignment of forces throughout the world, by the tardy development of world revolution, to make a compromise with the capitalist world and to grant concessions to that world, it proclaims the inalienable right of the new order, the indestructible rights of the new social class to revolution, to the establishment of a new order, as opposed to the old. With unprecedented clearness the Soviet delegation declares in the face of the whole capitalist gathering of the world: "Yes, we are poor and hungry and do not wish to see the sons of the revolution starve before they succeed, after years of destruction, in building up the new, better system of production. We need the technical resources of the capitalist world. Our brothers, the proletarian masses of Europe, cannot yet give us this resources, for they still are themselves in chains, they are themselves only a portion of the machine, not the masters of the world of steel and iron. Socialism cannot at once put through its program. In the November Revolution we sent out to all the world the call that can only be changed from a program into reality after long years of conflict and labor. We are therefore obliged to make concessions to you. The capitalist principle will continue to exist in Soviet Russia side by side with the Socialist principle. But we have not relinquished this Socialist principle which is our birthright; if you would put it down you must come to Soviet Russia and crush us."

For the Principle of Socialism

The note of the Soviet delegation formulates two questions as the principal ones.

We do not give up the nationalization of land and large-scale production. The soil must belong to the people, for it is their source of life, and shall not become an object of barter. The nation gives the soil to the peasants for cultivation and if it will be able to place at the peasants' disposal the technical means by which modern industry makes their work easier and more productive, then the peasant will learn that it is better to work the soil jointly than to eke out a wretched existence on a small parcel of land. The miner penetrates the bowels of the earth in extreme discomfort that can hardly be imagined by those outside who have not lain doubled up

in shafts, or worked with picks while lying on their backs. Only a consciousness that he is conferring an immense service on the common weal can produce any joy of life in the miner. Coal is the basis of the existence of modern nations, together with iron and oil. It shall not become a means of dominating human beings. A few magnates shall not have the right to leave great masses without light and warmth because there is private property in that which is created by the common work of hand and brain workers. Wars shall not be fought merely that the capitalists may distribute coal and steel in cannon and warships instead of using it with benefit to humanity. The workshops of the nation shall belong to the nation.

In proclaiming these principles for the future world organization the Soviet delegation likewise says: "Seven years of imperialistic war and of a civil war incited by the imperialists of the whole world have made Russia poor. In order that its destroyed workshops may again begin to work, Soviet Russia is ready to lease out a portion of its large scale industry to foreign capital. But if the Russian proletarian is to work once more for the capitalists in a certain part of Russian industry, he must be assured that his workshop has only temporarily ceased to be an instrument for the liberation of labor. He must know that through his exertions profit accrues not only to the capitalist tenant but also that the rent paid is buying machines and raw materials for the other portion of Russian industry, which is working for the welfare of the whole nation."

The Soviet delegation fought for loans for the first workers' and peasants' state. The fight for government loans is—as well as the defense of nationalization—a fight for Socialism. The capitalist governments decline such a loan not because of the insecurity of the investment, but because they wish to force our nationalized industry, by means of a financial blockade, to capitulate. If Soviet Russia receives no loan for the purchase of new machines, for the oil industry in the Caucasus, for the coal industry in the Donets Basin, for the Iron industry in the Urals, for the railroads, it will have to lease and sell them to capitalist concerns. That is the idea of the representatives of world capitalism. But the battle for Socialism is simultaneously a battle for the reconstruction of Russia. "If the Russian Government lacks financial resources and credits to assist industry and agriculture, restore the means of transport and establish a stable currency by stopping the issue of continually depreciating paper rubles, foreign commercial relations of any magnitude will be met by very great difficulties. Moreover measures aimed at the relief of Russia can only be applied by the Government itself or according to a scheme drawn up in advance. The Russian delegation had intended to put before the conference such a scheme worked out by competent scientific and industrial authorities." These words of the note cannot be answered by the capitalist powers, for they speak

the truth; as long as the Soviet Government continues to exist, Russia cannot be rehabilitated unless that government, being *the* Russian government, obtains the means needed for the creation of the general conditions for any economic reconstruction. Therefore the question of a government loan gives the capitalist world a choice. Do you want a real *modus vivendi* with the only possible Russian government, or only an apparent recognition and an actual boycott?

Reconstruction of Europe, or Defense of the Spoils of Capitalist War?

When the Allies at Cannes decided to invite Soviet Russia to the Genoa Conference, they took the reconstruction of European economy and the peace of Europe as the subjects of their negotiations. And they are now not negotiating on reconstruction but on how to push back the historical evolution that expropriated the bourgeoisie in Russia. It is not the question of rehabilitating Russia economically that is taken as the subject of the negotiations, but the recognition of the old legal titles of foreign capitalists, who will use them for no other purpose than to sell and haggle with them with a few rich concerns. They are not negotiating on how to make work easier for the Russian people, but how to burden down the Russian people with a debt of hundreds of billions, which for decades will turn all the work of the Russian proletariat into work for the Entente slave holders. But Lloyd George, and the capitalist powers that be, themselves recognize that without the great Russian people, the economic reconstruction of the world is impossible. It was not for love of these "murderers and thieves" that they invited Soviet Russia to Genoa, but because they recognized that it was inevitable that Russia would again be brought into the system of world economy. By now putting in the foreground not the ideas of the economic reconstruction of Russia but the interests of old creditors and capitalists they are

sacrificing the rehabilitation of Europe to the interests of small capitalist cliques.

Four years have passed since the conclusion of the armistice and the world is still bristling with weapons and will have no peace, not even an armistice, until the capitalists have recognized the fact that Soviet Russia lives and has conquered its right to exist. So long as they openly or secretly fight against Soviet Russia, the Russian people, no matter how great may be its sufferings, will continue to bear arms. It will be ready to ward off any attacks. And, if it has the opportunity, it will not wait until it is openly attacked, for it is madness to suppose that a great nation would starve to death or become a sacrifice to pestilence without making any attempt to burst the chains that strangle it. Soviet Russia wants peace. It has declared its readiness to disarm, provided the capitalist powers will also disarm. All talk of imperialism is a mere catchword of anti-Bolshevist propaganda. The idea of Communism has struck deeper root in industrial Western Europe than in semi-agrarian Russia. And even though the great tree of Communism may take more time to grow big and powerful, it is nevertheless growing all the time. But it is impossible to desire peace and at the same time to condemn one hundred and fifty million people to death by starvation. Either the capitalist powers will make peace with Soviet Russia or Europe will see no peace. Lloyd George has the idea of a ten year peace agreement, but neither those to whom peace is not granted, nor those who will not grant peace, can guarantee peace for even a single year.

All this is said plainly in the answer of the Soviet delegation to the representatives of the capitalist world. And all this is also said to the international working class. This answer does not admit of any evasion. And in reply the western powers, to use the expression of Barthou, will have to say yes or no.

The New Land

A Story from the Famine Region

MYRON, and Nadka, his sister, lay by the old cart in the barn, because it was cooler there. The air was close all around, like wool. Nadka had brought out a scrap of rat's meat for her brother. "The old man has hidden everything," she said. "He says you don't need food, because you're still fat—you have plenty in stock."

She turned over and whispered: "They have brought down Yeffimia from the spring. The water has dried up."

Myron grunted, "What do I care?"

Nadka went on slowly: "They say that a new land has been opened, beyond the Syr Daria. They call it the White Arapia." (Arabia—the Russian peasant's word for all the southern lands where black folk live.) "The White Arapia.... The rains

there, after the sowing, last three whole weeks. Everyone is allowed there, free; there's plenty of land, too. Yeffimia has told us all this, and she speaks so well."

"Must be lying. Where is she from?"

"They brought her down from the spring called the Eye of Yesterday. If she feels like it she will lead the folk to that Arapia. Dad doesn't want to go. But in some villages folk have gone. The rats are going—you have seen. And so have the birds. And here there is a curse, for thirty-seven years; neither rain nor grass. After that people will come back—if alive. For thirty-seven years they have opened the White Arapia, and then they will close it again."

Men began to make ready for the journey: they repaired their carts. Those who had not eaten their horses fed them on scraps of hay and dried dung. The horseless ones made hand carts as best they could.

The rats had gone—a grey moving blanket of them had passed through the village two days before. The villagers had killed all they could; these were already eaten.

Myron had to keep his big body out of sight. Men's eyes were greedy for meat. He ate little—crushed bark, or boiled hide cut from fallen animals that made a pinkish stew. But all his flabby flesh hung on his bones still, like wet sand; his bones found no support in this sand and were becoming numb.

Nadka, flat-chested, with a greenish skin, and sore-swollen eyelids, was always near him, saying: "Don't show yourself, Myron. Men have gone mad before now, particularly of nights. They will kill you. You'd better get thinner. Get yourself thinner, Myron."

"I can't get thinner," answered Myron hoarsely. He shook his dusty, mopy head and sought safety in the barn.

"It's all a fraud, I tell you. It's water, not flesh. You just feel it."

Timidly Nadka felt his legs.

"True, it's fraud. And what a body you used to have. I remember. But they won't believe that, and will kill you. You'd better not show yourself."

Myron slept with open eyes. The nights were long and dry like the days. He stretched ropes near his shelter so that he might hear any stranger bent on evil.

* * *

Dry as the day was the voice of Yeffimia, from the spring of Yesterday's Eye—the spring at the Four Birch Trees that men called holy now. Yeffimia could be found, day and night, in a cart in the yard of Timokhin, the chairman of the village council. Under a dark kerchief one could discern a small face, with white hair. In a creaking, wrinkled voice, almost whispering, she made her frantic speeches.

"Come ye, Christians, from anywhere. For a short time the gates of the white Arapian land have opened. Go, all of you who will, across the sands, first through the Hart land, and thence by the Indian mountains. For thirty-seven years have the gates been opened. Who gets there first will have the nearest land cut out for him. The grass is like honey there. Corn ripens in three weeks. Besides this the Arap men give all that one wants."

Myron would have liked to see her, but was afraid of showing himself in the street. Somebody had brought her to these parts to persuade the Anisimov farmers, who expected bread from Moscow and refused to leave their farms. Then, somehow, it happened that the farms caught fire, and within a night all were burned out.

When the fire spread to the forests, an orange-tinted pall hid the sky. Dust began to creep along

the dried-up river. And when, a little later, the wells also suddenly became dry, the folk took their belongings and went to seek the white Arapia.

Myron went with them.

* * *

The land is all sands—blue sands. And the sky, too, is blue sand. The birches crouch timidly, like crippled beggars, dry-armed; the birches have lost their bark. But it is not the hares who have eaten the bark. The hares fled to the Arapian land—leaving the bark for men to gnaw. And men gnaw the bark with their grey and yellow teeth.

The harness leather had all been eaten. Of the fallen horses there remained only hollow, knife-gouged bones. During the second week a horse fell. It belonged to Myron's father, Fadeyev. The village ate it in a day. The brains were given to Yeffimia.

Soon there were no horses left.

Yeffimia's cart was drawn in turn by the men themselves, while she, pointing with a beak-like finger, stared to the south and kept saying the same words about Arapia.

"Come ye, Christians, from everywhere. For a short time the gates of the White Arapian land have opened...."

* * *

One night Myron had a dream. He saw a field of yellow, thickly-growing wheat. As he tried to catch the spikes, they slipped through his finger. Suddenly one spike struck out its prickly whiskers and began to crawl into his throat.

At this moment Myron woke up. He felt somebody was feeling over him.

"Who's that?" he shouted, pulling his leg away. The sand tinkled. Somebody was moving away. Nadka woke up.

"Something hurts in my belly."

Myron pulled up his covering and stammered:

"They feel—feel the flesh!"

"You'd better lie by my side. I don't sleep well and I hear everything."

And drawing to herself his trembling body she stroked his head and murmured in a drooping whisper:

"They say we'll soon get there. Soon we'll reach the Hart, and though they have no bread either, Yeffimia says they will give us some milk. God be merciful. You will get there anyway. And I—I think, Myron, I'll die to-morrow."

"You will pull through, old girl."

"No, I'll die. That horse stuff I ate—it hurts me. I feel it like hot bricks. And it makes me sick. It sticks in my throat. And there's nobody to dig a grave for me."

"That'll be all right. Don't worry."

"Nobody has any strength left in his arms. And the earth is shifty."

She died at dawn.

Myron started to bury her. Yegorka, her lover, stayed also.

"You go," Myron said to him. "I'll bury her."

Yegorka shrugged his shoulders. Then spoke out of breath. "I—I'll do it—myself—Leave her alone—I'll do it—myself—I tell you—I wanted to marry her—I'll bury her—You go."

By the shrubs, children were sitting around, gazing, like hungry dogs. Yegorka shook his stick and shouted, "Off with you, off." The boys ran off, muttering, "He'll eat her."

* * *

Myron could not catch up with his villagers. A small bit of leather lying by a cart met his gaze. He shoved it between his teeth.

A humpbacked woman with dishevelled hair pulled him by the sleeve.

"I've nothing. Want to eat, myself," said Myron.

The woman crouching on her crooked legs gave a sharp movement with her head. "I know where there is some food. Come with me under the cart. What will you give me?"

Myron turned away and ran, his elbows moving in rapid jerks. When he looked back, the woman and three men whom he did not know were walking behind.

From under a bush a little animal flashed. The animal escaped into a hole. Myron began to dig at the hole, but suddenly remembered it was dangerous to remain alone. The four were behind. He raised his eyes to the sun; it moved, yellow. He felt he wanted to rest. There was a cart near by; warm wood and hot nails. But he at once

remembered the four. They walked only a few yards behind, holding each other's arms and keeping their eyes on the distant villagers, vanishing in the dust.

Myron increased his pace.

"They'll kill me. I must catch up with our men, or there'll be an end to me here."

He thought of Nadka who had pitied him, and cried. His eyes were as dry as the road. His fingers swept only dust from eyelids and brows.

Myron caught up the villagers at last and lay down under a cart. Opposite him, under another cart, were lying four people: the woman and the three men. The woman stared straight at him. He thought she winked at him.

Myron crawled under the next cart, lay down in the shade, and looked out. Under the cart which he had just left he saw the four. The woman winked at him again. Myron moved his head close to the wheel and shut his eyes. Before him quivering, winding wheatfields stretched, full of crimson, green, and brown ears of wheat. Throwing the ears aside with its horns a cow with a dull fat muzzle stepped out and looked at him. And suddenly its eyes grew dark and receded, and over them floated a shadowy wolf's snout.

Myron opened his eyes.

Behind the wheel the woman squatted, and a man was pressing a hammer into her hand.

Myron leant his head against the spokes and closed his eyes.

Newspapers in Soviet Russia

By VICTOR SERGE

IN the capitalist countries the immediate aim of the daily newspaper is to sell, and its ultimate aim is to mould public opinion to the advantage of the money interests, which own the press and are its undisputed masters. In order to sell, the newspaper must flatter the tastes, or rather the instincts, of the largest possible, i. e., the least educated number. Hence the private scandals, the "social" news, the gruesome murder stories and sensational canards on the first page. In order to shape public opinion in accordance with the unconfessed interests of the real masters of the country, they carefully sift the news, suppress or misstate the truth, resort to lies, inventions, calumnies. Hence all the false news about the war, all the stories about the Russian Revolution and the "nationalization of women"—as a daily policy in which bad faith is only outdone by stupidity.

The press in a Communist country must be something quite different. Its aim is to inform, to educate, to discuss. It does not pretend—especially in the period of civil war—to be "impartial"; but it is truthful, for its cause, in its own manner, with passion. As the matter of first importance is to initiate the working people in the management of public affairs its main business is

the theoretical and practical popularization of science. On the other hand, it is not afraid to offend those habits of the readers which it considers objectionable, e. g., by refusing to furnish them with the daily pabulum of criminal records. The number of readers being a secondary consideration, it is not afraid to appear reserved, in its seriousness. It is not concerned with advertising, either directly or indirectly.* It treats subjects which a bourgeois journalist would never think of treating; and it is more or less full of contempt for what is called "journalism" in the bourgeois world, i. e., that pseudo-literary profession, made of cheap vulgarization, of clever publicity, of tricks and stunts of more than doubtful honesty, of superficial cleverness.

The Russian Revolution, although it has not yet succeeded, in the throes of civil war, in creating a new press, has at least succeeded in destroying completely the old press, and in preserving only a minimum of its defects. This may be seen by comparing the two.

*As a consequence of the New Policy, the newspapers at present have one page of advertising. But the general character of the papers has not been changed.—V. S.

The press of Moscow consists of three large dailies; the *Izvestya* ("Official News") of the Soviet Government; *Pravda* ("Truth") of the Communist Party; and *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* ("Economic Life"), of the Supreme Council of National Economy. We wish to point out right here that nowhere except in Russia has the attempt ever been made to acquaint the whole public with the important facts of economic life. In all the other countries there are for this purpose special organs which take up these problems for the benefit of specialists.

In Petrograd the *Pravda* came out for a long time as a morning paper, while the *Izviestya* appeared in the evening. In addition, there are published: a trade union daily *Makhovik* ("The Fly-wheel"); a daily for the peasants, *Krasnaya Gazeta* ("The Red Journal"); and a daily on art and theatrical matters. In general the Communist press pursues definite aims and appeals to a definite public, instead of being prompted by the desire of expansion and of always and everywhere doing "good business".

What is important is not that the papers should be sold, but that they should be read. Distributed free of charge practically throughout 1921, the Soviet newspapers were also posted up in all the streets, which was necessary in order to have them placed at the disposal of the entire population during the paper shortage.

Let us consider the contents of these Russian dailies. Here is the March 21 issue of the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* ("Economic Life"). Three articles on the front page are full of material and have the serious character of the better articles in foreign reviews. They treat the following subjects: *Active Policy or Inertia* (L. Shapiro), *Division of Russia into Regions and Administrative Reform* (Prof. Yasnopolsky), *Wages in Kind* (V. Vladimirovsky). Moreover: "The Latest News", information of economic and statistical character (fuel, metallurgy, foreign trade, provincial news). Do you know among the hundreds of dailies appearing in the other European countries, of a single one which treats all these subjects so carefully and conscientiously? Certainly not. They don't need such serious treatment. It is assumed in those countries that the mechanism of the economic life should be known only to business men and, besides, it would be dangerous to give this information to the exploited classes, because this would mean betraying to them all the real bases of the thing that is known in democratic countries as "politics".

An issue of the *Izviestya* or of the *Pravda* always contains on the first page two or three editorials. The leading editorial (unsigned in *Pravda*, signed by Yu. Steklov in *Izviestya*), articles about production, about international policy, party activities, polemics, criticisms of abuses, sometimes very bitter. At least half of these articles are signed by the most responsible militants, headed by Lenin, Radek, Bukharin, Trotsky, who usually contribute

to these papers and who are thus ideologically in constant touch with the masses. On the second page there is information on political matters, with important subdivisions, such as "The Struggle Against the Famine", "Foreign Affairs", "Communist International", letters from the provinces, some sketch on historical or literary matters (but never a sensational novel in instalments* or a short story of the same character); law court news, letters from the readers, bibliographic notes. There is no "town gossip"—a very excusable deficiency, because the hard times, the lack of space, the paper shortage, make the elimination of every matter that is of little practical importance a thing of necessity. "Miscellaneous News" (*fait divers*) was reduced to the most simple expression: three lines of concise news items.

But there is an element which is very striking in all the dailies of the revolution, which are after all official organs of the ruling party, an element which is not found anywhere else: namely, the element of self-criticism. It is a rare thing to find a Russian daily which does not contain several articles of merciless criticism directed against a court, a bureaucratic administration, a village Soviet, against a Commissariat, the management of a factory, a Communist group. Anybody can write, as long as he adduces facts which can be checked up, and as long as he takes the responsibility for what he writes. The most merciless, the most bitter truths are published this way, because the Revolution is not interested in creating illusions as to the difficulties of its tasks—the contrary being rather the case. And very often counter-revolutionists have thought that they might be able to exploit arguments taken from our own Russian press, but they have really not benefited by this practice. For our criticism, even if it is severe, differs essentially, in its spirit, in its aims, in the forms which it assumes, from criticisms written by enemies of the Revolution.

In the struggle against bureaucracy, and in the incessant elaboration of the new forms of industrial organization, the Communist press has thus played an important part.

It is inclined to the use of special issues (for the Trade Unions, the Woman's Movement, the Young People's Movement, the Red Army, the great anniversaries, etc.) arranged in such a way as to give complete information on the given subject. It publishes regularly pages for the young people, the working woman, on the Trade Unions, the famine sufferers, which advantageously replace the fashion pages, the comic section, and even the literary department of the large dailies of capitalist Europe.

Unlike the bourgeois press, whose columns are open only to insiders, this Soviet and Communist press continuously exhorts the peasants and workers who are its readers, to become its contributors; it publishes their letters, articles and recrimina-

*General custom of practically all European dailies.—Ed.

tions. "You peasants who are coming to the city"—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, of Petrograd, prints in big type—"let us know of your troubles and the complaints you have to make".....

It is easy to see that the press in Red Russia differs profoundly in every respect from the capitalist press; and although I see its numerous de-

fects, as to basic contents, form, and organization—it faithfully reflects all the defects of a transition period—I can conclude with impartiality that the difference is entirely to its advantage and that it already affords an approximate view of what the press will be in the future, in a society of free workers.

Supplements to the Genoa Memorandum

The following supplements appeared in the original copy of the Memorandum submitted to the Genoa Conference by the Russian delegates before the Conference opened. The Memorandum itself appeared in our last issue. These additions support a number of points made in the original.

(The Doctrine of Drago by H. A. Noulens)

In the matter of damages caused by civil wars or revolutions, I do not know anything better to do than to refer to the words of the distinguished professor F. de Martens. In the work entitled "Through Justice to Peace", St. Petersburg, 1915, he devotes to the Argentine note a study marked with a good will towards us for which we can never sufficiently thank him. "The History of the American States of the Latin race," he says, "is unfortunately full of civil wars or insurrections, which brought about not only sudden changes in the governments, but even spoliations and violations of private persons. Among the latter there were very often foreigners who were injured in their incontestable rights and interests. Nevertheless it seems to me impossible to assert that the foreigners could pretend to a greater security of their person or their property in case of civil war or revolution, than the indigenous population of the country. In principle, foreigners cannot pretend to any privileged position; their sufferings and losses ought to be taken into account by the territorial authorities in the same measure as those of the natives. Unfortunately, very often the foreign governments have believed in their right to claim indemnification for their subjects who had suffered from a civil war or an insurrection, without taking account of the *force majeure* of which the local government had been the victim. If the right to reparation is to be recognized, it is necessary that a judicial and competent authority fix the principle and the limits of it. It is, indeed, a matter of regret that this question of right should be settled by political considerations and the absence of material forces belonging to the defendant nation. In this case it opens a door to the most revolting abuses of arbitrary and brutal force" (op. cit., page 13). This opinion is shared by a great number of authors.

We cannot do better upon this subject than quote this vigorous passage from a speech delivered by the present head of the English Cabinet, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, in the session of the House of Commons in which the action of England in Venezuela was discussed.* "I will go so far as to say," he cried, "that there could be nothing more pernicious than the simple fact of appearing to place ourselves on the side of the doctrine, if it merits the name of doctrine, by virtue of which, if it happens that our compatriots have invested capital outside the kingdom in adventurous enterprises, and the investments are not successful, it would be a public duty to save the capital thus compromised. Whoever places his money in a country like Venezuela knows very well what he is doing. It does not seem to me that it would be entirely exact to say that to great risks great dividends always correspond. But one would be very near to the truth if one affirmed, interchanging the terms, that great dividends imply, in general, great risks. Indeed if all the power of the British Empire were placed behind the capitalist, his risk would disappear and his dividends ought to diminish in the

same proportion. The rule, *caveat emptor*, which the buyer of titles himself obeys, is becoming more and more established in the public conscience." (Page 27-28).

After having cited the opinions of a certain number of statesmen and examples borrowed from the general practice of nations, Calvo sums up his doctrine and presents the following conclusions:

1. The principle of indemnity and of diplomatic intervention in favor of foreigners, by reason of injuries suffered in the case of civil war, has not been and is not admitted by any nation of Europe or America.

2. The Governments of the powerful nations who impose this pretended right upon States relatively feeble, commit an abuse of arbitrary force which nothing could justify, and which is as contrary to their own legislation as to international practice and political custom. (Pages 176-177).

Declaration made to the French Chamber of Deputies by Mr. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, June 7, 1907.

There is no doubt that diplomacy cannot be at the heels of all the financiers who risk their capital in operations more or less adventurous. One cannot risk the forces, and involve the policy and the relations of a country, in all the speculations lucky or unlucky in which great industrialists, traders, and bankers may imprudently become involved.

There are distinctions to be drawn between the conflicts which are born of usurious loans and those which are born of legitimate loans. (Pages 211-212).

Annex 2.

(a) THE REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

1. *Declaration of Mr. Robert Cecil, November 24, 1917.*

"So far as concerns the recognition of these people, although it is absolutely impossible to avoid a certain number of dealings with them, for example, on the subject of the arrest of British citizens, outside of these cases there can be no question of diplomatic relations with them. Nobody has the intention of recognizing such a government."

(*The Daily Mail, November 24, 1917*)

2. *Declaration of Mr. Robert Cecil to the "Daily Mail" of the same date:*

"According to our latest information, Petrograd is calm and the general attitude of the country towards the extremists is apathetic. The sole gleam of hope, seems to be what the Cossack Chief, Kaledin, is doing or may be able to do."

3. *Communication of General Berthelot to General Dukhonin.*

On November 25, 1917, General Berthelot, chief of the French Military Mission in Rumania, addressed to the former Commander-in-Chief Dukhonin, already discharged for disobedience to the Central Power, the following communication:

*It must be understood that these English citations have been re-translated from the Russian, and that the originals may not coincide with the present text.

"I have the honor to bring to your attention a telegram received from the Prime Minister and Minister of War:

"I beg you to inform the Russian Command that France does not recognize the Government of the Council of People's Commissaries, and with entire confidence in the patriotism of the Russian command, expects that the latter will energetically reject all criminal pourparlers and keep the Russian army upon the front in the face of the common enemy. France has declared today again more clearly that she will not recognize any Russian Government capable of concluding an agreement with the enemy."

(b) THE MILITARY INTERVENTION OF THE ALLIES

4. *Extract from a telegram of the Chargé d'Affaires of Great Britain at Petrogard, Mr. Lockhart, to the Foreign Office:*

"I have had today a long conversation with Trotsky. He told me that the Congress of Soviets on March 12 would probably declare a holy war against Germany, or at least act in such fashion as to render inevitable a declaration of war by Germany. It is essential, however, to the success of this policy, that at least an allusion be made to Allied assistance. If the Allies permit Japan to occupy Siberia, the situation will be hopeless. In my opinion, and the opinion of authorities like Harold Williams, a Japanese occupation is in no way indispensable at the present moment, even in order to defend the Siberian supplies. Furthermore, a Japanese intervention in Siberia will do us a great injury in arming the whole Russian population against us after the war. I must make the same remark as to our own attitude, if the rumor is true that we plan to occupy Archangel and Murmansk. The situation here is not yet hopeless. The hostility against Germany is so strong that the present chaos will almost certainly engender resistance in one form or another. If events develop as I expect, and if you have some confidence in our points of view, I think it not impossible that the Russian Government will soon invite the American and English Governments to take part in the defence of Vladivostok and Archangel." (March 5, 1918)

5. *Extracts from the telegrams to Washington from the Ambassador of the United States at Petrograd, Francis.*

I. "If the Congress ratifies the peace it will be, I fear, in consequence of the threat of Japanese occupation in Siberia. Trotsky has declared to Robbins that neither the Government nor the Russian people are opposed to an American control over all shipments of merchandise from Vladivostok to Russia, nor to an effective control of the Trans-Siberian. Trotsky has told me likewise that Japan would fatally destroy all possibility of resistance to Germany, would make of Russia a German province. In my opinion a Japanese offensive is at the present time utter madness. I address this telegram especially to you, in order that you may use all your influence to avoid this danger."

II. "I have no words in which to characterize the stupidity of a Japanese intervention. It is possible the Moscow Congress will ratify the peace, but if Russia receives assurances from you that there is no danger from the Japanese, I think that the Congress of Soviets will refuse to ratify it. The Soviet Government is a force capable of resisting the German crime."

6. *Extract from a speech of General Ironside, British Commander in Chief on the Northern Front, to an assembly of military officers and physicians and administrative officers, at Archangel, November 12, 1918.*

"As you know, the Allies have landed armed forces at Murmansk and Archangel. Others will be landed at other points. Our purpose is to combat Bolshevism in Russia. Each one should understand that the allies have come here only to enable the Russians to establish law and order among themselves."

7. *Extract of a speech of Monsieur Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, in Parliament, December 30, 1919.*

"The operations of the allies in Russia have no offensive

character. Their purpose is to close against the Bolsheviks access to the Ukraine, to the Caucasus, and to the East of Russia, and also to organize and support a defensive front before these territories. If offensive operations become necessary in order to suppress the Bolsheviks, they will have to be organized by Russian forces. It is very important that the Russians understand this. Our help looks solely toward assuring them a material superiority over the Bolsheviks."

8. *Agreement between Petlura, head of the Ukrainian anti-Soviet Government, and the French Command, February 5, 1919.*

"1. France receives a concession for 50 years upon all Ukrainian railroads.

"2. Ukraine promises to pay France the part which accrues to her of the debts of the former Tsarist Government and of the Provisional Government.

"3. The payment of interest is guaranteed by that portion of the railroad revenues which accrues to the Ukrainian Government.

"4. The Cabinet will organize within one year an army of 300,000 men.

"5. For five years from the date of the signature of this treaty, all political, financial, commercial, industrial and military affairs of Ukraine are placed under the immediate control of the representatives of the French Government."

9. *Telegram from the British Minister of War to Admiral Kolchak, October 10, 1919.*

"Personal and Secret.

"The success which has crowned the extraordinary efforts of your Excellency's army delights me beyond words. Despite the distance which separates us, I am profoundly convinced that this success, in conditions so difficult, has been obtained.

"Some time ago the British Government decided to concentrate its help upon the front of General Denikin, in consideration (1) of the proximity and greater accessibility of his front; (2) of the supposition that the United States will develop their help to the armies of Siberia, it being understood that the greatest responsibility rests on them.

"I am happy to announce to you that the cabinet has assented to my demand to devote another half million pounds to the despatch of material and armaments to General Denikin.

"The British Mission in the South of Russia will be composed of 2,000 officers and non-commissioned officers, whose principal duty will be to distribute the material rapidly and according to need.

"Your Excellency will understand that in the state of exhaustion of our finances after the effort of the last five years, this credit is almost the maximum of material help which we can furnish.

"The Cabinet thinks that in view of the proximity of Denikin's army to Moscow and its occupation of the farming and mining centres of Russia, it is this army which it can most usefully continue to support.

"The promise of aid given by the five Great Powers is in my opinion a great step towards official recognition. I think that on the part of Great Britain this promise has been loyally fulfilled, and I permit myself to advise your Excellency, in his relations with the other Powers, to refer to their similar promise."

10. *How the Government of the North-West was established.*

General Marsh, Deputy of General Gough, assembled at Reval, on August 10, the most active collaborators of Yudenich: Suvorov, Kartashev, Lianozov, Margulies, Krusenstern and others, and showed them the necessity of settling the question of Esthonian independence:

"Immediately and without leaving here, inside of forty-five minutes, a Democratic Government will be constituted, which will sign this very day a Treaty of independence for Esthonia. Otherwise we will abandon you."

The collaborators obeyed so far as concerned the constitution of the Government, which took the name of the Government of the North-West, with Lianozov at its head. As for the Treaty with the Estonian Government, the latter refused to sign it, especially because already, on August 7, Yudenich, as Chief of the Russian authorities on the North-West front, had recognized the independence of Estonia on condition that the Estonian troops should participate in the campaign against Petrograd.

On August 12, General Marsh invited the Government of the North-West to convene, at Pskov or Yuriev, a congress of representatives of the people of the North-West, and obliged the minister to sign a declaration prepared in advance by the English, saying to Lianozov: "This paper will not go anywhere, it will remain in our pocket."

Relying without doubt upon this declaration, Peary-Gordon, Chief of the English diplomatic mission in the Baltic countries, published a manifesto to the inhabitants of Pskov in which he said:

"The Government of the North-West is using the councils and the material aid of the Allies, who have discharged stocks of food, arms, clothing and equipment, giving to the new government the possibility of freeing the Russians from the Bolshevik tyranny."

The manifesto then announces the immediate convocation at Yuriev of a congress of representatives of the people.

England's assistance to Yudenich attained at that time its culminating point. In a letter of August 4, 1919, to Yudenich, General Gough wrote: "With the forces at your disposal, reinforced by our aeroplanes, our ammunition, and our tanks, you will be able to take Petrograd."

11. *Extract from the Speech of Millerand to the Chamber of Deputies, July 21, 1920.*

"In the note in which the British Government made proposals of peace, it declared clearly its intention, in case its desire for peace should not be satisfied, to unite with its allies for the defence of Poland by all means and with all its forces. I permit myself to point out also the situation of Wrangel in the Crimea, who is fighting the Bolsheviks courageously and with success. He has formed there a veritable government assured of the support and the sympathy of the population.

"He is putting in force an agrarian law and dividing the land among the peasants; at present he is occupied with the drafting of a law upon popular representation, and on the day when this *de facto* government demands its recognition as such, we will impose upon it naturally the preliminary condition of declaring itself bound and responsible for all the engagements entered into formerly by Russia towards other countries."

12. *Agreement between the Allies and Admiral Kolchak, January 16, 1919.*

1. General Janin is the Commander in Chief of the Allied troops operating in the East of Russia and Siberia, and to the East of Baikal.

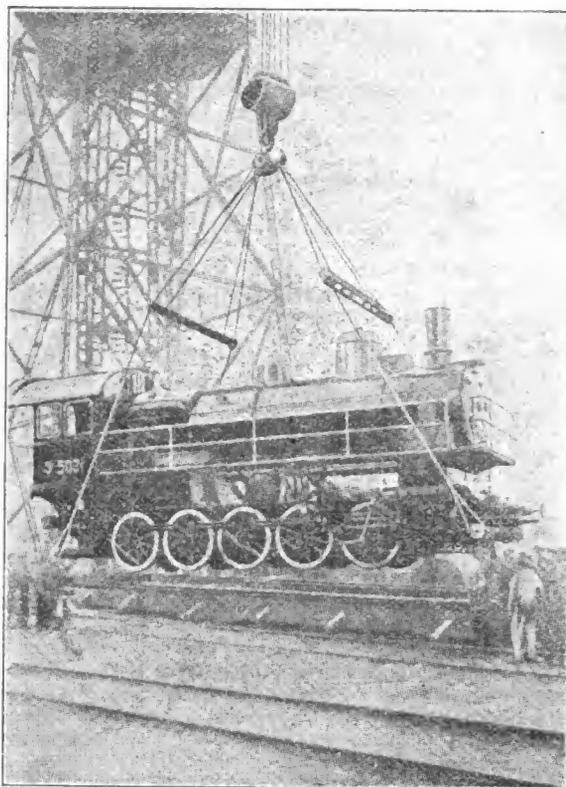
General Janin, being invested moreover by the Czecho-Slovak Government with the function of commander of the armies of that State, the Czecho-Slovaks will refer to him for the settlement of questions arising from changes of organization on the front of which they have up to now had charge.

2. In order to assure unity of action upon the whole front, the Russian Supreme Command will conform its conduct of operations with the directions communicated by General Janin, representing the Inter-Allied Supreme Command.

The original texts drawn up in consequence will carry the signature of the two parties.

3. When common plans are arrived at, according to the conditions indicated in paragraph 2, the orders and instructions resulting will be issued by the Russian General Staff acting by delegation of the Supreme Command.

These orders and instructions will be presented to General Janin, who will confirm them so far as concerns the allied troops by direct orders. General Janin will likewise be kept informed of verbal orders when these are necessary.



LOCOMOTIVES GOING ON BOARD
at Stettin, Germany, to be forwarded to Russia.
See Tables, page 323.

4. General Janin will have for this purpose a staff which will collaborate with the Russian staff in the matter of united operations, and on the other hand will regulate directly the operations of the allied troops.

5. In order to assure the effective collaboration of the Russian troops and the Allied troops, and to orient himself on questions of personnel to be addressed to the Allied governments, as well as upon the use of material, General Janin will have the right to exercise a general control upon the front and the rear.

The General will be permitted to have, by agreement with the Russian Commander-in-Chief, officers in the staffs, units and cantonments. The said officers will be able to give technical advice as occasion arises.

6. General Knox is the collaborator of General Janin upon all questions having to do with foreign food supply, and has for a general task to unify the allied aid in the zone of the rear; in co-operation with the Russian Minister of War, he will decide in agreement with General Janin what demands of material to make of the Allies, and he will assure the arrival of this material at the front, being guided in a general way by the indications furnished by General Janin upon the principles outlined above.

General Knox will have moreover the task of helping in the zone of the rear in the organization and instruction of troops in formation, acting upon the general indications given by General Janin.

Instructors, both English and French, will be put at his disposal.

7. Upon questions of material aid to be furnished by the Allied governments, all the original petitions will be studied in agreement between General Janin and General Knox on the one hand, and the Russian Minister of War on the other, with a view to establishing a united plan.

The subsequent demands will be regulated under the

same conditions according to the possibilities of transport; General Knox will be informed and will decide in agreement with General Janin.

8. In order to co-ordinate the commands and vindicate them if necessary before their governments, Generals Janin and Knox will have to be kept informed of the plans and projects agreed upon by the Russian Minister of War and

the Russian Staff on the subject of the organization of the army and its development.

Omsk, January 16, 1919.

(Signature) ADMIRAL KOLCHAK
GENERAL M. JANIN
N. R. PETAIN
ALFRED KNOX, Maj. Gen.

Railroad Material Ordered Abroad

Our readers will remember the interesting article "The Russian Railway Commission", published in the preceding issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The following figures are a useful supplement to those printed in that article. A Swedish crown is worth 26.8 cents U. S. gold, and is now quoted at hardly more than a cent below gold par. This means that the amounts given below in Swedish Crowns should be divided by four to obtain dollar equivalents.

MATERIALS ORDERED IN GERMANY:

	Number ordered	Value in Swedish Crowns	Accepted up to Jan. 1, 1922	Sent to Russia up to Jan. 1, 1922
Locomotives	700	191,000,000	100%	47%
Tank cars	1,000	12,750,000		
Rails and clamps	77,510	18,777,510	100%	100%
Miscellaneous		22,701,254	100%	100%
Total		245,228,754		

MATERIALS ORDERED IN SWEDEN:

Locomotives	1,000	230,000,000	18%	18%
Locomotive parts and steam chest bushings	700	437,000		
Hand cars	100	140,000	100%	100%
Miscellaneous		9,255,000	100%	100%
Cylinders	100	168,000		
Total		240,000,000		

MATERIALS ORDERED IN ENGLAND:

Locomotive boilers	200	13,557,500		
Nails	200 tons	71,995	100%	100%
Files	15,012 doz.	257,795	100%	100%
Brick and clay		22,950		
Telegraph & Telephone accessories		46,922		
Total		13,957,162		

MATERIALS ORDERED IN AUSTRIA:

Injectors	2,000 pairs	850,850	100%	100%
Sheet iron	150 tons	42,075	100%	100%
Valves	6,400 pieces	32,000	100%	100%
Lubricating presses	1,000	370,800	100%	100%
Total		1,295,725		

MATERIALS ORDERED IN DENMARK:

Nails	668 tons	162,688	100%	100%
Pulsometers	100 pieces	86,000	100%	100%
Spare parts for them		25,000	100%	100%
Tube expanders	5,000 pieces	136,732	100%	100%
Telephone & Telegraph accessories		39,250	100%	100%
Total		449,670		

MATERIALS ORDERED IN CANADA:

	Number ordered	Value in Swedish Crowns	Accepted up to Jan. 1, 1922	Sent to Russia up to Jan. 1, 1922
Tank cars with spare parts	500	9,962,910	100%	100%

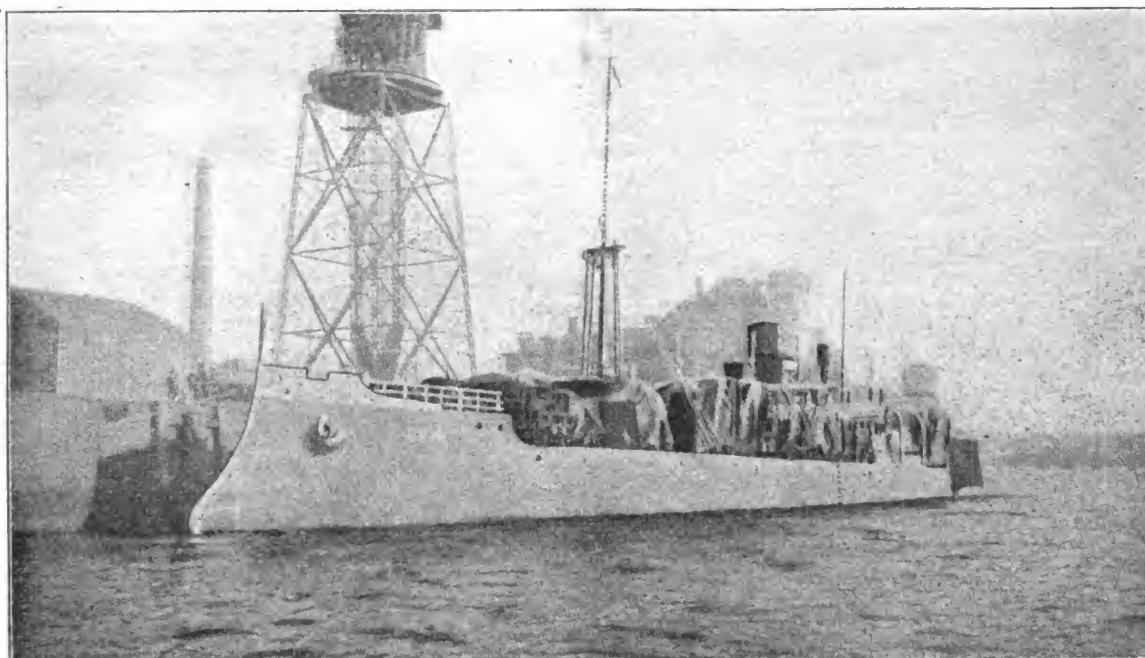
MATERIALS ORDERED IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA:

Nails	554.3 tons	779,468	100%	100%
Roof tin	1,375 tons	1,743,000	75%	75%
Brick and clay		180,355	70%	70%
Total		2,702,823		

THE SUMMARY

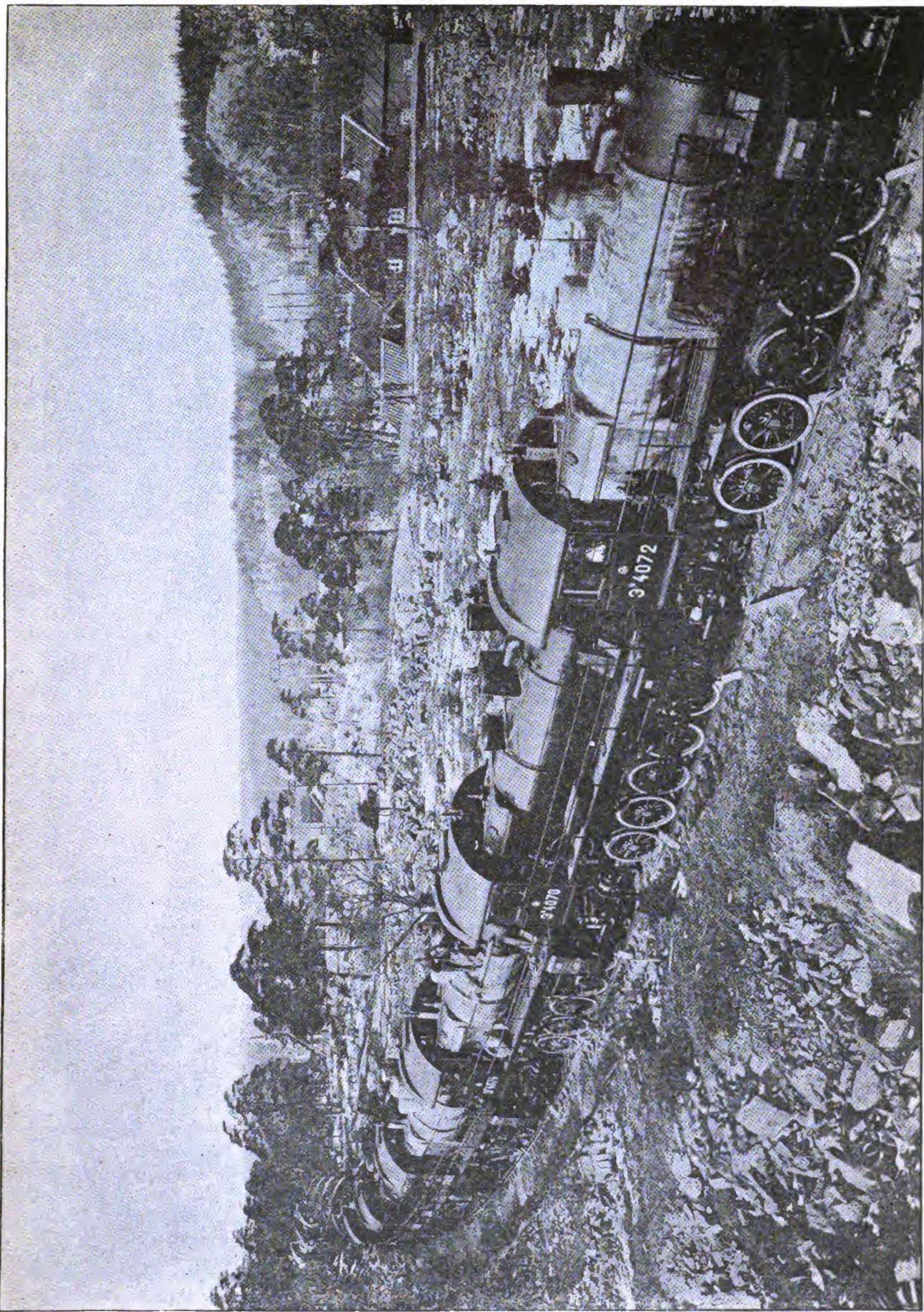
	Locos. Swedish Crowns	Loco. boilers Swedish Crowns	Tank cars Swedish Crowns	Rails Swedish Crowns	Miscellaneous Materials Swedish Crowns
England		13,557,500			399,663
Austria					1,295,725
Denmark					449,950
Canada			9,962,910		
Czecho-Slovakia					2,702,823
Germany	191,000,000			18,777,500	
Sweden	230,000,000				10,000,000
Totals	421,000,000	13,557,500	9,962,910	18,777,500	14,848,161

In round figures these orders reach the amount of 578,000,000 Swedish Crowns, equivalent to about \$155,000,000.



THE STEAMER "ODIN"

with a cargo of locomotives, about to leave Stettin, Germany, for Russia.



RUSSIAN LOCOMOTIVES BUILT IN SWEDEN about to pass over the Finnish border to Russia.

Steinmetz and Lenin

From an issue of "The Worker", New York, we take the following letters and comment. Lenin's answer has already been grossly misquoted in the capitalist press.

Revolutions do many peculiar things, but the most interesting and instructive is the manner in which they expose the fundamental difference between creators and exploiters.

Capitalist society does homage to the accumulator of wealth; Communism in even its early stages honors the creator.

The really great creative minds of the world see in the coming order the opportunity for constructive endeavor of which they have dreamed; the opportunity to harness the natural forces to the service of mankind without being hampered and throttled by the exigencies of the profit system.

Thus it is that we find the following correspondence passing between Charles P. Steinmetz, the greatest electrical expert in the world, and Nicolai Lenin, the greatest revolutionist in the world.

I.

From Steinmetz to Lenin:

Dear Mr. Lenin:

I am taking the opportunity of the return of Mr. Lusev to Russia to express to you my admiration of the great work which is directed to the building up of socialism and economic reconstruction—the work which Russia carries on under such hard conditions. I wish you full success and express my full confidence that you will succeed. And really the great undertaking started by Russia must end with success. For we cannot permit that we should be defeated.

I shall be very glad if I am able in accordance with my best abilities to assist Russia in the technical sphere and particularly in the matter of electrification in a practical way and with advice.

Yours truly,

CHARLES STEINMETZ.

II.

From Lenin to Steinmetz:

To Charles Steinmetz,

Dear Mr. Steinmetz:

I thank you with all my heart for your friendly letter dated the 16th of February, 1922. I must admit to my shame that I first heard of your name a few months ago from Comrade Kryzhanovsky, who was the chairman of our state commission for the preparation of a project for the electrification of Russia and who is now the chairman of the commission for the preparation of the general plans. He told me of the high position you occupy among the electric technicians of the whole world.

Comrade Martens acquainted me now a little more with your work since his return. From his information I understood that your social and political views made you sympathize with Soviet Russia in the beginning.

On the other hand you are the chairman of the American Society of Electrical Engineers in one of the advanced countries in electrical science.

You convinced yourself in the necessity and the inevitability of supplanting capitalism by a new social order which will establish a systematic economic life and will secure the welfare of the whole mass of the people on the basis of electrification of whole nations. The number of representatives of science, technology, arts, who are becoming convinced of the necessity of supplanting capitalism by a new social and political order and whom the terrible difficulties of the struggle in Soviet Russia against the whole capitalist world do not repulse, do not frighten, but on the contrary bring them to the conviction of the inevitability of the struggle and the necessity to take part as much as possible in order to aid the new society to overcome the

old is growing, more slowly than many of us expected, but it is growing irresistibly.

Especially I should like to thank you for your offer to aid Russia with advice, direction, etc. Because of lack of official and legally recognized relations between Soviet Russia and the United States it is very difficult for us and for you to realize your proposition in a practical way.

I take the liberty to publish your letter and my reply in the hope that many people who live in America and in the countries bound by trade relations to the United States will assist you (by information, through translation from Russian into English, etc.) to realize your intention to aid the Soviet Republic.

With best greetings,

N. LENIN.

Kuzbas Organization

The following announcement received from the Kuzbas organization, will be of interest to our readers.

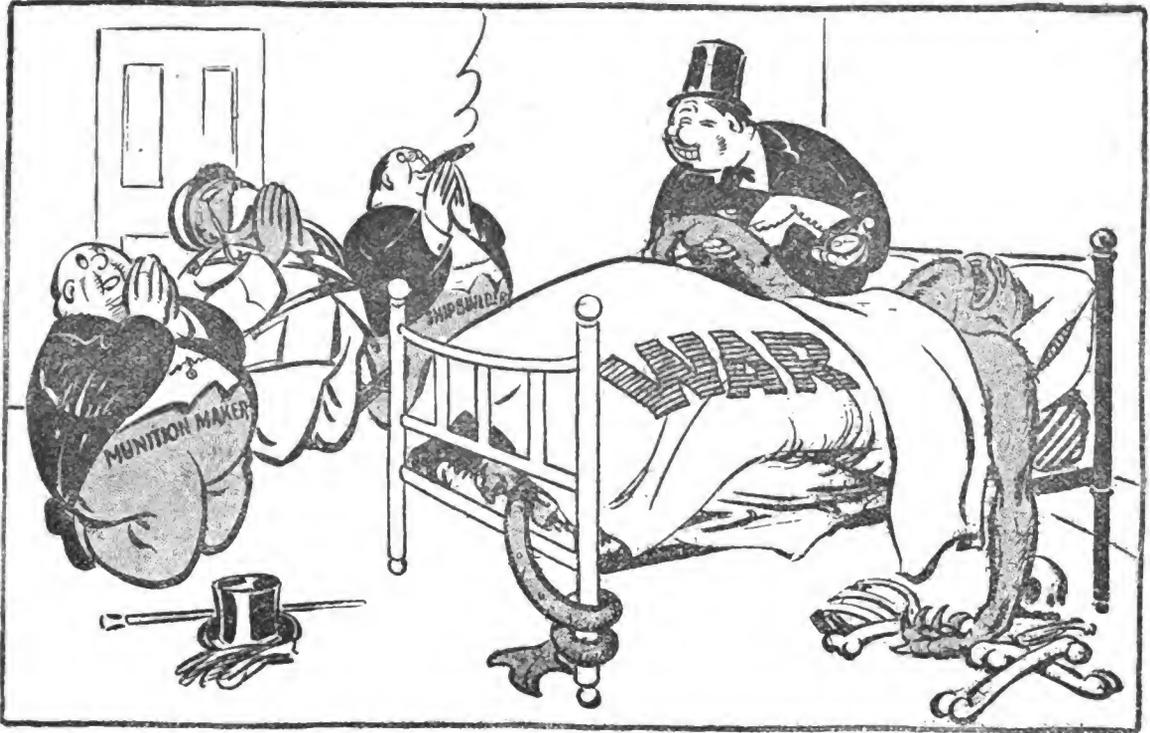
The Kuzbas organization is now recruiting workers to go to Russia and develop the famous Kuznetsky Basin in Siberia, and the North Bogoslavsky district in the Urals. These concessions to American labor contain coal mines with a capacity of 250 billion tons, iron mines, railroads, chemical plants, steel mills, forest and agricultural land and all kinds of smaller subsidiary industries. The organization in America has already despatched three parties of engineers and workers to Russia, and another party is leaving on July 21 for Petrograd transshipping at Rotterdam, Holland. The Kuzbas industries are a Russian State Industry of first national importance, and carry with them the close and personal approval and backing of Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin and others.

For the July sailing are needed particularly the following types of labor: Underground coal mining foremen who hold a Pennsylvania State License or the certificate of the Experimental Station, U. S. Bureau of Mines; master mechanics who are acquainted with coal mining machinery, upkeep and repair; electricians, ditto, master blacksmiths, ditto; explosive men, experienced in handling both dynamite and powder in bituminous mines; stationary engineers and pumpmen; tool-makers and helpers, particularly A. No. 1 machinists; sheet and plate rollers with three years experience; soaking pit and open hearth men; cement kiln foremen; shoe factory and tannery foremen; construction workers and riggers; pile drivers, saw-mill foremen and men who have experience in splicing wire cable, etc., etc.

Workers who are in sympathy with Russia and desire to participate in person in the reconstruction of her great industries are requested to get in touch with Kuzbas, at 110 West 40th Street, New York City, N. Y. All applications receive prompt attention.

Readers of SOVIET RUSSIA who send in their addresses will receive a monthly Bulletin which deals with the many phases of Russian reconstruction attempted by the Kuzbas Organization.

IN LIGHTER VEIN



"GRAVE DANGER AVERTED" — *Pall Mall's* announcement of the shelving of Chicherin's disarmament plan at Genoa. *The Doctor:* "My friends, there were a few moments when I thought all was over, but now I have the pleasure of telling you that he is safe. Let us turn our thoughts to God."



THE GENOA TEA PARTY

THE RUSSIAN BEAR: "And they invited me to come only if I was "on my good behavior!"
(These two Cartoons are taken from recent issues of "The Communist", London)

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Published Semi-Monthly

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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RUSSIA'S population is still undernourished, in many spots still suffering actual famine conditions, as repeated communications from that country point out in full detail. But the spirit of the peasants is one of harmony with and devotion to the Soviet Government. An article in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (Moscow), of May 3, 1922, has the following interesting little paragraph:

"In a number of cases, peasants in the famine districts starve, fall sick, and die, and while dying reveal the hiding places in which they have kept grain for seed, exacting a promise under oath, however, that the seed will be preserved for planting."—From "*The First Signs of Recovery*", by A. Teitel.

Such is the stuff the peasant heroes are made of. Dying, they want Soviet Russia to live. Though *The Times* assures us that the Soviet Government will collapse within six months for lack of ready cash, there yet seem to be forces working in its favor for whom cash means little.

IN our last issue we remarked jokingly that if the Russians should present counterclaims for damage done by foreign intervention, this "would mean an intolerable encroachment upon their (the Allies') sovereignty". While our issue was in press, Mr. Lloyd George, with all the powers of his eloquence, presented the same thesis—but in dead earnest. To quote his words exactly:

"They said the damage was done by Kolchak, at Archangel, and by Wrangel. And they put forward a bill of which I think the House will get a copy by and by. It is a very interesting document. I think it is a trifle of five thousand million sterling for damage done in these various operations.

"Well, we had to tell them we could not acknowledge that under any circumstances. It is an unsound proposition because in revolutions in the past assistance has been given by other countries to one or the other of the parties. Assistance was given by France to the Royalist Party in our civil war, and the assistance that was given by France kept the thing going much longer than it would

otherwise have gone on. There might have been a bill for redemptions. Instead of that Cromwell made terms with France as soon as he could. On the other hand, we gave every assistance to the anti-Revolutionary Party in France and I never heard of France bringing a bill of reparations to the minister of the day who was responsible for intervention."—*New York Times*, May 6, 1922.

Cromwell made terms with France as soon as he could—for England had been ruined by civil war, and France was the most powerful nation of that epoch. But as far as we know—Louis XIV did not ask England to pay for the expenses incurred by the French in helping the English royalists—while apparently the Soviet Government is expected to pay even for all the advances made to Kolchak and all the other "local" governments. And as to the second historical example—concerning English "assistance to the anti-Revolutionary Party in France"—it would have been rather nasty on the part of Louis XVIII, who had been imposed upon France as a result of this "assistance", if he had asked England for damages incurred in the process of putting his dynasty back on the throne of France. Thus Mr. Lloyd George's historical analogies are by no means perfect, not to mention the fact that when France, after the reestablishment of the monarchy, finally came to terms with England, English troops, along with those of Prussia were in possession of Paris, while at present the English and French are not yet within cannon-shot of Moscow.

But while Mr. Lloyd George's purveyor of historical material is so well posted on things that took place centuries ago, and do not properly bear on the subject under discussion at all, he seems to have "forgotten" the only really analogous historical event—the case of the "Alabama" during the American Civil War, as a result of which England was obliged to pay the United States every cent of the damages she had caused by her intervention in the internal struggles—in favor of the South of course—of this country.

WHILE the spokesman of British imperialism was at least kind enough to "prove" by historical references why the English government "could not admit liability in respect of any counter claims", Mr. Poincaré—as befits a great conqueror, the master of a whole chain of vassal states—simply declared: "They (the Russian claims) were founded on the most inadmissible pretensions and most silly calculations. Nothing can come of them."

The Russian pretensions indeed were not only inadmissible—they also denoted a profound lack of every sentiment of gratitude, for as is stated in the first paragraph of the note: "The Russian delegation refused to restore foreign property, to pay for damage done such property, and recognize Russia's debts, without appearing to comprehend the movement of human solidarity which impelled the democracies of Western Europe to help the Russian democracy". For those who are not versed in diplomatic language we may explain that the "movement of human solidarity" means help ex-

tended to counter-revolutionary destroyers of Russia, and that "Russian democracy" means Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and the Polish imperialists.

Speaking of recognition of debts, Poincaré declares that "no doubt ought to exist upon the engagement by the Russian Soviet Government to recognize the debts of its *predecessors*; that is a principle of *public law and honor* about which there can be no bargaining." And he adds a few passages later: "This recognition should extend to all the financial engagements of all Russian authorities, provincial and local, as well as those of public utility in Russia"—which of course refers not to the *predecessors* but to all the counter-revolutionary governments or even individual gangs of cut-throats of the Semionov type. The payment of all these expenditures is requested on the same "principle of law and honor" on which Germany is requested—and forced—to pay indemnities that include even expenditures for the establishment of separate brothels for white and black soldiers serving under the French colors in the occupied territory.

* * *

ONE of the champions of French idealism and altruism, André Tardieu, in whose eyes Wilhelm's partner in starting the war, Poincaré, is a pacifist mollycoddle, the other day charged the English-speaking nations with being prompted by "economic materialism". It is possible that the *New York World*, of May 28, is right when it asserts that in saying this he had in mind the fact that "Britain and America are more interested in the restoration of trade, while France was most interested in the consolidation of political power in Central and Eastern Europe." But is possible also that by using this contemptuous term he was thinking of the \$400,000,000 which his country now owes annually to these two countries, and which these countries, shylock-fashion, would like to get back. At a moment when French diplomats led the Genoa Conference in berating the Russian Delegation, an account of its stand on the subject of the old Tsarist and War debts, it would have been bad policy to indulge in the frank language of Stephen Lauzanne, the editor-in-chief of the *Paris Matin*, who candidly declared that France would never pay her debts.

Whatever Mr. Tardieu had in mind, he was obviously mistaken in making such a sweeping statement. For America, at least, was certainly not prompted by any materialistic motives when it decided to keep aloof from Genoa and the Russian problem. Not even Mr. Hoover's statement that before the war Russia took but one per cent of America's exports and that therefore the physical welfare of America does not depend upon Russia, not the policy of the former and present administration to which a complete economic decay of the European continent was preferable to the possibility of a survival of the nightmare of a workers' republic—will induce us to accept this unjust word of M. Tardieu. In our opinion it was Mr. Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President of the United States,

under Woodrow Wilson, who expressed the real motive of America's attitude towards Russia, by saying that "the United States, still a religious nation, had declined to enter a conference with the Russian Bolshevist Government, which had broken up the family, slain the righteous and attempted to dethrone God." But was it not only out of pity and sympathy for a "dethroned God" that the participation in Genoa has been declined—it was also out of consideration for the feelings of the working class, for Dr. Charles W. Elliot said in the *N. Y. Times* that the Soviet Government has "robbed and enslaved labor". American and Russian labor will certainly appreciate this idealistic attitude of the President Emeritus of Harvard University, whose famous definition of a scab as "the real hero of American industrial life" has certainly been forgiven him by Mr. Gompers and the other idealistic representatives of American labor, who this year, as at their previous Conventions, will refuse to endorse the demand for recognition of the Soviet Government because, as one of the leading spirits of the A. F. of L., Mr. Frey, Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, charged in 1919 (*Report of the Proceedings of the 39th Convention of the A. F. of L.*, p. 333): "The official claim of that Government is that they represent the workers and only the workers, and for that reason your Committee recommends that such a form of government should not receive the endorsement of the Convention until the people of Russia, voting in a popular election, decide for themselves that that is the form of Government they want." And after such a proof of detachment and disinterestedness on the part of the legitimate representatives of American labor, Mr. Tardieu has the impudence to speak of economic materialism and lack of idealism!

* * *

WHEN Senator Borah in his speech in the Senate emphasized the necessity of the recognition of the Soviet Government, he was answered by Senator Fletcher of Florida. Like the aforementioned spokesman of the A. F. of L., Senator Fletcher charged, according to the *N. Y. Times* of June 1, that "It (the Soviet Government) is not democracy," adding that a socialistic or communistic government could not be a "Government of the Russian people, for the Russian people, and by the Russian people." Which reminds us of the old story of a Southern gentleman—perhaps from the same State as the honorable Senator—who in the good old times before the Civil War, during a stay in London, bitterly complained of the complete lack of freedom in England, where a "gentleman has not even the right to whip his own nigger." The people in Russia are not free and their government is certainly not a "Government of the people" if by "people" we are to understand Senator Fletcher's people—the former slave-holders and their retainers.

Senator Fletcher's remark that "American charity amounting to over \$50,000,000 had saved

10,000,000 lives" (we wonder where the Senator got these round numbers) was answered by Senator Borah with the words: "Our charity has saved 10,000,000, but our policy has starved 20,000,000." Which may be perfectly correct—but Senator Borah's Bolshevik prejudices—or was it tainted Russian money?—made him completely forget that those 20,000,000 starved Russians died gladly, grateful to America, with the proud consciousness that their death was necessary to hasten the establishment in Russia of a government "of the people, for the people, by the people", after the pattern of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, Bakhmetiev, and their backers.

* * *

ONE of the Hapsburg Emperors during the religious wars declared that he would rather have his subjects exterminated than have them become victims of Protestant contamination. He was a man of principle, one of those saviours of mankind for whom human beings do not exist in order to be happy, but for the sake of "higher" purposes, for the realization of certain "principles". This worshipping of the "idea", of the "holy principle", has for a long time infected the labor movement. There has not been a single current in Socialism which has not shown this theological frame of mind — this subordination of the living human flesh to dead principles. Marx once sneered at these "holy principles" and wrote the memorable words to the effect that *the working class has no ideals to carry out*—meaning that the struggle was not for "ideals" or "principles", but for interests. But this view of his was disregarded by many disciples, for it was in their interest—the interest of the job-hungry intellectuals—that the workers should fight for "principles", for "democracy", or do homage to the far-away ideal of Socialism instead of actively struggling for their own stomachs. A classical example of this was Kautsky—the great champion of pre-war Socialism. When, after November 7, the Russian workers under the leadership of the Bolsheviks dispersed the Constituent Assembly that stood in the way of their interests, he decried the shameful disregard of those democratic principles which ordained the recognition of the "will of the majority of the people"—even if this will ran counter to the life interests of the victorious working class.

This adoration of the holy principle is quite comprehensible in the case of those bourgeois Socialists for whom democratic institutions within capitalism, plus the liberty of *propaganda* for Socialism, give ample opportunity to satisfy their bodily needs comfortably, in the capacity of politicians or preachers. But it is pathetic to find the same attitude taken by those who pretend to be opposed to the bourgeois falsifications of Socialism. We have often seen Anarchists who in principle were opposed to all strikes for higher wages or shorter hours arguing that in asking for a higher wage scale, the workers thereby recognized the wage system and the capitalism which was to be abolished. Or they opposed making any de-

mands upon the government for the improvement of the conditions of the workers or the unemployed, for such a demand would imply the recognition of the "State". We have seen Anarchists like the old Russian revolutionist, Cherkozov, who wrote an open letter to Chicherin in Genoa, asking for the evacuation of Georgia, in the Caucasus—in the name of the principle of national liberty and self-determination, and defending the Georgian Mensheviks, the tools of French and British imperialism, as the "lovers of individual and national liberty". We have seen such sincere revolutionists as the aged Malatesta join in the demand for the liberation of the counter-revolutionists calling themselves "Social-Revolutionists", "because we want liberty and justice for all", and assert in his *Umanità Nuova*, an Anarchist daily in Rome, that he sees no difference between the present Soviet Government and any other that would replace it. For, according to the holy principle of the Anarchist, government, armies, jails, executions, are always bad—even if they are used for the benefit of the working class, and even though any man with his five senses can hardly imagine how the workers' revolution could have survived without them.

But in the pages of this very same *Umanità Nuova*, which carries a big headline against the Soviet Government every day, we have found a statement from H. Sandomirsky, an Anarchist of long standing, which puts in their proper place all the childish attacks of his own comrades who have taken an openly hostile attitude to Russia. From his article, which is an answer to Malatesta's comments on an interview with Sandomirsky,* we wish to translate only one paragraph, which for all those believing in the cause of the workers and not in mere abstract principles, gives in a nutshell the significance of Soviet Russia for the working class:

"Allow me to tell you of a little thing that happened to me about three months ago in Poland. I had to get some information at the railroad station in Warsaw and as I did not speak Polish well I asked a working man to get the information for me from the station-master. The answer did not seem clear to me, and for that reason I asked the worker to go back to his chief. But the man looked at me with a significant smile and said: 'One can see that you must be from Russia. You do not understand that it is very risky for an ordinary worker to trouble his chief twice with the same question. It is only in Russia that a worker speaks to everyone as to an equal.' I have not forgotten the words of that good fellow. I have seen many 'free' countries and have convinced myself that this old Polish railroad worker was right."

* * *

CONSIDERATIONS of space have obliged us to omit from this issue the text of an interesting address by Captain Paxton Hibben, delivered on May 12 at the Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held at Philadelphia. This authoritative speech, which will appear in our next issue, makes short work of the various objections that have been raised against American recognition of the Soviet Government.

*This interview will be reprinted in our next issue.

Revolutionary Portraits

By STEPNIAK

Two interesting pictures, from "Underground Russia", of now little remembered figures of the revolutionary movement in Russia a generation ago. Both have since died, after returning from Siberia and retiring from revolutionary activity.

JACOB STEFANOVICH, MAN OF ACTION

In the summer of 1877, the district of Chighirin, in the Province of Chernigov, Ukraina, was all in commotion.

The police ran hither and thither as though possessed; the "Stanovie"* and the "Ispravnik"† had no rest night or day. The Governor himself paid a visit to the district. What was the matter? The police, through the priests—who, violating the secret of the confessional, turned informers—got scent of the fact that a terrible conspiracy had been formed among the peasants, at the head of which were the Nihilists, daring people, capable of everything. There were no means, however, of penetrating further into the secrets of the conspiracy; for the peasants, learning that the priests had betrayed them, resolved no longer to go to confession. Meanwhile, there was no time to lose. The conspiracy continued to spread, as was shown by clear and alarming signs. To avoid betraying themselves when in a state of drunkenness, the conspirators absolutely abstained from the use of brandy, and in the communes where they were in the majority, even resolved to shut up the *kabaki*, that is, the taverns where brandy, the only spirit used by the people, is sold. There was thus an infallible sign by which to recognize the progress of the movement. But how discover and thwart it? Summary searches were made, and hundreds of arrests, but nothing was discovered.

The peasants said not a word; not even the stick made them open their mouths. An armed rising was imminent. It was reported that the conspirators were already secretly manufacturing pikes, like the *Sansculottes* of Paris, and purchasing axes and knives. The *Ispravnik* sent a number of vendors of axes and knives to a fair in order to see who would buy them. But the conspirators guessed his object, and no one went near them.

The police were in despair, and did not know which way to turn. But one night there came to the *ispravnik* the owner of one of the *kabaki*, a certain Konograi, who stated that a peasant named Prikhodko had come to his house, and, being very tired, had drunk a glass of brandy, which immediately intoxicated him, as he had eaten nothing all the morning. In this drunken state he had cried out that in a short time everything would be overthrown, that he had already been "sworn" and had seen a "paper". It was evident that he belonged to the conspiracy, and Konograi thereupon conceived the idea of joining the conspiracy himself through Prikhodko. But the oath was re-

quired, and he came to ask if the *Ispravnik* would authorize him to take it. The latter could not contain himself, he was so overjoyed.

He authorized the man to take as many oaths as he liked, encouraged him, and promised him money and land. In a word, Konograi took the oath, and Prikhodko showed him the papers, which were nothing less than the plan of the conspiracy.

After reading it, Konograi turned to the other and said to him point blank: "Listen. You know the names and everything. Now choose. Either we go together to the *ispravnik* with these same papers, and you will be pardoned and have as much money as you like, or it will be all over with you, for these papers are light, and I can carry them by myself."

In this dilemma the poor wretch, instead of killing him, turned traitor.

He himself did not know all, but having given the clue, it was not difficult to follow it up. In a short time the police had in their hands all the threads of the conspiracy, and the names of the conspirators.

It was a most threatening matter. The number of the affiliated was about three thousand; they extended through several provinces; and they were organized in a military manner; the signal of insurrection, and of civil war, was about to be given, at a popular festival.

All this marvelous edifice was constructed in about eight months, and was the work of one man alone. That man was Jacob Stefanovich. He conceived a plan of unparalleled audacity. It was based not only upon the aspirations, but also upon the prejudices, of the people whom he knew thoroughly, having spent all his early days among them. It was only partially approved by the party, and the method was never followed again.†

The scheme failed. The Government, having in its hands all the documents, arrested more than a thousand persons, including all the leaders. The others escaped. Some time afterwards Stefanovich was also arrested by a stratagem, as he was going to a meeting, with the remaining members of the conspiracy, and with him his friend, Leo Deutsch. The printer of the papers and of the proclamations, John Bokhanovsky, was arrested some days before.

They were imprisoned at Kiev, and how secure that prison is I need scarcely say. Their trial was to take place in the summer of 1878.

*Commissary of the rural police.

†Officer corresponding to the "Sheriff" in America.

†Proceeding from the muzhik's religious veneration for the emperor, Stefanovich had forged a manifesto of the Tear in which the peasants were given land. The revolt was thus to be directed against the land-owners, who were thought by the peasants to be resisting the Tsar's will.—Ed.

II.

I spent that summer in St. Petersburg. I was very often at the house of Madam X., an able painter, and one of the most fervid adherents of our party. I had no duties to perform there, for Madam X., although she rendered important services to the common cause, worked in a branch of it to which I did not belong. But it was impossible to resist the fascination of her artistically elegant presence, and her spirited conversation full of imagination. And I was not the only one of the "illegal"* men to commit this little offence.

Thus, I used to go there. One day, having gone somewhat early, I did not find the lady, and remained waiting for her. Shortly afterwards Madam R., who was a great friend of the "buntari"† (rebels) of Kiev and also a friend of mine, came in. We chatted. Half an hour passed thus. Suddenly there came a violent ringing at the bell of the ante-chamber. It could not be the mistress of the house, for I knew her mode of ringing the bell, nor could it be one of our members, for "ours" do not ring in that manner. It must be some "government" person. It was a telegraph messenger. The telegram was addressed to Madam X., but Madam R. opened it, which did not in the least surprise me, knowing their friendship.

But after having glanced at it she started up, clapped her hands, and indulged in manifestations of the most unbridled delight.

I was utterly amazed, for I knew that she was not of an excitable disposition.

"What is the matter?" I asked.

"Look! Look!" she exclaimed, giving me the telegram.

I read it; the address, and then four words only, "Rejoice, boy just born", the signature and nothing else.

"Are you so fond of boys," I asked, "or of the mother who has given to one?"

"Mother! boys!" exclaimed Madam R. waving her hand. "They have escaped from prison."

"Who? who? Where? How?"

"Stefanovich, Deutsch and Bokhanovsky. From Kiev."

"All three?"

"Every one of them."

I, too, then started up.

A few days afterwards a letter came announcing the approaching arrival of Stefanovich and Deutsch in St. Petersburg. I was very anxious to make the acquaintance of these worthy friends of ours,

*Once for all I must explain that this generic term is applied in Russia to everything that exists in despite of the law. Thus we have the *illegal*, that is, the secret press, and the *illegal men*, those who, having compromised themselves more or less seriously, can no longer live under their true names, as they would be immediately arrested; and, therefore, changing their names, they live with a passport either false or lent by some friend who still preserves his "legality".

†"Buntari" was the name given to the Russian revolutionists of the later seventies who believed in organizing armed revolts of the peasants in the hope of thus bringing about a general peasant insurrection.—Ed.

especially Stefanovich, with whom some years before I had had business relations.*

I begged the friend who was to meet him at the railway station to bring him to my house, if possible, on the night of his arrival. I was living with the passport of a high personage. I had an unoccupied room, and I was in the odor of sanctity with the *dvornik*† and the landlady of the house. There was not the slightest danger.

On the day fixed I awaited him. The train arrived at ten o'clock. I knew that he would first have to go somewhere else to change his clothes, and *purify himself*, that is, throw the spies off his track in case they should have followed him from the station. He would, therefore, be unable to arrive before midnight. But even at eleven o'clock, I could not contain my impatience, and looked at the clock every minute. The time passed very slowly. The house where I lived was so situated that they could only reach it by one long road, a very long road. I went out to see if they were coming.

It was one of those wondrous bright nights which are among the greatest beauties of St. Petersburg, when the dawn and the sunset seem to embrace each other in the pallid starless sky, from which streams forth a rosy, soft, subtle and fantastic glow, and the light golden clouds float in an atmosphere of enchanting transparency. How I used to love those nights in times gone by, when alone in a little boat and with a single oar, I glided in the middle of the immense Neva, suspended between the arch of heaven and that other arch reflected in the black waters, which seemed of fathomless depth; and how I began to hate them afterwards, those accursed and dangerous nights!

It was impossible to remain out; I might be observed by a wandering spy or a policeman on duty and have them at my heels, which was not a pleasant thought on such a night. I returned more impatient than ever. But when midnight struck and no one came, my impatience changed into an actual anguish, unknown to other men, but which is the most agonizing torture, and, so to speak, the daily torture of a Russian Revolutionist, who, parting with his friends or his wife for half an hour, is not sure that he will ever see them again. I was a prey to the gloomiest suspicions, when, ten minutes after midnight, I heard the street door open. Then came steps upon my stairs; I opened the door. They were there. I immediately recognized Stefanovich, for, while he was in prison, the police took his photograph, as they do with all political prisoners. After his escape these photographs were distributed to the agents who had to search for him, and some of them naturally fell into our hands.

I welcomed him without saying a word, and long pressed him in my arms. Then I warmly thanked my friend, and led Stefanovich into my

*With us everything relating to the Revolution is called "business". Of course, we do not mean commercial or such-like business.

†Janitor. In the Tsar's day all janitors were police informers.—Ed.

room, regarding him with a look of affection. I could scarcely believe my eyes when I saw before me, restored to the light of day, and to our cause, this man who had already had the hangman's rope around his neck, and whom we all mourned as dead.

By a tacit agreement we at once began to treat each other as old friends. We recalled our former intercourse. He told me that he did not expect to find me in St. Petersburg, for he had heard it rumored in the country that I was at Geneva. Being already acquainted with the details of his escape, I asked him in what manner he had traveled, as the stations were full of spies in search of him.

He smiled and at once told me. I looked at him, this terrible man, who, defying everything alone, without any other aid than his indomitable energy, had succeeded in rendering himself the absolute arbiter of so many thousands of those obstinate peasants, and who was on the point of becoming the leader of a terrible insurrection. He was of middle height, and somewhat slender, hollow chested, and with narrow shoulders. Physically, he must have been very weak. I never saw an uglier man. He had prominent cheek-bones, a large mouth, and a flat nose. But it was an attractive ugliness. Intelligence shone forth in his gray eyes. His smile had something of the roguish and the delicately playful, like the character of the Ukrainian race to which he belongs. When he mentioned some clever trick played off upon the police he laughed most heartily, and showed his teeth, which were very fine, and white as ivory. His entire countenance, with his wrinkled forehead, and his cold, firm look, expressed a resolution and, at the same time, a self-command which nothing could disturb. I observed that, in speaking, he did not use the slightest gesture.

We spoke of the common friends whom he had visited on the way, of the projects about which he had come to St. Petersburg, and of many other things.....

I could not but appreciate the soundness of his judgment, upon many questions, which he always looked at from a very original and very practical side, but especially his knowledge of men, whom he could size up after a few days' acquaintance, though I observed that he always showed a somewhat pessimistic tendency.

The day was far advanced when we finished our conversation in order to take a little rest.

III.

Stefanovich remained for a whole month in St. Petersburg. We saw each other very often. I afterwards had many opportunities of seeing him and of becoming acquainted with him, which is the same as saying, of loving him. He is a man of a very original and very complex disposition. He has great force of mind and character; one of those who under favorable circumstances, become prophetic.¹ He has the extremely rare faculty of

understanding how to direct the masses, as he showed at Chighirin. But his force is not that which goes straight to its object, as a ball from a cannon, smashing and overthrowing everything that opposes it. No, it is a force that delights in concealment, that bends, but only to stand firm again afterwards. He is said to be, and is believed to be, very astute. He is an extremely reserved man, entirely concentrated in himself. He speaks little; in public meetings, never. He always listens quite doubled up, with his head bent as if asleep. He never enters into any theoretical discussion, which he despises, and when he is compelled to be present at the reading of a "programme" or "memorandum" he sleeps in very truth, and snores loudly.

He is a man of action exclusively; but yet not of immediate action, like those whose hands itch to be at work. He knows how to wait. He is a man of far-reaching plans; he is the finest type of the organizer whom I have ever known. His clear and eminently practical mind, his firm and cautious character, his knowledge of men, and of the art of dealing with them, which he possesses in marvellous perfection, render him particularly adapted for this highly difficult office. He is very sceptical with regard to men, but at the same time is capable of a friendship which borders on adoration. His most intimate friend is L., from whom he is never separated except when absolutely compelled by "business", and then they write long letters to each other every day, which they jealously keep, showing them to no one, affording thus a subject of everlasting merriment among their friends. Notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of his life, he has never broken off his intercourse with his father, an old village priest; a somewhat dangerous thing in the case of a man who has thrown whole cities into commotion, when it was suspected that he would be found in them. He greatly loves and venerates his father and often speaks of him, relating with especial pleasure anecdotes of him, and quoting passages from his letters, which show his rude intelligence and his honest and upright heart.

DEMETRIUS CLEMENS, ELOQUENT PERSUADER

I.

He is no longer so very young; he is one of the oldest "Chaikovtzy"^{*}, and is now about thirty-seven years of age. He was arrested in March, 1879, and is now in Siberia.

There is nothing of the conspirator in his bearing. He is a straightforward man, an excellent companion, an unrivalled talker; his language is fluent, full of imagination and piquancy, adorned with all the treasures of the rich popular Russian tongue.

He is perhaps the best of our popular propagandists. He has a manner peculiar to himself,

^{*}Revolutionary group founded in 1874 by N. Chaikovsky (see SOVIET RUSSIA, No. 9, p. 256).

absolutely inimitable. It is not that of Katherina Breshkovskaya, passionate and prophetic, nor is it Socratic and searching like that of Michael Kuprianov, a young man of genius who died in prison at the age of nineteen. Demetrius Clemens carries on his propaganda in a facetious spirit. He laughs, and makes the old peasants, generally imperturbable, split their sides with laughter as they listen to him. He so contrives, however, that with all this laughter some serious thought is hammered into their heads and remains there. He was one of the most successful in obtaining adherents to Socialism during the period of *going among the people* (the peasants) and the town workmen.

His addresses in some village *kabak*, or humble tavern, were genuine masterpieces. I remember that, when I went with him upon some propagandist journey I very often had no heart to introduce myself, and interrupt his inexhaustible flow of brilliant improvisation, and, in spite of myself, instead of being a propagandist, became a mere listener and admirer of a work of art. His face is not at all handsome, somewhat ugly, but is one of those which once seen cannot be forgotten, so peculiar is it. The upper part, with that broad forehead of the thinker, and those chestnut-colored eyes, soft, vivacious, piercing, from which the light of a restrained acuteness shines forth, show him to be a European and a man of cultivated and elevated mind. From the eyes downwards, however, he might be taken for a Kalmuck, a Kirghiz, a Bashkir,* it may be, but not for a representative of the Caucasian race. Not that there is anything in it of the savage or deformed; nay, his mouth with his thin and carved-like lips is very fine, and his smile has something very sweet and attractive. What strikes one, however, at first sight, and gives such a strange character to his entire countenance, is a nose that cannot be subjected to any definition; broad, somewhat turned up, and so flat that, in profile, it is almost imperceptible—a veritable freak of nature.

If we wanted to find two men to personify by their characters, a complete antithesis in everything, we should find them in Jacob Stefenovich and Demetrius Clemens.

The one is the type of a powerful organizer; the other never organized any circle or secret society, and never tried to do so, in all his life. The one with his look always fixed upon some great object, full of that cold fanaticism which stops before no human consideration, would have held out his hands to the devil himself, if the devil could have been of any use to him in the execution of his vast designs. The other, tranquil and serene in his devotion to the cause of Socialism, recognized no compromise, and was never led away by any considerations whatever of immediate utility.

The former, gifted with an immense energy, and an immovable will, bent men and masses to an object selected and determined by himself alone.

The other never bent any one. He was absolutely incapable of it, and he even disliked those who seemed disposed to sacrifice their own will to his.

Notwithstanding this, there was no man who had such unlimited influence over all around him, both individuals and circles, as Demetrius Clemens.

A word of his terminated the bitterest discussion, settled differences which seemed irreconcilable. This unstudied influence which arose, so to speak, spontaneously, wherever he entered, especially showed itself in his personal intercourse. I have never known, or even heard of, a man who could arouse in so many persons a feeling, so profound, of friendship, or rather adoration, as Demetrius Clemens. I have seen several letters written to him by various persons. If I had not known from whom they came, and to whom they were addressed. I should have taken them for love letters.

This feeling was not that transient enthusiasm which certain brilliant types are able to inspire, which glows with splendor for a moment, like fireworks, leaving behind it the darkness more profound. Demetrius Clemens is never forgotten. A heart once conquered by him, is his forever. Neither time, nor distance, can destroy, or even weaken, the feeling experienced for him.

What is there, then, about this extraordinary man which enables him thus to fascinate every heart?

He has a heart as boundless as the ocean.

Not that he forms friends very readily. No; like all men of deep feelings he is very slow to open his heart. Nay, all unconscious of his own qualities, he considers himself harsh and cold, and thus the feelings of devotion which he unwittingly arouses, oppress him, trouble him. Perhaps he believes himself incapable of responding to them. They appear to him like stolen objects to which he has no right.

No reproach of this kind, however would ever be uttered by any of his many friends, for his moral gifts are such, that even the smallest which he bestows are treasures.

The affection felt for him counts for nothing in the love which he feels for every one. He is truly incorruptible. But there is no gift of mind or heart, among his friends, which he fails in his generosity, to discover and exaggerate. He never regards a person for the use he may be to the party. Among so many conspirators he remains a man. When he accosts any one he does not do so with any hidden object, as all organizers and conspirators are compelled to do; for they have of necessity to turn all men to account as instruments of their designs. Every one, therefore, feels at ease and confident with him. All are ready to give up their whole hearts to him, and blindly follow his every word, being certain that he will attentively watch over, and be the first to warn them if they run the slightest risk.

And should he wish to send any one on any dangerous work, it would be undertaken without

*Mongolic tribes in Eastern Russia and Siberia.

a single moment's hesitation. If but Demetrius Clemens says so there is no room for doubting that life must be risked; otherwise he would not have advised it.

Demetrius Clemens has, however, never acted thus. He himself has gone forth into danger, very willingly, but not one man has he ever sent into danger in all his life. Even those little risks which an *illegal* man is compelled to avoid as they often might cost him his life, while a *legal* man is only in danger of some few days' arrest—even these he has always taken upon himself, never allowing any one to place himself in jeopardy for him. Neither the remonstrances nor the most bitter reproaches of his best friends have ever availed to shake this determination, or induce him not to risk his life so lightly—a life too precious to the cause. This was precisely what Clemens would on no account recognize. He is modesty itself, although he has nothing of that degrading Christian humility bequeathed to us by ages of slavery and hypocrisy which often conceals the most unbridled arrogance. He, on the contrary, is independent, proud of his dignity as a man, incapable of bending his head before any one.

Modesty seems in him the most natural thing in the world. He does not recognize in himself any of those marvelous gifts which have made him one of the most popular and most esteemed men of all the party; a party certainly not wanting in firm minds, upright characters, or generous hearts.

Owing to an optical illusion, not yet explained by scientific men, he sees all these qualities, not in himself but in his friends.

II.

Demetrius Clemens was born upon the banks of the Volga, where his father was a land steward, and passed all his youth in the midst of the rough population of the nomadic herdsmen of the immense steppes, so well described in one of his poems, which I hope he will finish some day.

From this adventurous life, face to face with nature, wild and imposing, his character derived that poetical sentiment, and that love of danger, which he has preserved all his life.

His courage, however, is as original as his manner of carrying on his propaganda. He laughs at danger, not like a warrior who finds in it a stimulant, but like an artist who, so to speak, enjoys it placidly, especially its humorous side.

His heart seems really incapable by nature of faltering. Amid the greatest danger Clemens is not the least excited. He keeps quite cool and laughs and jokes as though nothing were the matter. Hence arises really extraordinary presence of mind. He extricates himself from the greatest perplexities with a marvelous dexterity, often with a comic turn, which shows that he thought nothing whatever of the danger, but delighted rather in certain situations which lend themselves to the humorous. He is capable of grave imprudence, not from bragadocio, for he has not the least trace of it; but from mere love of waggery.

Thus, at the commencement of his revolutionary career being already "wanted" by the police, although he had not yet taken a false passport, he went in person to the Procurator* to beg him to set at liberty, provisionally, a political prisoner, Anatol Serdinkov, offering his own bail. Fortunately the Procurator, who was new in office, knew nothing about him, and Clemens played his part so well that the official granted his request. But for a change in the arrangement of the trial of Serdinkov, a political prisoner would actually have been released on the bail of a man who was himself a fugitive from justice.

At other times his enterprises assumed the most humorous character, and he bestowed upon them a profusion of detail, and a diligence of elaboration, the work of a true *connoisseur*. To relate one among so many, I will cite his juvenile escapade of ten years ago; the liberation of a certain Telsiev, compromised, but not gravely, in the trial of Nechayev† and exiled by administrative order to Petrozavodsk, one of the towns of Northern Russia. 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 rivaling each other in entertaining him. Having quietly organized the escape of Telsiev, he departed in company with the latter, so as not to subject him to the risks of traveling 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, 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."

What would he have said, had he known who that engineer named Sturm was?

It is not, however, gifts of mind, nor those of heart, which form the most striking part of his individuality, so fertile and diversified. The most striking part is intellect. Clemens has one of the most powerful intellects to be found among our party. Notwithstanding the active part he has taken in the movement from its commencement, and all the tribulations of an "illegal" man, he has always kept up to the level of European intellectual progress, and, although naturally inclined towards economic science, has never confined himself to that branch alone.

Eager for knowledge, he wished to know every-

*Prosecuting attorney.

†Famous revolutionist, tried and convicted in 1871.

thing, without heeding whether he could derive from it any immediate advantage.

I remember how delighted he was with Helmholtz's lectures on physics, which he attended in the year 1875, while he was staying in Berlin. I had some trouble to make him discontinue sending abstracts of them to me in the letters which he wrote to me at St. Petersburg.

His views were as wide as his eagerness for knowledge was ardent.

He is not a party man. A Socialist of profound convictions, as a man so versed in economic and social science could not fail to be, he brought to the service of our cause both his vast learning and his clear and perspicacious intelligence. But he was not made for the narrow limits of the secret society. For him the society to which he belonged could not become country, family, everything. He always lived somewhat apart. He had no trace of that party ambition which is one of the most powerful motives of the conspirator. He loved the whole world, and neglected no occasion of taking part in its life. Thus he wrote not only for the secret press, but even more for the "legal" press, in various St. Petersburg reviews, under different pseudonyms, and did so, not only because he wished to be more independent, and to live only by the fruits of his own labor, but because he wanted a larger audience, and wider subjects than the secret press could furnish him with.

He has never displayed the fanaticism which has so often divided revolutionaries into hostile camps. Full of faith in Socialist principles, in general, he was very sceptical with regard to the different means which at various times the Revolutionists looked upon as universal panaceas. This scepticism evidently paralyzed his strength in an underground struggle, in which, owing to the narrow limits of the ground, only very exceptional means and methods can be adopted.

As a conspirator, therefore, he was never of great importance. With his irresistible personal fascination, he could attract to the Revolutionary cause a large number of adherents from all classes, especially from among the young. But once they entered the party, he was absolutely incapable of guiding them to any fixed object; others had to do that.

Not that he was wanting in that force of character which makes a man arbiter of the will of others. On the contrary; of this power he gives the most important proof in his magnetic personal fascination. Nor was he wanting, even, in the power of making his own ideas prevail, when necessary. Without the slightest tinge of ambition, or vanity, he possesses in the highest degree the rare courage of going against the opinions and feelings of everybody, when they appear to him unreasonable. I remember well how often he stood alone in opposing the opinion of the entire party.

But he has neither that authoritative spirit, nor that severity of mind, which spring from a passionate faith, and are necessary in leading a group of men to an undertaking, often desperate.

In the revolutionary movement, therefore, he did not do the hundredth part of what, by his natural gifts, he should have been capable of doing.

He is a splendid example of the thinker, with all his merits, and all his defects.

RUSSIAN NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONCESSIONS

By A. A. HELLER

THERE is a general conviction in Russia that concessions must play an important part in the rehabilitation of the country's economic life. And a foreign observer, after investigating Russian industrial conditions, is inclined to agree with this viewpoint. Russia at the present time is at once extremely rich and desperately poor. The potential mineral and agricultural wealth of the country is amazing. The coal and iron resources of the Urals and Western Siberia are enormous. In the Urals I saw a literal mountain of iron, glittering in the sunlight. It is estimated that the Kuznetsk coal basin, in Western Siberia, contains 250,000,000,000 tons of coal. The Urals are also rich in precious metals, as well as brown coal and copper. Over 95 per cent of the world's known supply of platinum is located in these mountains; and there are also large quantities of asbestos rock. Before the war, Russia ranked second only to Canada as a producer of asbestos. Russia is also known to contain rich deposits of mica, tungsten, lead, zinc, silver, aluminum, nickel and manganese. The oil in the Caucasus region, around Baku and Grozny, is equalled by still unexplored deposits in other parts of Russia and Siberia.

The agricultural possibilities of Russia are equally impressive. Great stretches of Siberia and the Ukraine are extremely fertile, capable of producing all the ordinary grains in large quantities. Cotton and silk are cultivated in Turkestan in Asiatic Russia; and flax is grown in the northern and central provinces of European Russia. The timber resources of the country are vast enough to supply the needs of the whole world.

And yet, in the midst of all this natural wealth, the city population is underfed; and the peasants lack the simplest articles of daily use. On our railroad journey through Russia we obtained food from the peasants at the way stations by giving them buttons and needles in exchange.

There are several reasons for this economic maladjustment. In the first place the World War placed a great strain upon the fragile Russian industrial system, stopping or curtailing non-military production, withdrawing skilled men from industry, cutting off the essential supplies of machinery which Russia had been accustomed to import from abroad. This condition was aggravated by the civil war and the Allied blockade. On my trip through the Urals and Western Siberia I was repeatedly impressed with the idea that

Russia's industrial recovery was being held back for lack of a year's secure food supply for the industrial workers. During the war the needs of the army came first, and the city workers were compelled to go on short rations. Then, after the war, came the famine; and all available food-stuffs had to be rushed to the afflicted districts. As a result I often found factories in good physical condition, with adequate stocks of raw material, standing idle simply because it had been found impossible to provision the workers adequately.

So the Russian economic situation may be briefly summed up as follows: An enormous amount of wealth in the shape of natural resources is locked up in a country that cannot develop them because it has been stripped bare by a long period of war and isolation from the outside world. The obvious remedy is to call in the assistance of foreign capital; and this is just what the Russian Government is doing. The text of the following official decree on concessions indicates the principles which will govern the Russian Government in its attitude toward foreign concessionaires:

"In order to apply the principle of concessions in the broadest sense for the purpose of rehabilitating and strengthening the industries of the Republic, the Council of People's Commissars has resolved to publish the following general economic and legal conditions for concessions, as well as to enumerate the objects of the concession agreements which may be concluded with sound and trustworthy foreign industrial corporations and associations.

"1. The concessionaire receives as profit a part of the product, fixed in the agreement, which he may export abroad.

"2. If the concessionaire introduces improvements on a large scale, he will be offered trading privileges (special agreements in regard to large orders, etc.)

"3. Dependent on the nature and conditions of the case, concessions will be granted for long terms in order to guarantee full compensation to the concessionaire for the risk involved and for the investment.

"4. The Government of Soviet Russia guarantees that the investments made by the concessionaire shall not be subject to nationalization, confiscation, or requisition.

"5. The concessionaire has the right to hire workmen and employees for his undertakings in the territory of Soviet Russia in accordance with the code of Labor Laws, or by special agreement, guaranteeing the observance of labor regulations covering the life and health of the workmen and employees.

"6. The Government of Soviet Russia guarantees the concessionaire against one-sided changes in the terms of the agreement by any subsequent rules or decrees of the Government."

The Russian Government may be said to have taken economic rehabilitation as its permanent campaign slogan. All classes of the people, including many former opponents of the Soviet Government, are co-operating vigorously in the great task of national reconstruction. Outside of the obvious difficulties inherent in the rebuilding of any war-wrecked country, the outlook for commercial relations between Russia and the outside world is excellent. The Russian Government is welcoming offers of capital for the development of its natural resources, in the shape of concessions, as well as proposals for large-scale trading.

The interests of the foreign trader or concessionaire in stimulating production and exchange coincide precisely with those of the Russian Government and people.

The objection to commercial relations with Russia on the ground that the Soviet Government cannot be relied on to carry out its contracts, rests upon a complete misreading of Russian facts. The men who control Russia's political destinies at the present time have a very clear appreciation of the economic realities of the situation. They see Russia for what it is: a country of enormous potential wealth in agricultural and mineral resources, temporarily reduced to acute poverty by the acute strain of seven years of foreign and domestic warfare. They realize that outside aid is essential for the rehabilitation of Russian industry and transport. And they know that the co-operation of foreign capital can only be secured by fair and considerate treatment. Putting aside all questions of good faith, it is simply absurd to suppose that the Soviet Government would defeat its own purpose of obtaining larger and more efficient production with the help of outside capital by subjecting foreign traders or concessionaires to harsh or impracticable conditions.

There can be no question that all the energy of the Russian Government and people is now being concentrated upon what is called the economic front, upon the task of building up the shattered industrial life of the nation. With this end in view the Soviet Government radically changed its economic policy last spring. A definite tax was substituted for the requisitioning of the peasant's whole surplus produce. Provision was made for the leasing to individuals or associations of industrial establishments which the state could not operate economically. Every possible stimulus was offered to increased production, both in agriculture and in industry.

To be sure the development of Russian natural resources is a big job; but it is not as big as the opening up of the Far West of the United States after the Civil War. Much of the preliminary work has already been done. Russia has mines, factories and railroads; and its whole industrial equipment, so far as I observed, is in fairly good physical condition. What is needed is an infusion of foreign capital to effect necessary minor repairs, to ensure an adequate labor force and to initiate the work of exploiting Russia's great sources of untapped natural wealth. The Russian Government is prepared to pay for this outside help by granting concessions on the most liberal terms and by affording the concessionaire all possible economic assistance. For the sake of its own prestige it is bound to hope that the foreign capitalist will be able to show large production figures. The American business men who take up Russian concessions, individually or in groups, have every opportunity to make a rich profit, provided, of course, that they are equipped with the requisite capital and experience.

Financial Statement, Friends of Soviet Russia

For Period August 9, 1921—March 31, 1922.

Statement "A"

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
National Office: 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to March 31, 1922.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from Local F. S. R. Conferences and Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received. Receipts Nos. 1 to 4053 for income received to February 28, have been previously reported in detail, a total of\$417,962.86
Receipt Nos. 4054 to 6070 for income received during March are reported in detail in our official organ SOVIET RUSSIA dated April 1 and 15, 1922, and Receipts No. 8830 and 8831 in May 15 issues, a total of 85,480.04 (Receipt No. 6055 for \$5 published in error, since cancelled).

Total received and acknowledged\$503,442.90

The above income was deposited in a bank account, and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to 400.69

Making a TOTAL INCOME of.....\$503,843.59

From which must be DEDUCTED the following items:

(1) Remittances received as contributions which the bank refused to honor (Receipt Nos. 1 and 214)	\$274.25	
(2) Remittance addressed "Soviet Russia" received by us in error (Receipt No. 1900)....	17.94	
(3) Checks temporarily returned by bank to be signed (Receipt No. 2820, 3732, 3959, 4078, 4327, 4293, 4450, 4111, 5956)	541.91	
(4) Exchange and discount on checks received	6.65	
(5) Expenses incurred and charged to National Office by Locals	270.93	
(6) Lawyer's fees and bail premium for Local workers arrested for making appeals.....	425.00	1,536.68

Leaving the INCOME RECEIVED by National Office.....\$502,306.91

HOW THE FUNDS AND CLOTHES WERE COLLECTED:

In order to assist Locals and Workers' organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and supplied buttons for sale and contribution lists for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for this purpose is explained in Statement "B" below. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. It is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred these expenses themselves. But because this money was spent to help Locals and Workers' Organizations raise the money which they sent to the National Office it is deducted from the amount which they sent in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after deducting all expenses paid by Locals and all publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office, Thus: Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office 44,053.16

Leaving INCOME received by National Office LESS COST OF COLLECTING FUNDS AND CLOTHES\$458,253.75

EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent \$3.28 for each \$100 of funds remaining after deducting the cost of appealing for funds and clothes. They amount to 15,047.70

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of Soviet Russia of\$443,206.05

Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:

Food Shipments, direct	\$ 2,185.73	
American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for F. S. R. for food and equipment	358,200.00	
Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I. L. G. W. U.	2,288.94	
Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage, and shipping charges on old clothes contributed	3,999.41	
Federated, International and Russian Conference expenses	1,372.92	
Bail, Legal fees and relief for delegate from Workers' International Famine Relief Committee detained on Ellis Island	1,251.25	369,298.25

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of..... 73,907.80

Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or FOR EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank	66,208.42	
Petty Cash on Hand	1,797.15	
Advances to Sections, Locals and Speakers.....	2,060.22	
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost).....	1,455.71	
Deposits for Electricity, Gas, and Lease.....	145.00	
Books purchased for Sale, less Sales.....	2,241.30	73,907.80

Statement "B"

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to March 31, 1922.

*Wages:		
Speakers and Organizers	\$	4,416.87
Publicity		720.00
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers		7,415.44
Postages		5,250.79
Envelopes and Wrappers		1,016.28
Information Service		62.85
Official Organ "Soviet Russia"—subsidy.....		3,000.00
Bulletins and Financial Reports printed and distributed.....		1,476.38
Advertisements		6,754.65
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed.....		3,832.23
Posters, window cards, etc.		748.00
Motion Picture & Stereopticon Equipment		3,055.54
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc.		1,412.55
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.....		4,114.01
Racial and Language Sections preliminary expenses.....		625.00
Printing pamphlets and cards for sale.....		1,260.30
		<u>45,160.89</u>
Less sale of pamphlets and cards.....		1,107.73
TOTAL	\$	<u>44,053.16</u>

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Statement "C"

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to March 31, 1922.

*Wages:		
Secretary	\$	1,440.00
Office Staff		8,564.81
Office Rent		805.00
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat		984.96
Office Furniture Rent		20.00
Office Supplies, etc.		905.09
Printing and Stationery		1,292.69
Telegrams		360.87
Telephone		67.13
Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc.....		159.90
Auditor's charges		447.25
TOTAL	\$	<u>15,047.70</u>

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Certificate

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the period from the date of organization, August 9, 1921 to March 31, 1922, a period of nearly eight months.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above Statements, "A", "B" and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B" and "C" are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period, March 31, 1922.

2764 Creston Avenue,
New York, N. Y.
May 20, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

Relief Contributions, May 15-31

Here is a complete list of contributions received by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York, during the second half of May. It will be noted that the total (for May) is \$78, 085.80. Have you sent in a contribution to bring the total to that figure? A blank on page 344 will make it easy for you to send something for insertion in next month's list.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
9861	C. E. Berglen, RC, Two Harbors, Minn.	36.30	9925	M. Eisner, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	7.50	9990	B. Bielostotzky, Coll., Samana Dom. Rep.	35.00
9862	S. Hucknik, Coll., Bklyn.	26.56	9926	L. Lindauer, N. Y. C.	2.15	9991	W S & D B F No. 32, Buffalo, N. Y.	25.00
9863	James Cheleppis, RC, N. Y. C.	8.20	9927	Women's Div., F. S. R., Elizabeth, N. J.	52.00	9992	A. N. La Buakey, RC, Bayonne, N. J.	7.00
9864	F. S. R. Branch, Madison, Ill.	20.00	9928	Famine Scout Club 4, CRC, Wilmington, Del.	5.48	9993	C. Leuthold, Milwaukie, Ore.	3.00
9865	Oliver Swedohl, RC, Squirrel Cove, B. C.	.97	9929	Women's Division F. S. R., Everett, Mass.	11.25	9994	J. E. Weber, Milwaukie, Ore.	1.00
9866	A. P. Johnson, RC, Silverton, B. C.	12.00	9930	F. S. R., Lower Bronx Branch, N. Y. C.	262.00	9995	Chr. Baumann, Portland, Ore.	1.00
9867	Mrs. W. R. Beaton, Granads, Minn.	10.00	9931	J. Williams, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.45	9996	C.A.Vandenburg, Grand Rapids, Mich.	5.00
9868	A Friend, Milbank, S. D.	10.00	9932	J. L. Burns, RC, Bagley, Minn.	1.00	9997	Dr.A.C. Heintze, Camden, N.J.	5.00
9869	A Newman, RC, Fort Bragg, Cal.	8.00	9933	O. Furuseth, RC, Bagley, Minn.	1.00	9998	C. Phillips, Beloit, Wis.	5.00
9870	F. J. Ahbol, Fall River Mills, Cal.	5.00	9934	O. Mosefin, RC, Bagley, Minn.	2.00	9999	H. Holtz, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
9871	Ch. Hartkopp, RC, Irvington, N. J.	5.00	9935	G. Buck, RC, Bagley, Minn.	.50	10000	A. Alban, Coll., Samana Rep. Dom.	4.00
9872	Art Coyle, Fall River Mills, Cal.	5.00	9936	A. C. Lukhasoon, RC, Bagley, Minn.	.50	10001	Dr. A. Clarke, RC, Sparata, Mich.	1.00
9873	C. J. Hanson, RC, Cook, Minn.	3.00	9937	P. H. Pederson, RC, Bagley, Minn.	5.00	10002	K. Dighton, N. Y. C.	1.00
9874	A. Lousenberg, Sointula, B. C.	3.00	9938	J. Olson, Lewiston, Ida.	2.00	10003	M. Rubinson, RC, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00
9875	J. H. Parker, Carrollton, Mo.	2.00	9939	Dr. O. Picheta, Lewiston, Ida.	3.00	10004	I. Bentivegna, RC, N. Y. C.	11.00
9876	Wilkinson & Horge, Hondo, Tex.	2.00	9940	E. Hansen, Lewiston, Ida.	1.00	10005	Bubien, Wallingford, Conn. 1 gold wedding ring.	1.00
9877	J. A. Tett, Spencers Bridge, BC	2.00	9941	J. J. Bily, Lewiston, Ida.	1.00	10006	Workers of Hotel Lucerne, N. Y. C.	10.00
9878	Geo. Cholia, Denver, Col.	2.00	9942	C. Serlye, Lewiston, Ida.	1.00	10007	E. K. Goldsborough, RC, Washington, D. C.	1.00
9879	H. Metcalf, Davenport, Ia.	1.00	9943	G. H. Serley, Lewiston, Ida.	1.00	10008	G. Pannos, RC, N. Y. C.	11.00
9880	J. Davis, Montvale, N. J.	1.00	9944	J. Sobol, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	10009	S. Nash, RC, Paterson, N. J.	6.50
9881	Turlock, Cal.	5.00	9945	S. Krufka, RC, N. Y. C.	.50	10010	S. Pozemsky, RC, Bklyn, N.Y.	13.00
9882	Arthur W. Luther, Santa Cruz, Cal.	1.00	9946	M. Rosenberg, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	10011	Mrs. F. Rosenthal, N. Y. C.	4.00
9883	M. Heindick, Youngstown, O.	1.00	9947	Mrs. Reicer, RC, Bayonne, N.J.	1.00	10012	A. Scalabrin, RC, New Haven, Conn.	3.00
9884	F. S. R. Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.	763.25	9948	M. Reicer, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	10013	F. Hubik, RC, N. Y. C.	2.00
9885	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	3,438.19	9949	M. Glickaman, RC, N. Y. C.	.50	10014	E. Gray, Elyria, O.	1.00
9886	A. Runaka (tag Day) Virginia, Minn.	188.40	9950	S. Odin, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	10015	A. Pelkonen, Baie De Wassi, Mich.	24.95
9887	F. S. R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	139.31	9951	J. Wolson, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	10016	A. Reich, RC, Brooklyn, N. Y.	11.00
9888	A. Ellixit, Coll., Seldovia, Alaska	93.50	9952	J. Cherniak, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	10017	M. Zafiron, RC, N. Y. C.	5.75
9889	Workers Party, Springfield, Mass	82.20	9953	M. Lax, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	10018	A. Kazlauskas, RC, N. Y. C.	21.50
9890	F. S. R. Branch, Butte, Mont.	80.75	9954	J. P. Havin, RC, Casamalia, Cal.	8.00	10019	L. Barkin, RC, N. Y. C.	9.25
9891	Fin. & Slovick Workers Party, Chiaholm, Minn.	63.86	9955	Ch. Silverman, RC, Seattel, Wash.	8.00	10020	H. Koivisto, RC, Duluth, Minn.	12.00
9892	V. Kaulins, List, Easton, Pa.	37.15	9956	J. L. Neill, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00	10021	S. Hurwitz, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
9893	Spiro Radman, RC, Tacoma, Wash.	33.75	9957	O. Bachr, RC, Monico, Wis.	31.10	10022	F. S. R. Branch, Bellaire, O.	224.38
9894	S. Luomala, RC, Kaleva, Mich.	18.60	9958	F. S. R. Branch, Trenton, N.J.	250.00	10023	F. S. R. Branch, East Liverpool, O.	62.95
9895	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Lynn, Mass.	16.09	9959	Fin. Soc. Branch, Fitchberg, Mass.	82.00	10024	K. Okraska, Neffs, O.	27.12
9896	A. Dornenburg, Berkeley, Cal.	10.50	9960	H. J. Brunk, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	36.00	10025	J. B. Hanchart, Coll, Charleroi, Pa.	19.40
9897	A. Stillman, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	8.50	9961	Miss E. Berke, Phila., Pa.	10.00	10026	G. Bequet, Stonington, Ill.	2.50
9898	N. Voytas, RC, N. Y. C.	8.50	9962	Dr. A. P. Schultz, Bklyn, N.Y.	10.00	10027	F. S. R. Branch, Racine, Wis.	19.40
9899	V. Melts, S. Holland, Ill.	5.00	9963	Wm. Christy, RC, N. Y. C.	4.00	10028	J. Bubien, RC, Wallingford, Conn.	16.99
9900	E. Jackson, RC, N. Y. C.	4.40	9964	L. I. Fortin, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00	10029	Mrs. M. Rae, RC, Chester, Vt.	13.25
9901	M. Leconte, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	9965	Ed. Crandell, RC, Radville, Sdak.	10.00	10030	E. Gunther, RC, Vallejo, Cal.	12.50
9902	F. S. R. Branch, Binghamton, N. Y.	150.00	9966	H. Redman, Dinuba, Cal.	10.00	10031	W. H. Mann, RC, Elyria, O.	9.58
9903	A. Ellixit, Coll., Seldovia, Alaska	103.00	9967	C. V. Hunter, RC, Sloat, Cal.	5.00	10032	W. T. Roberts, Barton, Ohio	9.10
9904	S. Lindauer, Deming, N. M.	20.00	9968	Mrs. M. Frey, N. Y. C.	2.00	10033	M. Papas, RC, Biddeford, Me.	5.60
9905	C. I. Pasover, Denver, Col.	20.00	9969	H. S. Wilkin, RC, Magnolia Beach, Wash.	1.00	10034	Voice of the Worker, N. Y. C.	8.00
9906	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Toledo, O.	16.00	9970	Fin. Branch W. P., Lanesville, Mass.	94.51	10035	L. Pattonen, RC, Port Moody, B. C.	4.46
9907	B.M. Deutsch, RC Pittsburg, Pa.	15.00	9971	K. Haarala, RC, Lebanon, N.H.	40.00	10036	A. Helin & A. Solka, Gile, Wis.	4.34
9908	F. S. R. Branch, Everett, Wash.	10.00	9972	S. S. Osasto, Lebanon, N. H.	37.90	10037	Mrs. T. M. Nagle, Wesleyville, Pa.	30.00
9909	J. Kadla, RC, N. Y. C.	11.00	9973	J. Dekker, Elk Grove, Cal.	8.00	10038	J. Machulsky, Akron, Ohio.	20.00
9910	Mrs. B. G. Rogers, Bellingham, Wash.	6.00	9974	Fin. Soc. Br., RC, Glassport, Pa.	31.50	10039	S. Anagnostis, RC, Atlanta, Ga.	7.00
9911	L. Kosdembra & Family, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	5.08	9975	Italian Sec., F. S. R., E. Weymouth, Mass.	28.50	10040	A L D L D Soc., Nanty Glo, Pa.	2.15
9912	V. J. Baneoko, Kamloops, BC	5.00	9976	Ch. Carlson, RC, White Pine, Mont.	17.35	10041	F. S. R. Branch, South Bend, Ind.	125.00
9913	L. Jordaly, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	4.00	9977	Matti Lehto, RC, Bessemer, Pa.	13.02	10042	Don Taboff, Raymond, Wash.	50.00
9914	H. Niemela, RC, Port Moody, B. C.	14.50	9978	H. Hudson, RC, Toledo, O.	11.30	10043	P. Ramensky, RC, Steubenville, Ohio	39.00
9915	J. Essila, RC, Ely, Minn.	4.00	9979	H. W. Wingood, RC, Lowell, Mass.	8.50	10044	Theo. Tallay, List, Utica, N. Y.	19.00
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9918	Workers Party, Chelsea, Mass.	182.60	9982	N. L. Kirk, South Vancouver, B. C.	4.87	10047	N. Andriak, RC, Beverly, Alberta	6.00
9919	A. Sappos, RC, Philadelphia, Pa.	20.75	9983	C. Lamont, Vancouver, B. C.	1.95	10048	W. Shewchuk, RC, Detroit, Mich.	2.00
9920	F. Cassens, RC, Yonkers, N. Y.	18.50	9984	P. W. Bishop, Bishops Landing, B. C.	.97	10049	F. S. R. Branch, East Chicago, Ind.	69.07
9921	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	9.76	9985	Plumbers & Fitters No. 496, Calgary, Can.	7.80	10050	F. Bulbach, RC, New Britain, Conn.	31.06
9922	Rubin Efron, RC, El Paso, Tex.	8.25	9986	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	10051	Relief Committee, Bridgeport, Conn.	17.35
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10057	Mothers League, Brockton, Mass.	200.00	10128	Miss J. Bartlett, Kansas City, Mo.	15.00	10199	F. S. C. No. 4, CRC, Wilmington, Del.	4.21
10058	Ellen Hayes, Wellealey, Mass.	100.00	10129	United Presbyt. Church, Birmingham, Mich.	15.00	10200	L. M. Brushingham, Alexandria, Va.	2.54
10059	F. S. R. Branch, Lynn, Mass.	50.00	10130	Boiler Makers Union No. 144, Cedar Rapids, Ia.	15.00	10201	R. Miller Sterlin, RC, Montreal, Can.	20.98
10060	Wm. Teichlauf, RC, Brooklyn	25.00	10131	E. E. Ulrich, Detroit, Mich.	13.00	10202	W. N. Ciegerich, RC, Massett, B. C.	1.95
10061	Pin. Co-op. Trading Assn, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y.	8.00	10132	F. S. R. Branch, Jamestown, N. Y.	10.00	10203	Th. Tallay, List, Utica, N. Y.	23.03
10062	Wm. H. Kleinfelder, RC, Auburn, R. I.	6.00	10133	E. G. Wedler, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00	10204	M. Lehtinen, RC, Ashtabula, Ohio	14.25
10063	Carlotta C. Kingsley, Kenwood, N. Y.	6.00	10134	Theo. Sucharsky, RC, Grapeville, Pa.	10.00	10205	O. Tuomala, RC, Ontonagon, Mich.	7.25
10064	Altman Roman & Co., RC, N. Y. C.	6.00	10135	A. Ramos, RC, Oakland, Cal.	10.00	10206	M. Mervin, RC, N. Y. C.	6.50
10065	Br. No. 2, S. P., Westfield, N. J.	6.00	10136	G. C. Blackall, Rochester, N.Y.	10.00	10207	J. Kacavakis, RC, N. Y. C.	3.50
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10093	D. M. LeBaron, RC, Turlock, Cal.	1.00	10164	Wm. Cordes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	10235	P. Kaabubin, RC, Portland, Ore.	27.00
10094	L. S. Sirakia, RC, Martens Ferry, Ohio	15.00	10165	Suesamann, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.50	10236	C. Punapu, RC, Pr. Rupert, B. C.	5.00
10095	N. Yercopoulos, N. Y. C.	2.00	10166	Ch. Heim, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.50	10237	F.S.R.Branch, Manville, R.I.	64.75
10096	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Binghamton, N. Y.	100.00	10167	I. Resnick, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	10238	Prog. Railway Lodge No. 695, I A of M, Rock Island, Ill.	68.25
10097	R. C. Day, RC, Phila., Pa.	15.00	10168	T. Jokilehto, CRC, Ashtabula, Ohio	2.20	10239	Russian Club, Newton Upper Falls, Mass.	27.60
10098	M. Comatock, New Haven, Conn.	5.00	10169	L. Jokilehto, CRC, Ashtabula, Ohio	2.25	10240	V. Bilida, RC, Grantville, Mass.	26.40
10099	B. Feigin, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	10170	S. B. Wigg, Northampton, Mass.	10.00	10241	A. Knahner, RC, Muskegon, Mich.	21.50
10100	P. Isenman, Malden, Mass.	5.00	10171	P. Wedderien, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00	10242	K. Otwinovskiy, RC, Toronto, Can.	13.75
10101	T. D. Felice, Radnor.	6.00	10172	A. Brandt, Coll., Frankfort, Wash.	10.00	10243	F. S. R. Branch, Los Angeles, Cal.	2,000.00
10102	R. P. Henisen, Boston, Mass.	3.00	10173	Woman's Division, F. S. R., Everett, Mass.	3.16	10244	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Seattle, Wash.	200.00
10103	A. Stokes, List, Cleveland, O.	2.00	10174	B of P D & P of A, No. 261, N. Y. C.	500.00	10245	Lith. Br., F.S.R., Pittsburgh, Pa.	100.00
10104	K. Dighton, White Plains, N.Y.	1.00	10175	F. M. Cassidy, RC, Buffalo, N. Y.	15.00	10246	F.S.R. Branch, Farrell, Pa.	100.00
10105	F. S. R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	642.27	10176	H. Kosokow, RC, Scienceville, Ohio	13.00	10247	E. Greenberg, RC, Phil., Pa.	43.00
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10109	Mendelsohn, Montreal, Can.	1.25	10180	C. M. Doering, Canon City, Col.	2.00	10251	A. Tenis, RC, Linden, N. J.	16.00
10110	M. Vardomatsky, RC, Rockaway, N. J.	105.00	10181	P. W. Danner, Akron, Ohio.	2.00	10252	Mr. & Mrs. Zupan, N. Y. C.	9.25
10111	S. Mamchur, RC, Monaville, W. Va.	17.00	10182	G. C. Gilbert, Baltimore, Md.	1.00	10253	Dr. A. Carpenter, N. Y. C.	5.00
10112	J. Papchenko, RC, Star City, W. Va.	56.50	10183	May Day Meeting, Houston, Tex.	32.75	10254	F. A. Wire, RC, San Diego, Cal.	5.00
10113	F. S. R. Branch, Haverhill, Mass.	50.29	10184	F. S. R. Branch, RC, Jamestown, N. Y.	25.25	10255	H. De Ridder, N. Y. C.	2.00
10114	Serb. Orthodox Church, Johnstown, Pa.	41.71	10185	J. P. Reid, Illus. Lec., Providence, R. I.	37.54	10256	A. Peteret, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00
10115	Yugoslav Orchestra, "Zora", Johnstown, Pa.	29.00	10186	F. S. R. Branch, Newark, N.J.	500.00	10257	Mrs. Brown, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00
10116	Mrs. S. Lewicka & M. Czajkowska, RC, New Kensington, Pa.	13.75	10187	F. S. R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	10258	M. M. Steiner, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00
10117	J. Stangl, Schenectady, N. Y.	10.00	10188	Woman's Div. F. S. R., Erie, Pa.	25.00	10259	M. Tiellius, RC, N. Y. C.	6.75
10118	I. Pink, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	10189	L. Levi, RC, St. Paul, Minn.	28.00	10260	J. Benes, Dillonvale, Ohio.	33.50
10119	F. S. R. Branch, Vancouver, BC	500.00	10190	W. W. Carruth, Oakland, Cal.	3.00	10261	N. P. Spafford, Pasadena, Cal.	1.00
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10471	Alek. Kiriluk, RC, Halifax, NS	3.00	10513	O. Olsen, Ridgefield, N. J.	1.00	10559	K. Hillman, RC, Fort Bragg, Cal.	25.00
10472	Waally Kukurusa, RC, Halifax, N. S.	5.00	10514	P. Gold, N. Y. C.	3.00	10560	S. S. Osasto, Green, Mich.	32.20
10473	A. Chlepestun, RC, Halifax, N. S.	1.00	10515	F. Clara, RC, N. Y. C.	22.75	Total contributions for May....\$78,085.80		
10474	S. Hladchut, RC, Halifax, NS	5.00	10516	M. Fass, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	CORRECTIONS		
10475	S. Semenonko, RC, Halifax, N. S.	.50	10517	Mrs. E. Horwath, Binghamton, N. Y.	5.00	6055	Cancelled	5.00
10476	N. Kosonchuk, RC, Halifax, NS	2.00	10518	E. A. Lincoln, Arlington, Mass.	2.00	5918	Cancelled	16.00
10477	D. Krocor, RC, Halifax, N. S.	2.00	10519	Union of Russ. Citizens, Blyn	135.16	To be deducted from April total \$21.00		
10478	P. Horluk, RC, Halifax, N.S.	1.00	10520	A. Wolinaky, N. Y. C.	.25	Published in error, same was cancelled.		
10479	C. Rusech, RC, Halifax, NS	1.00	10521	D. Blich, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.25			
10480	M. Shacknove, RC, Halifax, NS	2.00	10522	J. Chanzer, N. Y. C.	.50			
10481	M. Klemekko, RC, Halifax, NS	2.00	10523	E. Zaharopoulos, Brooklyn, NY	4.15			
10482	S. Antonuk, RC, Halifax, N.S.	2.00	10524	Cancelled.				
10483	S. Kuvluk, RC, Halifax, NS.	2.00	10525	Lettish Br. WP, N. Y. C.	133.40			
10484	P. Krawchuk, RC, Halifax, NS	2.00	10526	Ch. Hatyopoulos, N. Y. C.	5.00			
10485	N. Gavielko, RC, Halifax, NS	2.00	10527	O. S. Curtis, Newhall, Cal.	4.00			
10486	W. Kecke, RC, Halifax, N. S.	1.00	10528	M. Cardosi, RC, Lucca, Italy	2.00			
10487	F.S.R. Branch, N. Y. C.	408.14	10529	Italian Sec., Lists, N. Y. C.	4.10			
10488	Liberty Lodge No. 91, A A of I S & T W, Warren, Ohio.	25.00	10530	P. Kulesar, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00			
10489	M. Cronshore, RC, Fayette City, Pa.	20.00	10531	H. A. Brown, RC, Oswego, NY	1.00			
10490	Finnish Socialist Group, New Haven, Conn.	15.00	10532	L. Beck, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00			
10491	T. Karilo, RC, Toledo, Ohio	13.00	10533	C. P. Pafort, N. Y. C.	5.00			
10492	A. Bayer, RC, Farrell, Pa.	11.00	10534	S & D B F No. 160, N. Y. C.	9.55			
10493	W. C. No. 266, RC, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00	10535	V. Columbus, N. Y. C.	7.00			
10494	J. Fine, RC, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00	10536	I. Forslund, RC, Addy, Wash.	2.00			
10495	A. Post, Norwood Park, Ill.	5.00	10537	N. Dorio, List, N. Y. C.	7.95			
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10503	Dr. V. J. Rowe, Pittsburg, Kans.	2.00	10545	J. Luszywo, CRC, Buffalo, N.Y.	5.80			
10504	F.S.R. Br., Lith. Sec., Blyn	929.54	10546	F. C. Sherwood, Cleveland, O.	6.00			
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10506	Y. Sharoff, RC, N. Y. C.	17.00	10548	Anonymous, N. Y. C.	10.00			
10507	F. S. R. Branch, N. Y. C.	453.50	10549	E. E. Carlin, Concord, Mass.	1.00			
10508	S. Manberg, RC, N. Y. C.	12.75	10550	R. B. Hayes, Redding, Cal.	1.00			
10509	D. Taschke, International Falls, Minn.	.25	10551	M. Yurman, RC, Chester, Mont.	1.00			
			10552	F.S.R. Br., E. Chicago, Ind.	87.10			
			10553	S. Sethen, RC, Ketchikan, Alaska	19.50			
			10554	N. Shevchuk, RC, Roebbling, N. J.	13.20			
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A Striking Feature of this Issue will be the publication of the Famine Play, "Hunger", by Alexander Neverov, translated from the Russian especially for SOVIET RUSSIA.

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Here is Our Chief Danger

Speaking before the All-Russian Congress of Metal Workers in Moscow on March 7th, Lenin said:

"When I say that we are done with economic retreat, that does not mean that I have in any way forgotten the diabolical difficulties in which we are at present, nor am I attempting to calm your anxieties on this account.... We are aware of these difficulties. We know they are tremendous, but I do not fear to say that they are not insuperable. They do not terrify us.... We face them steadfastly. We say: Here is our chief danger, the dire want produced by the famine; that we must cure, and we have not cured it yet...."

Comrade, "our" danger also means **your** danger, because any peril that menaces the Soviet Republic also threatens the present status and future welfare of every worker in the world. The fall of this first workers commonwealth would be an incalculable loss, morally and materially, to international labor. Its survival and prosperity, on the other hand, are bound to inspire and lead the workers of all lands to great victories.

Therefore, every member of the working class should contribute to the limit toward the elimination of famine conditions, our chief danger now. And the relief should consist not alone of bread, but also of tools and machinery to enable the Russian workers and peasants to help themselves and prevent future famines through their own efforts.

In rendering this aid to Soviet Russia let no worker get the impression that he is going to the rescue of a weak organization on the point of collapse. Quite the contrary. The Soviet Republic is full of energy and desire and hope to do great things for the working class of the world. One proof of this vitality is the significant fact that, though hard pressed by many other needs, the Soviet Government has supplied at least three fourths of the famine relief materials, besides furnishing transportation, hospital service, agricultural implements, etc. What a striking contrast to the black record of the Tsarist government in past famines!

The workers of every country should draw the utmost pride and courage from the fact that this first labor government has been able to beat off a world of powerful, ruthless enemies; and that, having been burdened with the dilapidated and demoralized system inherited from Tsarism, it has produced the organizing genius and the fortitude to come victoriously through the severest ordeal faced by any people in modern times.

The Soviet Republic has defeated and shattered the capitalist policy of "Blood and Iron". Now it is for the workers of the world to institute their policy of "Bread and Iron". Do your part now. Give bread to complete the conquest of the famine, and give "iron" (tools and machinery) to enable the workers and peasants to reconstruct their industrial and agricultural life.

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

Authorized by the All-Russian Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated.)

Conducted in America under the direction of the

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
(National Office)

201 West 13th Street

New York City

**Every Worker
Helps Himself
When He Helps
Soviet Russia**

I want to enforce the workers' policy of "Bread and Iron" toward Soviet Russia. Here is my contribution of.....to buy bread and tools for Russia.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia

VOL. VII

JULY-DECEMBER 1922

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Who are the Traitors?

By L. TROTSKY

This and several other articles in the present issue deal with the timely subject of the trial of the so-called "Socialist-Revolutionists" at Moscow.

THE Social Revolutionary Party at present occupies the centre of attention, but quite differently than at the time of the March Revolution. It often happens in history that some party or other, some man or other, is at first obscured from view, is forgotten for some time and then is again remembered. The Social Revolutionary Party succeeded in a few months, one might say in a few weeks, in getting into power over the whole of Russia—so it seemed at least—and afterwards lost its influence just as quickly and faded into insignificance. The approaching trial affords us the opportunity of reviewing the strange fate of the Social Revolutionary Party. This explains the interest it arouses; it is produced by the necessity for understanding and arriving at certain conclusions.

I will only touch on one side of the question here, which it seems to me has not received sufficient attention in our press and which is nevertheless of great importance: the position which the humbler sections of the party, the rank and file, its minor officials respectively held or now hold in the party.

At the beginning of the present century Plekhanov called the Social Revolutionaries, "Social Reactionaries". This was appropriate in so far as it described the petty-bourgeois, reactionary components of its world outlook, which threatened to convert the party into a tool of bourgeois counter-revolution and did in fact so transform it. As soon as the petty-bourgeoisie separates itself from the proletariat it always inevitably becomes a tool of the bourgeoisie. In the struggle against Tsarism and feudalism the party played a revolutionary role. It aroused the peasants, it stirred large groups of young students to political activity, it assembled around its standards considerable groups of workers who were not yet either materially or mentally separated from the village and who considered the revolution not from the proletarian class point of view, but from the amorphous point of view of the "toiler". The terrorists went into the fight and gave their lives in exchange

for the lives of Tsarist dignitaries. We criticized this method for we were of the opinion that the Sazonov* and the Kalayev† would have been more useful to the cause of the revolution if they had combined their energy with the energy of the working masses instead of increasing their individual force by the explosive force of dynamite. But our work among the masses, our criticism and our interpretation of terror converted these terrorist acts into external incentives for the revolutionary activity of the masses. It often happened at demonstrations that the most self-sacrificing Marxist workers went hand in hand with the self-sacrificing "Narodnik"‡ workers in order to oppose the Tsarist police and Cossacks by armed force. Later on these met in the wastes of Siberia, on the way to prison and in exile. Among the humbler sections of the party there were always excellent, determined and self-sacrificing elements to be found, in spite of the theoretical vagueness of their ideas.

Already at that time a chasm was beginning to separate the young Petrograd textile worker belonging to the Social Revolutionary Party, who at any moment was prepared to sacrifice his life for the cause of the working class, from the intellectuals of the Avksentiev type, from the Heidelberg and other students, philosophers, Kantians, Nietzscheans, who at that time differed in no way from the petty-bourgeois radicals of France, except for their greater illusions and their inferior culture. At that time it was clear to the Marxists how widely these two groups would diverge from each other; the workers who had not freed themselves yet from the influence of the "Narodnik" ideology and the future parliamentarians and political job-hunters who for the moment were in no hurry to surrender their Socialist phraseology.

*Yegor Sazonov killed Minister Plehve in 1904.

†Ivan Kalayev killed the Grand-Duke Serigus in 1905.

‡"Narodnik" (Populist) was the designation of the early Russian Socialists of the Seventies—many of whose ideas were later taken up by the Party of the "Social Revolutionaries".

In consequence of the war and the revolution the dissolution of the Social Revolutionary Party was enormously accelerated. The complete political and moral decay of the upper sections of the party was accelerated by the fact that the great events compelled clear and exact answers and did not permit of vacillation. Thus we see Chernov at Zimmerwald unexpectedly adhering to the Extreme Left, thus renouncing the idea of the "National Party", and later on sitting in a bourgeois cabinet and recommending the July offensive, hand in hand with the Entente countries. This monstrous zig-zag course of the leader of the party already foreshadowed its approaching final eclipse.

A great quantity of trained energy, however, still existed in the party. The heroic past of the party (its sacrifices, the death sentences, Siberian hard labor, deportations) kept, as a result of our backward social conditions (the peasant majority!), the honest, subjectively revolutionary parts of the rank and file of the party under the party banner at a time when the stultified upper circles of the party had become perfectly ripe for open official flunkeyism to imperialism and counter-revolution. All the trifling of the Central Committee with the members of the fighting organizations, from the political and moral aspect, took place at the time of the transition period; the rank and file seriously accepted the slogans of the party, proceeded in the old direction and kept on courageously to the end. They were prepared to kill, to sacrifice their lives against other lives. Their subjective motives were revolutionary. They were only behind the times, they did not see the enormous change that had taken place in the whole world situation. The upper circles saw this. They knew all too well that the terrorist campaign against the Soviets was financed from the same monetary sources which but yesterday financed Nicholas II. against us and against the Social Revolutionaries. The upper circles of the party could not be ignorant of this. They did not act merely under the influence of their traditions and of inertia. They speculated upon gaining advantages; they were, therefore, carrying on a diplomatic game with themselves, with history, with the imperialist Allies, and above all with their own party and the rank and file. The Chernovs and the Avksentiev's profited by the heroism of the Sazonovs and Kalayevs, and placed the honest and self-sacrificing members of the organization at the disposal of Noulens and Lockhart. When these members of the fighting organization grasped the significance of the historical events in the new world situation, when they became convinced that they were throwing their bombs at the behest of the French Embassy and the Roumanian Embassy, they shrank back from their own deeds. The more determined and self-sacrificing they had previously been in their fight against the Bolsheviks with the methods which the Social Revolutionaries learned during the time of suppression, the greater now was their indignation and resentment.

Some of them hesitated longer than others, some

went abroad, some placed their lives at the disposal of the Workers' Republic and carried out the most dangerous tasks on the front in the civil war. Some are still wavering. With a sort of unfailing instinct however, the bourgeois press of the whole world denounced the stand taken by Semionov and Konopleva with the cry of "Renegades". At the time of the blockade of Soviet Russia it came to the final opinion that the Social Revolutionaries, of whom it previously had known nothing, were only the Left Wing of the anti-Soviet front or a transmitting fighting mechanism for the terrorist measures ordered from Paris and London. And then one suddenly met with a revolt, a direct stroke of treachery on the part of this Left Wing! A betrayal of the cause which at present unites Chernov with Poincare. The spiritual revolt of Semionov, Konopleva and others against the Central Committee of the party and against the real masters working behind the scenes of this Central Committee, against the Social Revolutionary Party in its present attitude, is in reality the immediate consequence of all that the past of the Social Revolutionary Party has to show in revolutionary spirit and in heroism. There is only one clear answer to the great and simple question: which and what cause were all the Social Revolutionaries serving who were killed in terrorist duels and in street battles, or who died in Siberian hard labor and exile; the cause which is espoused by the Chernovs together with the Noulens, the Poincares and the Lloyd Georges, or the cause of the Russia of the Workers and Peasants which, as Genoa demonstrated, is fighting alone against the raging imperialist bloodhounds! Those Social Revolutionaries who have stood up against the corrupt clique which is still attempting to profit by the revolutionary traditions of the party can declare with a calm conscience that they are the trustees of all that the past of the Social Revolutionary party has to show in heroism and greatness during the time of suppression and illegal work.

KARELIAN REPRESENTATIVE'S CREDENTIALS

On another page of this issue the reader will find a photographic reproduction of the Mandate recently brought back from Karelia by Comrade George Halonen, who has been functioning as representative of the Karelian Workers' Commune in this country for more than one year. In July of last year SOVIET RUSSIA printed an illustrated article from his pen, dealing chiefly with the resources of his country, which is inhabited by a people who speak Finnish, but who, unlike the people of Finland, have succeeded in establishing a government of the workers and peasants. As a result they were subjected for some months to savage depredations from the Finnish border (to the West of Karelia) which now, owing to the excellent work of the troops of the army of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (of which the Karelian Workers' Commune is a part) have entirely ceased.

“Social Revolutionist” Crimes

Victor Chernov is taking legal action against the newspaper “Novy Mir”, appearing daily in Berlin until recently, because it maintained that he was an accessory to the deeds of the forty-seven Social-Revolutionists who are now on trial at Moscow before the revolutionary tribunal. Mr. Chernov was a minister of the Kerensky Cabinet and still considers himself to be President of the Constituent Assembly. He can therefore have no objection to our addressing the following questions to him in the form of an interpellation.

DOES Mr. Chernov know that Colonel Makhlin toward the end of 1921 published an article in *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* on the mode of organizing an armed peasant insurrection against the Soviet Government, of blowing up railway tracks, of massacring Red Army troops? (*Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* is Chernov’s newspaper.)

Does Victor Chernov know that *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* at the time of the sailors’ revolt in Kronstadt printed an article from the pen of Victor Chernov in which he incited the Russian peasantry to insurrection? “And you, despots, Bolsheviks, your days are numbered”, this article said. “If your lives are dear to you, get out while you still can!” “The people are coming—the sentence will be pronounced!” (It is the Social-Revolutionists who are now awaiting sentence.)

Does Victor Chernov know that his paper had the following to say on the Kronstadt insurrection: “Anyone who does not support the Kronstadt rebels is an ally of the blood-stained Field-Marshal Trotsky and his hangmen. We have made our choice. We are on the side of the men of Kronstadt against their oppressors and hangmen.”?

Does Victor Chernov know that the 9th Congress of the Social-Revolutionist Party passed the following resolution: “An armed struggle of the party against the Bolshevik power is inevitable, and the active forces must be organized”?

Does Victor Chernov know that Victor Chernov wrote in his own newspaper to the following effect concerning this party decision: “The Social-Revolutionist party is taking up the struggle against the Bolshevik despots on all fronts”?

Does Victor Chernov know that the French Government is financing the Social-Revolutionary Party movement and that the intermediary was the Danish Embassy on Soviet soil and is now the Czecho-Slovakian Government at Prague?

Does Victor Chernov know that his Party supported Antonov’s* rebellion and that Antonov had hundreds of revolutionary workers shot?

Does Victor Chernov know that in Samara and Kazan, when the power was in the hands of the Social-Revolutionaries, they exterminated the Bolsheviks with savage cruelty?

Does Mr. Chernov know that the Social-Revolutionist Party with the consent of its Central Committee committed robberies and expropriations and handed the stolen money to a member of the Central Committee (Raov), and that the 8th party congress approved of these expropriations?

Does Mr. Chernov know that the Social-Revolu-

*On June 30, 1922, Antonov and his brother were captured by Red troops and shot.—Ed.

tionist Party received explosives from the French military mission for the purpose of blowing up railway lines of the Soviet state?

Does Mr. Chernov know that the “shock troops” of the Social-Revolutionary Party prepared an attempt on the lives of Trotsky and Zinoviev and that the Central Committee of the party approved of individual acts of terror?

Does Mr. Chernov know that Volodarsky was killed with the consent of the Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionist Party and that the murderer Sergeyev, a member of the Social-Revolutionist Party, was instructed to perform this deed by Gotz, a member of the Central Committee?

Does Chernov know that the Social-Revolutionist Party was in negotiations with the counter-revolutionary organization of Ivanov with the purpose of inducing the German Northern Army to take Petrograd and to hand over the power in that city to a bourgeois government?

Does he know that the Party appointed Colonel Postnikov as its representative in these negotiations and that Colonel Postnikov opened negotiations with the commander of the German Northern Army to obtain information?

Does he know that the Party also received financial support from the counter-revolutionary organization of Ivanov?

Does Mr. Chernov know that the Social-Revolutionary Party worked together with the counter-revolutionary organization of Filanenko and also received financial support from that organization?

Does Mr. Chernov know that the Social-Revolutionary Party organized party groups in the Red Army and several times fomented military insurrections, for instance, after the November Revolution, when the members of the Party sent an army against Petrograd? Does he know that among the participants in these movements were Avksentiev, Kerensky and Chernov?

Does Mr. Chernov know that Lydia Konopleva submitted the plan of an assassination of Lenin to the Central Committee of the party? Does he know that Chernov and Gotz negotiated on this subject with Konopleva? Does he know that the Central Committee approved of the plan? Does he know that the Central Committee delegated its member Richter to prepare the assassination?

Does Mr. Chernov know that the press organs of the Social-Revolutionist Party approved, hailed, and lauded the attempt on Lenin’s life?

Does Mr. Chernov know what punishments are provided by the laws of capitalist states for crimes of this kind?

Can Mr. Chernov give a satisfactory answer to

these questions? Can he prove that this is not counter-revolution? If he cannot, have the Second and 2½ Internationals any right to take the Social-Revolutionary Party under their protection?

Will Mr. Chernov be able to make any reply to these questions that will really satisfy the truly

international, the truly revolutionary proletariat? For these are among others the indictments in the trial of the Social-Revolutionists, and they can hardly be evaded even by the cunning legal trickery of Vandervelde and his colleagues.

International Press Correspondence.

An Official Statement to the Foreign Lawyers

By A. KURSKY

Vandervelde, Theodore Liebknecht and Rosenfeld, who are among the attorneys of the "Social Revolutionaries" now on trial in Moscow, recently protested against certain restrictions placed upon their activities in that city. The People's Commissar of Justice, Kursky, thereupon issued the following answer to the complaints of these eminent gentlemen. The nature of their protest will be apparent from the text of the answer itself.

CITIZENS! Your protest against the conditions under which you are living in Russia is untenable through and through.

First: In the present trial you are not only counsels for the defense, but you are also leaders of dominant political parties in countries to which the citizens of Soviet Russia have either no access at all, or very limited access. Citizen Vandervelde is to be considered first of all as a former Minister of Justice of the Royal Belgian Government, as a representative of the governing circles of a country which took a most extreme position in the struggle against our country, both at the time when Citizen Vandervelde directly participated in it as well as, recently, in the negotiations at Genoa. The policy of the Belgian governing class toward revolutionary Russia was and is a policy of hate, intervention, blockade, usurious demands. All this calls forth among the class-conscious population of our country certain definite feelings, all directed against the main leaders of official Belgium, as well as against these attorneys, who are in full sympathy with the latter in all things, particularly in the matter of the recent protest.

Second: The reference to propaganda carried on by the Soviet press is in the opinion of our Government entirely out of place. It is absolutely true, however, that there is in this country no freedom of the press in the bourgeois sense of the word, which means that we afford neither a direct nor an indirect opportunity for capitalists, bankers, millionaires, to issue "independent" newspapers for poisoning the minds of the people. On the other hand, however, our press reflects the actual feelings of the workers, including hatred for the foreign imperialists who were willing to expose our country to starvation, as well as for all who directly or indirectly supported them. In the opinion of our Government there is no reason at all why our press should be limited in the expression of these righteous and readily understood feelings.

Third: Our Government considers it self-evident that it must concern itself with your personal security and with giving you a full opportunity to carry out your functions in the court. Under the above

mentioned circumstances this is possible only by placing you under the protection of tried and able workers who will discharge their task without consulting their feelings. You have yourselves admitted in your documents that in their work they gave evidence of a tactful and conciliatory spirit. Can you ask more of us?

Fourth: You complain of certain superfluous measures in the arrangements for your protection. We do not doubt however that the slightest incident provoked by the accomplices of the accused against you or other White Guards would be made the point of departure for a new wave of propaganda alleging cruelties against you, threats on your lives, etc., in which agitation, as usual, your party press would play a leading part.

Fifth: You complain of difficulties placed in the way of your intercourse with the authorities of the trial and particularly that you were not enabled to arrange an interview of Citizen Vandervelde with the English representative at Moscow. We again point out that Citizen Vandervelde is not only an attorney as far as the trial is concerned, but also an actual representative of one of the Governments most hostile to us. We have no reason to trust the intentions of this Government or the political steps taken by Citizen Vandervelde. In view of the entire recent past we cannot doubt the hostility of the intentions and disposition of Citizen Vandervelde toward the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic. We must take all possible measures to safeguard the republic without violating your rights as attorneys in any way.

Sixth: The People's Commissariat of Justice has repeatedly ordered that only such measures be taken as are rendered necessary by the demands of your personal protection, or by the interests of the republic.

Seventh: The Soviet Government reserves the right to point out to the European workers that the Soviet Government has afforded you every opportunity to discharge your duties in court while your governments would not think of admitting Soviet representatives to defend the accused in trials of

German and Belgian rebels or Communists, and that you, instead of recognizing this fact, are signing a baseless protest, which can be considered as nothing more nor less than a continuation and ex-

tension of your political struggle against the Russian revolution beset by world imperialism.
(Signed) KURSKY,
People's Commissar of Justice.

The Crisis in Russia and Abroad

By E. VARGA

FOR some years past, Russia has been in the throes of an unparalleled economic crisis. We will here attempt to disclose the connection between the Russian crisis and the general world crisis and to inquire into the reason behind the unusual extent of the former.

Like the other warring countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia is suffering from an absolute underproduction resulting from the war. Russia's economic basis has always been very weak. The expenditure for the upkeep of the modern state apparatus and especially of the expensive army already in pre-war times exceeded by far what a primitive economic system could reasonably be expected to support. Agriculture, the basis of the national economy, was backward; its yield was—in spite of the fertile soil—the smallest in Europe, due to the poverty and ignorance of the Russian peasant. The existence of extensively large landholdings did not change matters, because the greatest part of the land was rented to the peasantry in small leaseholds. Only the chronic hunger of the Russian peasant (which we meet with in the writings of Tolstoy and other authors) made possible that export of foodstuffs whose proceeds went to pay the interest on the foreign debts and the war material purchased abroad. The young large industry, which for the most part had been built up with foreign capital, had not grown out of the needs of the country; it was propped up by Government contracts for war material, high protective tariffs and low wages corresponding to the meagre standard of living of the Russian peasant. The productivity of labor was very low: 25 per cent and even 10 per cent of that of highly developed countries. The country was very poor in accumulated goods.

This primitive economy could not bear the pressure of the world war. Russia was the first of the great powers to collapse. How far the decay of economy had already advanced in the Kerensky period can be gathered from the small booklet of Lenin: "*The Impending Catastrophe: How Can We Avoid It?*"

The accession to power of the Bolsheviki did not put a stop to the downward movement of the national economy; on the contrary, the latter gathered headway. And this for two reasons: The peace of Brest-Litovsk, though it marked the close of the foreign war, was not a harbinger of peace. A number of counter-revolutionary attacks, supported by the European bourgeoisie, carried the war year after year into the interior of Russia. It was followed by the great defensive war against

Poland. The year 1921 was the first to see the return of what after a fashion can be considered a period of peace. But the fact of her isolation as the only proletarian power in the capitalist world is compelling Russia even today to use her best energies for the maintenance of a big army—at the expense of economic reconstruction. The blockade intensified Russia's crisis, because it barred her way to the advantages derived from the economic achievements of the world. And because before the war Russia had chiefly imported means of production, it was her production that was hit hardest by the blockade.

So far there is no fundamental difference between Russia's economic crisis and that of the capitalist countries in the field of underproduction. There are causes, however, which, immanent as they are in the dictatorship of the proletariat, tend to intensify the crisis of underproduction in Russia. It would be futile to deny this. The first stages of every revolution are always accompanied by a dwindling of labor discipline resulting in a decrease of production. Dealing with this problem elsewhere,¹ I wrote:

"Because in every class society, the discipline of the workers during working-hours is enforced by means of class rule, every revolution means a profound loosening of labor discipline. A bourgeois revolution is no exception to the rule; it shakes the masses' belief in authority and thus weakens labor discipline. The old methods of forcibly keeping the workers at their work, the methods of class discipline, lose their meaning once the workers themselves administer the shops and government and armed power is in their hands. The difficult task of evolving a new and free labor discipline corresponding to the changed social relations arises."

But the evolution of this new and free labor discipline is not a matter of a day or two. The great mass of labor is slow to recognize the difference in principle between working for the profit of capitalism and working for the common good. Hence the wane of labor discipline and the consequent decay of productivity and production is unavoidable in the first stages of every revolution. And in order to safeguard the interests of labor itself, the proletarian State is often compelled to resort to coercion against those sections of the workers which cannot be made to do an adequate amount of work by the usual methods of free labor discipline. The transition from the old to the new labor discipline in Russia was rendered especially difficult since the best elements of the Russian proletariat have been up to now required for the Red

1. E. Varga, "The Economic Problems of the Proletarian Dictatorship," Second Edition, Press of the Comintern, pp. 80-81.

Army and the fight against the counter-revolution. Thus the shops lack the nuclei which would consciously undertake to carry through the new labor discipline and by their example fire the slow-moving masses.

The second important factor responsible for the intensification of the crisis of underproduction (which is also due to the dictatorship) was the restriction of agricultural production by the peasants, the strong tendency to return to self-contained household economy, a tendency which was also present under capitalist conditions in the peasantry of Central and Eastern Europe during the war. The well-known necessities of "Military Communism"² tended to intensify these tendencies considerably in Russia.

Although Russia's soil is in principle the collective property of the workers, it is a fact that every one of the 30 million Russian peasants is the independent master of his own farm.³ He decides, subject to the terrible shortage of technical implements, what and how much is to be produced. But the interests of the defense of the country and of the dictatorship compelled the Soviet Government to requisition all agricultural products of the peasants which were not essential to the maintenance of his farm and the upkeep of his family. In principle the Government was to furnish in return all necessary commodities. During the first two years this was actually done. But with the progressive decay of industrial production it became impossible. The peasant was compelled to hand over his grain without receiving anything in exchange. He answered by returning to a self-contained household economy. That is to say, he merely cultivated what was necessary for his own needs.⁴ He cultivated all plants which the climate permitted: tobacco, hemp, vegetables, etc. He returned to the most primitive form of self-contained household economy. He made molasses out of sugar beets; he tanned the skins of slain animals; he spun and wove cloth out of his own hemp. The contradiction between individual production and collective acquisition was fatally balanced by a rapidly progressing decay of the whole national economy and by a nearly complete cessation of the exchange of commodities between town and country.

The war and the refusal of the Russian capitalists to produce under the dictatorship of labor (they still hoped at that time to be able to overthrow the workers' government by their economic sabotage) compelled the Soviet Government to extend state ownership further than was justified by the weak organizing forces of the Russian proletariat. (Under the capitalist system the proletarians are not in a position to develop their ability

in the field of economic organization. The capitalists do not give them occasion to do so. The necessary knowledge must first be acquired under the dictatorship. This also is one of the reasons of the crisis of production in the first days of dictatorship.) There was called into being a gigantic bureaucratic apparatus which acted as a brake on the exchange of commodities and did not even permit a utilization of those possibilities of production which the impoverished and devastated country still possessed.

The new economic policy inaugurated one year ago is to remedy these evils. This purpose is served:

1. By replacing the compulsion to surrender the whole surplus of foodstuffs by the tax-in-kind. (The necessity of this has in a highly admirable manner been shown by Lenin in his booklet on the tax-in-kind.) This measure does away with the previously outlined contradiction between individual production and collective acquisition; it restores to 30,000,000 Russian peasants the stimulus for increased production.

2. By reducing collective ownership to the degree which can be taken care of. The restoration of free trade is the natural supplement of both measures. Without free trade the tax-in-kind would be of no use to the peasantry, and the factories excluded from state ownership and leased to private owners can also produce only if they are enabled to dispose of their products.

These two measures involve the principle of a change in the State's position. Under the former system of Military Communism, state economy embraced in principle all inhabitants of the country. Every citizen was to work for the State and in return was entitled to maintenance by the State. The single economic entities were fused into the state economy. The new economic policy makes the State's attitude as an economic body towards the various individual economic entities resemble that under capitalism (with the difference that the part of industry remaining under the immediate control of the State is much greater.) Now the State claims part of the products of its citizens in the form of taxes. But apart from this, its intercourse with the single economic entities is carried on on the basis of equality. It sells, buys, transports, makes banking transactions, etc.

3. In order to carry this through successfully, the state enterprises were reorganized and put on a commercial basis, that is, they must show a surplus which can be expressed in gold value. The measures to achieve this end were the following:

- a) Restoration of the principle of fixing wages according to labor performed. This resulted in extensive reductions in the number of workers and in the discharge of all superfluous labor. The State maintains only those laborers who are entitled to it by their work; the others must shift for themselves.
- b) The price of goods and the output of the Government enterprises are compiled on the basis of the cost of production. On the

2. See article by Nikolai Lenin in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. V, No. 1 (July, 1921, page 2).

3. We shall refrain from dealing with the activities of the Seed Committees for Regulating Agriculture which commenced activities in 1921.

4. Compare Popov, "Grain Production in Soviet Russia" published in Russian.

market all government enterprises function as private economic formations. They buy and sell and strive to realize as great a profit as possible.

- c) In order to make this possible, the enterprises are being regrouped along economic lines. State trusts have been formed, freed from the shackles of the former bureaucratic

administration, and adapted to make the best of opportunities on the free market. And because the new economic policy naturally abolishes the former limitations on profits, the road has been cleared for the formation of "mixed economic enterprises" (corporations whose shares are taken up by both the state and the capitalists).

Life in Soviet Russia

I. Enforcement of Laws for the Protection of Labor.

In Moscow: In order to safeguard the situation of the workers in the industries a special Institution of Labor Protection was created in Soviet Russia. In January, the Moscow inspectors went through 688 works, including two-thirds of the recently leased private institutions. Those factories in which night work was being carried on legally or illegally were of course visited not only by day but also by night. Violations of legislation for labor protection were ascertained in a number of Moscow factories. Particularly there were cases of infraction of the eight hour law, employment of the young, poor sanitation and technical conditions in the factories. Against these evils a number of severe measures were taken. Quite a list of private shops were simply closed. Thirty owners of private factories were handed over to the People's Court. A number of them were fined amounts aggregating 150 million rubles. In all, 644 measures were adopted in 239 establishments of all kinds in order to improve the situation of the workers. In 37 establishments technical defects endangering the lives of the workers have been corrected. In 18 privately owned works the workers have been drawn into trade union activities. After these experiences the owners of private works have been so intimidated that they at once made large payments to the Social Welfare Funds of the works.

In Petrograd: In this city all factories, workshops and business enterprises have been divided into four groups. Group I includes all Soviet institutions, credit and banking houses, central bureaus and private offices. The working day in this group is from 10 A. M. to 4 P. M. without interruption. Group II includes all stores, workshops, industrial enterprises, distribution centers, etc. The working day in these establishments is from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. with an hour off at noon, or from 9 A. M. to 7 P. M. with two hours off at noon. In order to provide the employees with a recreation period of 42 hours, work stops two hours earlier on Saturdays and begins two hours later on Mondays. The third group consists of all establishments for the sale of foodstuffs, restaurants, coffee houses, libraries, clubs, bathing establishments, etc. These enterprises are not open before 7 A. M. and must be closed at 12 midnight, with the result that two shifts of workers are engaged

in them. Group IV includes hospitals, drug stores, hotels; they employ three shifts of workers. Workers engaged in Groups III and IV have other days of rest as a substitute for Sundays.

II. The Labor Organizer

Ivan Semionovich Markelov is the head of the production section of the Second National Tobacco Section at Moscow. He is also a member of the Shop Committee and the Executive Committee of the Communist nucleus, also chairman of the workers' cooperative, and a member of the relief committee for the starving on the Volga. There is apparently no portion of the life of the factory from which he keeps aloof.

Wherever he goes there is evidence of his organizing ability. Once he was only a plain mechanic in the factory in which he has now for some time been occupying the responsible post of head of its production section. And all the workers know very well the part he has played in production. In party work, in work for the workers' clubs, in the cultural and educational problems, he has always been intensely interested. A workers' cooperative organization was called for—and Ivan Semionovich, who had never been a business man, turned out to be not inferior to a real merchant. The workers' cooperative is expanding. The workers get good dinners, prepared in an efficiently run common kitchen, and the entire deficit of this common kitchen is now covered by the cooperative's receipts.

The question of famine aid came up and Ivan Semionovich was the first to propose to sacrifice the 20 million rubles that had been set aside for the Christmas trees of the children. "Our children will get along all right and there they are dying of hunger."

Ivan Semionovich is always busy. When the workers see him inactive for a few minutes they are genuinely surprised. Among the workingmen and working women Ivan Semionovich enjoys much popularity. But the workers will warn you, "Don't tell him we have been praising him. He doesn't like it."

III. Career of a Russian Working Woman

Comrade Rodionova is a member of the Moscow Workers' Soviet. At the age of six she was driven from her home by poverty and misery and had to work as a children's nurse all through her child-

hood. At the age of fourteen Rodionova entered a spinning factory in the Bassmann District, in which she worked at a loom for sixteen years. The terrible working day of twelve hours, the coarse, often brutal treatment bestowed on the workers by their masters,—these things awakened early in her a feeling of hatred for the oppressors. Rodionova played a part in all the repeated conflicts with the masters, particularly in all protests of the workers against the owners.

The Revolution of 1917 found her at the loom in the same factory, working under intolerably difficult conditions of work and existence. The collapse of the old regime, the creation of a new form of life, caused her class-consciousness to blossom to maturity. She became intensely active in the political field. Immediately after a section for agitation among women was formed, Rodionova was elected a delegate by her factory. By her efficient activity, her energy, her courage and good practical sense, she rapidly gained the sympathy of the working women in the factory.

In 1921 Comrade Rodionova, in spite of the hard circumstances of her family, enters the Communist Party. In the same year she is elected to the shop committee and to the district workers' Soviet. She is now concerned chiefly in cultural and educational work. But she continues working as before in the factory, a plain working woman.

IV. Proletarian Agriculture.

What is meant by this high sounding term? When in the first months of the revolution the distribution of land to the Russian peasantry was begun, extensive tracts still remained in the possession of the Soviet state (former noble estates, Tsarist crown lands, etc.). For the most part this land was used for the establishment of *Soviet estates and Communes*, but in part it was 'assigned' to the industries. This was done in the following way: an unoccupied parcel of land of farm was attached to some factory at no very great distance, i. e., the factory was entitled to cultivate it; the factory now assigns its unoccupied hands to its "assigned" estate, all quantities produced by the estate going to make up the supplementary rations of these factories. In 1919 there were over 211 of these factory lands (with an area of 5,300 hectares); in 1920 there were 412 (26,500 hectares); in 1921, 810 (60,300 hectares). It is estimated that there are about 1080 such factory farms in 1922 with a total area of 130,000 hectares.

What is to be attained by such farming done by industrial workers in Russia? In the first place an improvement in the rations of the workers all along the line; in the second place a certain lessening of the economic dependence on the peasants; in the third place a strengthening of the collective spirit among the workers. But if workers abroad should assume that the Russian factory farms have anything in common with the so-called "garden cities" of western Europe, this would be an entirely erroneous assumption. While the garden cities in western Europe serve to strengthen the

petty bourgeois psychology among the workers, the factory farms in Russia are a basis for a collective cultivation of the soil in the Soviet state of the future.

V. Combating Illiteracy

One of the greatest obstacles in the evolution of Soviet Russia is the fact that a great portion of the Russian population is illiterate, i. e., can neither read nor write. This condition was even encouraged by the Tsarist government before the war, for that government had an interest in keeping the people in a condition of political ignorance. The Soviet Government directed its main efforts from the very outset to an elimination of this baleful legacy of the Tsar. Each member of the Workers' and Peasants' State must be culturally and politically *well* educated! The Soviets went to work diligently. A number of books was issued. Materials for teaching were obtained and a sufficient number of teachers was recruited, with the result that recently it was found that 5,500,000 illiterates out of a total of 29,000,000 such had been endowed with the ability to read and write. At the same time it was also undertaken to combat *political* illiteracy. The periods of instruction were not only devoted to imparting a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, but the pupils were also prepared to read newspapers and easy books, and encouraged to join clubs and libraries and to continue their studies. The "All-Russian Commission for Combating Illiteracy" trained 25,000 teachers for this task.

The Red Army is an instance of how favorable conditions are for such education. On May 1, 1922, the Russian people celebrated the day on which *all* Russian soldiers and sailors had already learned to read and write. The elimination of illiteracy among the races of the East went hand in hand with the first work of political enlightenment that was done in this field. Among the races of western Russia this cultural work is also of great importance. The return of the Polish prisoners of war who learned to read and write in Russia will not fail to make a profound impression on the Polish proletariat.

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Foreign Workers Aid Russian Reconstruction

By WILLY MÜNZENBERG

The author of this article is the secretary of the foreign committee of the International Workers' Aid movement, with headquarters in Berlin. The Friends of Soviet Russia is the American branch of this organization. Four delegates of the Friends of Soviet Russia are now at Berlin attending a conference of the International Workers' Aid. We expect soon to be able to print the reports of these delegates on the work done at Berlin.

EVERYTHING done hitherto in a practical way to aid production in Russian territory by the International Workers' Aid has been accomplished by the workers and with the means obtained by our representatives in Russia, as well as by the delegates of the International Workers' Aid Committee themselves in that country. This fact explains why the work done thus far has been so slight, as far as any international aid was concerned in the reconstruction of Russian economy. Without receiving any direct financial appropriations or assistance from the international proletariat, and by using only the workers and the organizational talent obtained in Russia, together with some advances in money from the Russian Government on projects submitted to it, the International Workers' Aid Committee succeeded in taking over a number of enterprises and factories on Russian territory and proceeded to improve them. Until very recently the foreign proletariat has taken a purely academic attitude on the question of productive economic aid and has expressed its interest and its support usually in the form of meetings and demonstrations only. Only in the last few days did the Foreign Committee for Organizing Workers' Aid for the Starving in Russia succeed in obtaining means for support or reconstruction work in Russia from abroad. Thus, for example, the steamer "National", which left the port of Stettin for Reval, on May 8, 1922, carried with it, in addition to articles of clothing and shoes and other relief supplies, the following machines and tools necessary for the enterprises of the Foreign Committee in Russia:

1. Machines and material (complete equipment) for a shoe factory capable of turning out 700 pairs of shoes a day;
2. A furniture factory with threefold equipment;
3. A machine repair shop;
4. A locksmith factory;
5. A number of small metal-working machines, tools, materials for the stamping factory of the International Workers' Aid at Moscow.
6. Five auto trucks;
7. Three tractors.

With this consignment there went a number of German workers, to be employed as bookkeepers, mechanics or foremen in the factories in Russia. As Russia has a sufficient quantity of hides, which need only to be tanned to leather, the Foreign Committee sent a large consignment of tanning substances to Russia, thus securing a sufficient

supply of raw materials for the shoe factories whose operation it has taken over. As machinists and repairmen are already working in the Moscow shoe factory, it will be possible to begin productive work in the near future, perhaps as early as the end of May.

About the same time that these machines and tools left the German port for Russia, a second consignment by the Foreign Committee for Organizing Aid for the Starving in Russia was shipped from New York, namely, the "shock battalion" for agricultural work. On May 8 the steamer "Latvia" left New York with twenty tractors, a number of plows and auto trucks, agricultural implements of all kinds, food for the working force, and fodder for the animals. With this shipment go ten American workers, destined to be instructors and managers of the work in Russia. Another agricultural expedition is being equipped in Germany and by this time has probably already left Stettin for Russia, on the steamer "Helmwige". This expedition also will have a full equipment of machines, tools and workers, in order to take over the cultivation of a large estate as soon as the expedition arrives. At present a delegation of engineers and specialists is already in Moscow conducting investigations on the spot as to the methods in which the international proletariat can most swiftly put forth its best efforts in the interests of the Federated Soviet Republic, against its imperialistic enemies. The delegation will also conduct negotiations with the Russian Government to secure a concession to be used as a guarantee for the issue of a loan or of bonds for the enterprises of the International Workers' Aid in Soviet Russia.

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The Party Cleaning In Russia

An analysis of the work done in weeding out undesirable Communists in Russia.

Why the Cleaning Up Was Necessary

TOWARD the end of 1921 a general cleaning up of the Communist Party was undertaken in Russia. In city and country districts special party committees were appointed to inspect the membership of the local groups. The direct outcome of this examination was the exclusion from the party of several tens of thousands of members, some indefinitely, some for a specific period.

The sad fact is generally admitted that the Russian Communist Party had been permeated by many undesirable elements who made use of the prestige this party enjoyed in Russia for their personal purposes, or for obtaining certain privileges. Thus, the Russian Communist Party in the course of the last few years has admitted far too many petty bourgeois elements, having nothing in common with Communism, who entered the party merely because that step was necessary in order to enable them to occupy some official post. The Russian Communists have been continually struggling with certain adventurers, climbers, bureaucrats, even criminals, who had in some way or other wormed their way into the ranks of the party and who were a source of discredit to the organization among the masses of the people, and who in other ways inflicted injuries on the movement. Should the Russian Communists be held responsible for this condition? Of course not. For even in Western Europe, where activity in the revolutionary parties, owing to all the persecution and man-hunts, is by no means a source of pleasure, and involves dangers and disadvantages rather than privileges and advantages,—even in the Western European parties we often encounter parasites who have nothing in common with Socialism and revolution, and are only pursuing their own dirty games (let us recall only the case of Sepp Oerter in the Independent Socialist Party of Germany). The danger is of course incomparably larger in the case of a governing party like the Russian Communist Party.

Did the weeding out in Russia mean the exclusion from the party of members lacking in a certain political training? This was by no means the case. The task of the Communist Party is precisely, to a very great extent, the task of rallying to its banner the backward workers, imbuing them with class consciousness and political training, inciting them to more advanced activities. Quite different from the Communist Labor Party of Germany, which advocates a small nucleus of politically well trained workers, whose influence may extend to only one or two men, the Communists in Russia, as elsewhere, are carrying on a policy of a proletarian *mass party*. This conception of a *mass party* should not be interpreted, however, as involving the admission of an unlimited number of petty bourgeois and adventurer elements in the Communist organization. To liber-

ate the party from such elements is not mere "sectarianism", but a process that is necessary in order to preserve the proletarian character of the Communist Party.

How the Cleaning Was Done

The "cleaning" was not understood in Russia as merely an official revision of the membership of the party. The real idea was much larger; the process of weeding out was to furnish a new path by which to reach the great "non-partisan" masses; a close contact was thus to be obtained between the Communist Party and the government officers on the one hand and the workers and peasants from shops and barracks who were still outside of the movement on the other hand. How could this be done? In the first place, by conducting the purification of the party not only as an affair of the Communist Party, but as a matter concerning the entire working population.

As is well known, the Communist Party in Russia consists of many nuclei in shops, military units, and villages. The cleaning committees everywhere summoned full sessions of the nuclei and called upon all members to give an account of themselves. Every single member of the party was questioned most carefully concerning his activities and his career; everyone present in the meeting was given the opportunity to express himself frankly and plainly on this member of the party and that. But the most important point is the fact that all the cleaning up meetings of the party were attended also by large crowds of non-partisan workers. The fate of a communist has thus often been decided by the verdict of a non-partisan colleague. The following sometimes took place: a few "communists" whose consciences were not quite clear would agree among themselves before the meeting to keep quiet about certain things. This calculation, however, was usually upset by the honest workers who, without having become members of the Communist Party, were nevertheless disinclined to tolerate corruption in the party. The result of the elimination has therefore been that the "non-partisan" has become directly interested in the character and the membership of the Communist movement. This has made possible a better understanding between the leaders and the masses of the proletariat, between the heads and the citizens of the Soviet State.

In all Russia the purification, as has already been said, eliminated several tens of thousands of "false Communists". It became absolutely clear that a Communist Party, particularly a ruling Communist Party, can never consist of saints alone, and in fact, that a very sharp and systematic sifting of the membership of the party is necessary, as well as a greater severity in the admission of non-working elements. The cleaning up eliminated not only these elements that were directly harmful, such as usurers, bribe-taking Soviet employees,

disguised counter-revolutionists, but also such elements as indirectly injured the prestige of the party and the Soviet power in the eyes of the people, such as drunkards, idlers, etc. The great mass of those excluded, however, consisted of petty bour-

geois elements who had been in the party but a short time. The Communist Party of Russia emerged from this purification fresher and stronger. The influence of the Communists was strengthened everywhere.—*Rote Fahne*, Berlin.

The Russian Emigres in Germany

By LEONID

Frequent reports coming from Berlin concerning the activities of Russians in that city make it desirable for us to reprint from "Die Rote Fahne" of May 21, 1922, the following analysis of the political affiliations of the many Russians now living in that city. The author has appeared in our columns before this, and our readers are acquainted with his excellent estimates of current situations.

THE murder of the Russian politician Nabokov, which took place recently in Berlin, the arrest of the reactionary White Guard leader Savinkov at Genoa for conspiring against the Russian Delegation, the presence in Berlin of the head of the Tsarist movement in Ukraine, Vyshivanny (the Austrian Archduke Wilhelm), the most recent machinations of Wrangel in Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and Rumania, all these have turned the general interest to the Russian émigrés living abroad. There is no doubt that the main center of this exiled population is in Germany.

Here is an example that will show how firmly the Russian counter-revolutionists have established themselves in Germany. In Berlin alone there are:

- a) About 150,000 Russian émigrés;
- b) More than twenty political and other organizations of émigrés, consulates and representatives of several kinds;
- c) Three daily newspapers as well as a number of weeklies, monthlies, and other publications;
- d) More than twenty Russian publishing houses and a large number of bookstores;
- e) Innumerable cafés, theatres, clubs, places of amusements, etc.

The entire West End of Berlin is at present a city colonized extensively by Russian émigrés.

Outside of Berlin there are Russian colonies in a great many German cities, particularly in Bavaria.

1. *Monarchists*, constituting a distinct majority of the émigrés. In Berlin there is a monarchist central council for the entire Russian monarchist movement of western Europe, headed by the old leaders of the Russian Black Hundred. The monarchist group includes all the former Russian aristocracy, who have fled from Soviet Russia, the clergy, the military cadets, all the officers, and a considerable portion of the "liberal professions". This monarchist central office has many sections: military, ecclesiastical, espionage, civilian, etc. The Russian monarchists in Berlin are in active communication with the German reactionaries, particularly with Count Reventlow and Generals Hoffmann and Ludendorff, also with the monarchist circles of Munich, with Horthy and the "Awakened Hungarians", with Yugoslavia and Rumania. The

remnants of the former Wrangel army are regarded by the Russian monarchists in Germany as the nucleus of a future great army to be used for the purpose of liberating Russia from the Bolsheviki.

To be sure, the monarchists are the most important and the most dangerous of the Russian colony abroad, as they are for the most part men trained in political and military affairs, determined men who know what they want and who will stop at nothing to carry out their intentions. The attempt on Miliukov, who was politically in their way, was carried out by these elements.

The Russian monarchists consider as their first task not only a systematic military preparation for a monarchist coup d'état in Soviet Russia, but also an immediate election of a new Tsar under whose name the entire propaganda among the Russian peasantry may then be conducted, as well as a military campaign begun. In Soviet Russia itself the Russian monarchists living abroad have a powerful support in the clergy, who, incensed by the recent requisition of ecclesiastical vessels for the benefit of the starving, have begun to carry on a powerful monarchist and anti-Semitic propaganda among the backward layers of the city and country population.

2. The group among the Russian émigrés that is most closely related with the monarchists is that of the so-called "Cadets", who are about equivalent to the former German National Liberal Party.* At the head of this group are liberal personages, professors, lawyers, etc., who were well known as such in the old Russia. While the Russian monarchists represent chiefly the class interests of the landed aristocracy, the feudal remnants of old Russia, the Cadets are a political expression of the Russian capitalist bourgeoisie, the industrialists, financiers and the upper layers of the *intelligentsia*.

The Cadets may be divided into two rather sharply distinguished groups:

The *group of the right*, which issues a Russian daily paper at Berlin, "*Rul*", published by the Ullstein house, and edited by the former editor-in-chief of the old Russian Cadet newspaper,

*The party of big business.—Ed.

"*Ryech*", J. Hessen, together with Professor Kamin-ka, and formerly also the now murdered Nabokov. This group favors the idea of constitutional monarchy. The *group of the left*, who advocate a democratic republic, and correspond approximately to the left wing of the German Democratic Party,† is comparatively weak in Berlin. These men are politically more astute than the Cadets of the right; their favorite political theme is the Russian peasantry, through whom they are hoping for the overthrow of the Bolsheviki in Russia, and to whom they are therefore promising for the future a number of concessions in the matter of property and land. The heads of the left Cadets are not in Berlin, however, but in Paris, where they are in rather close relations with the French Government. They are led by the well known politician Milyukov. They have a great deal of money, emanating from Russian national property. The influence of the Cadets, both abroad and, more particularly, in Russia itself, has been considerable of late.

3. The third center of the émigrés is formed by the so-called "Socialists", i. e., in the first place the well-known Social Revolutionaries headed by Chernov, Sukhomlin, Zenzinov, and others, and the not less well-known Mensheviki, headed by Martov, Abramovich and Dan. We need not say much about their activities, since these are reported daily in the columns of *Vorwaerts* and *Freiheit*.

While the Socialist-Revolutionists — an old Russian petty-bourgeois party calling itself socialist—are inclined more toward the Second International and the German Socialist Party, the Mensheviki are members of the 2½ International and good friends of Hilferding.* The Social-Revolutionists, as well as the Mensheviki, have no very great influence, either in Russia or abroad. While, on the one hand, the Mensheviki are particularly occupied in anti-Bolshevist agitation among the Russian workers, the Social-Revolutionists have chosen peasant insurrections as their specialty.

In addition to these two "parties" there is also a so-called "foreign delegation of the party of the Left Social-Revolutionists", characterized particularly by the fact, admitted by themselves, that they are inclined to favor simultaneously the 2½ International as well as the so-called "Fourth International" of the Communist Labor Party of Germany. We need not dwell any further on this party, which consists of about 10 or 20 anarchistically disposed intellectuals.

4. Recently more and more importance has been acquired by an entirely new group among the Russian émigrés calling themselves "Smyena Vyekh", and advocating a "break with the past" and a rapprochement with Soviet Russia. This group includes particularly the intellectuals and specialists among the émigrés, who were the worst enemies of the Soviet Republic only a year ago.

As a matter of fact these people are nothing more or less than the most nationalistic of the so-called "national Bolsheviki". They behold in the Soviet Government the only possible government in Russia which can restore the former prestige of the Russian nation. For this reason they call upon all the émigrés to cooperate most actively in the restoration of Russia, to conciliate with the Bolsheviki. There is no doubt of the honesty of this group; their chief quality, as above indicated, is an ardent nationalism, in pursuit of which they would honestly extend their hands even to the devil of Bolshevism. This group is important for Soviet Russia in that it may attain the assistance of many specialized talents that are absolutely necessary for Russia. At present they issue in Berlin a daily paper, *Nakanunye*.

What may be expected for the future from the Russian émigrés? Doubtless the *right* element, first of all the monarchists, will extend their activities. They will organize abroad a new army against Soviet Russia and they will attempt in Russia proper to support the clergy and the former Tsarists, effect a coup d'état, and establish a military dictatorship and a new Tsarist rule. In closest connection with the German reactionaries they will endeavor to secure another international monarchist front, whose chief headquarters will be in Bavaria, Hungary or Yugoslavia, and whose main task will be to combat Soviet Russia, to suppress the proletarian movement, and to prepare a monarchist restoration in other countries.

On the other hand we may expect that the *left* element of the Russian émigrés will sooner or later dissolve in one way or other under the influence of the work of reconstruction now going on in Soviet Russia. Particularly, it is certain that the numerous Russian specialists now living abroad will return to Russia in order there to work together with the Bolsheviki in the reconstruction of the country, in spite of the fact that they are politically in the opposition.

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†Corresponding to the "Progressives" or the "Group of 48" in America.—Ed.

*Leader of the German "Independents".—Ed.

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The front covers of this and the two preceding issues are by Sadi Amter.

* * *

TEMPORARILY, at least, the worst need in Russia is past. Nearly a year ago, the first indications of approaching crop failure began to pour in from regions in which the May and June rains had been totally absent. For nearly a year great masses of Russian peasants have lived in constant fear and danger, many have suffered the pangs of starvation or semi-starvation for months and months, and hundreds of thousands have actually perished of hunger and its consequences, after having been reduced to the eating of unheard-of foods, including in some cases the corpses of human beings. Present indications are that this stage of the famine is over, at least for the moment. But do not forget that there has been underfeeding and relative famine in Russia ever since the beginning of the Revolution, not to mention the underfeeding and frequent famines among the peasants, under the Tsar, even when crops were good—for most of the grain was taken away in the form of taxes and mortgages and exported for the profit of capitalists. The Russian people, even though the harvest for 1922 promises to be a good one, are likely to continue to suffer for many years, owing to the generally backward condition of the country, economically speaking, and to the fact that in spite of all their tremendous efforts in that direction, the Soviet authorities have not yet succeeded in bringing industrial development to the point where it would be possible to manufacture a sufficient number of agricultural implements for the entire rural population, or, for that matter, even to keep trains in sufficiently regular operation to enable them to deliver implements and seeds to the places that need them, if the implements and seeds were—what they are not—available.

It is for this reason that the Friends of Soviet

Russia are now concentrating on the Tool Drive, which has, moreover, the approval of the Soviet Government and is ardently endorsed by the Workers' Aid, Foreign Committee, with Headquarters at Berlin, and by all the affiliated bodies in all countries. Our work for the starving in Russia was not merely a sentimental philanthropic enterprise. We have never failed to point out that the workers of the world were sending food to Russia because Russia represents the only real accomplishment the working class can point to anywhere in the world. If our work had been merely humanitarian, it might now cease, as the kindly impulse of the benefactor ceases after he knows that the recipient of his alms has invested them in a cup of coffee and a bun. The desire to make the beggar a real man, independent of any need ever again to ask for charity, is completely absent from the mind of the generous giver. But we want the workers of Russia to be in a position where others may go to them for aid, where they will never again need to ask help for themselves. We are not content to know that for the present they are not to starve—in fact, we are not even certain of that, for the modicum of food that has gone to Russia cannot all be distributed everywhere, owing to poor railroad facilities, and that condition is due to bad technical equipment—but we are going to supply them with all the machinery they need to build up a great workers' industrial system: first of all with *tractors* and with the necessary tools and equipment to keep *tractors* in good repair. We shall show the Russian workers that we mean to stop their hunger, but also that we mean to make them truly free, which they cannot be without efficient instruments of production in their hands.

* * *

“BUT the Republic still found champions and defenders. Although it had no reason to put any faith in the fidelity of its functionaries, it could count on the devotion of the manual workers, to alleviate whose misery it had done nothing, and who, to defend it in the days of danger, issued forth in crowds from their barracks and dens and paraded interminably, displaying their wretched, grimy, and sinister appearance. They would all have died for the Republic, for the Republic had given them hope.” Anatole France did not write these words of the German Republic and the demonstrations by the workers in the streets of Berlin on July 4, 1922. They are taken from his *Penguin Island*, published in 1908, and reflect the author's impressions of the anti-Boulangist manifestations in Paris in 1884.

* * *

THE German workers marching through the streets of Berlin in a platonic manifestation in favor of the republic that gave them “hope”, recall another picture. It was exactly four years ago that the Russian protagonists of a Republic on the French-American model resorted to the same weapon as that employed at present by the German monarchists. After killing Uritsky and Volo-

darsky—two of the most devoted champions of the Petrograd workers, they finally made an almost successful attempt on the life of Lenin. But the Russian workers were made of ruder stuff than their civilized brothers of Germany. They did not protest peacefully—but treated their enemies to a dose of their own medicine. Several hundred accomplices of the murderers were lynched on the following day by the angry Petrograd workers. Truly, by doing so they gravely offended many a sensitive soul that would have retained its sympathy for the Soviet Republic if the latter had permitted itself to be slain, without staining its own hands with blood, but the Russian workers—eastern savages that they were, unfamiliar with the gospel of Leo Tolstoi and Romain Rolland—preferred a blood-stained survival to a “clean and honorable” death. And besides, they were fighting for more than a mere “hope” of freedom and welfare in the future: by the November Revolution their hopes had come close to becoming realities and they had no use for those who with the aid of assassins’ bullets and foreign invaders were going to feed them with “hopes” once more.

AS we go to press the cables report that in many German cities bands of workers led by “out-and-out Communists” have attacked the various fortresses of monarchist counter-revolution, with many casualties in their wake. Such things happened also two years ago, on the occasion of the monarchist KKapp coup—but the republican government, headed by “Socialists” of course, considered it to be its main duty at that time to drown in blood all the attempts of those “overzealous” defenders of the Republic. We should be very much surprised if the same thing should not happen again now. Sandwiched between two opposing forces, that of the counter-revolutionary monarchists whose bullets are killing one of their leaders after the other, and the civil war that might be started by unloosing the hitherto fettered energies of a hypnotized working class, a civil war that might deprive them of their status as a privileged class, the republican bourgeois—true and admirable martyrs of the capitalist principle—will rather lose their lives, or rather, the lives of their champions, than lose what is dearer than life itself—their property and riches. For after completely and radically downing the monarchist reaction it would be rather hard to stop the workers from continuing their struggle against all their other masters. The present attitude of the German progressive bourgeoisie reminds one almost of the attitude taken by the Jewish bourgeoisie, and especially its Zionist ideologists, headed by Dr. Pismanik, during the campaign of Denikin’s White Army in South Russia in 1919. Although Denikin’s men were murdering Jews wherever they found them, the Zionists nevertheless gave their preference to the “Whites”, for, although the “Whites” deprived them of their lives, the “Reds” did infinitely worse than that—they robbed them of their capital....

MR. A. J. SACK, the mouthpiece of Kerensky, Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, Bakhmetiev and Semionov, and editor of *Struggling Russia*, has finally closed his so-called “Russian Information Bureau”. The reason for the closing, as stated in his final declaration to the press, is that “every moment brings us nearer to the realization of the aim for which generations of the best representatives of the Russian people have fought and died.” This was really well said and it is a pity that Kaiser Wilhelm did not employ the versatile Mr. Sack as his press-agent, for Mr. Sack could have explained the withdrawal to Doorn by the fact that the Kaiser’s services were no longer necessary, as the glorious aims which the German imperialists had set themselves were not far from realization! Bakhmetiev really seems to have a good head for business. He has apparently not left much money with anyone in America.

THE following news article in *The New York Times* of July 6, by Walter Duranty, is “fit to print”:

It has been repeatedly said abroad that the peasants hate the Soviet Government, and would be glad to see it fall. This seems to have little basis. To begin with, the last thing they want is a renewal of turmoil or fighting of any kind. Second, they are utterly weary of politics and want to be left to cultivate the land undisturbed. Third, they are aware that after seven lean years there is hope of better times ahead.

“When the tooth stops aching it is better for the poor man than a gold piece,” is a proverb a peasant quoted to *The New York Times* correspondent the other day. Another saying which illustrates the present situation is, “Fleas never grow fat on a dog that is always scratching.”

One gets a strong impression that the Soviet hostility to the Church, which is being cited abroad as a reason why devout peasants should revolt, has not affected them to anything like such an extent. The peasant is a highly superstitious creature, but the vast number of mocking anecdotes about the Greek clergy show that in Russia, as in the Europe of Boccaccio or Rabelais, much of the apparent devoutness is due to habit or compulsion.

Just so as one hears about the devotion of peasants to the Tsar, sometimes one hears them grumble, “things were better in the time of Nicolai Romanov.”

But if one asks, do they want him and the landlords back again, they burst into a negative.

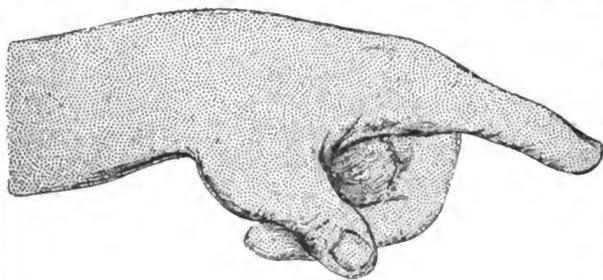
A factor of great importance in the peasant situation is the influence of the returned prisoners from Germany, who cannot number less than a million, and may be as many as 3,000,000. One such established in the neighborhood of Moscow said that he returned in 1919 penniless. Now he has three acres of good land, two cows, and a horse. He reckoned that he would get enough crop this season, after paying his taxes and retaining sufficient for himself, family and cattle, to buy an American plow. Then he would bring two brothers from the country and they would farm ten acres together.

He said that he learned in Germany how to farm, which he thought Russians didn’t know.

He had found that good implements paid the best. He had learned about fertilization, and could now read and write.

Such success will speedily bring imitation, especially as the Red Army through which the young peasants pass is abolishing illiteracy at a rapid rate.

In conclusion, the peasants cannot revolt if they wish, for the Communist organization is much too strong. But it is the general opinion among foreign investigators, and even the non-communist Russians, that they do not want to.

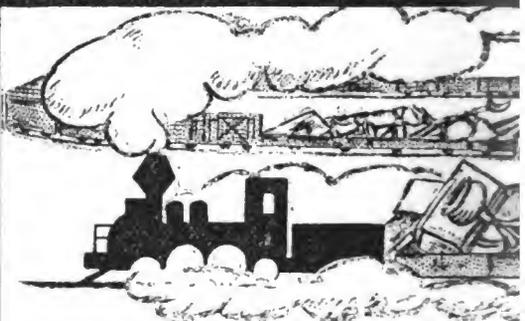


1 Есть ли золото, чтоб хлеб привезть? золото есть!

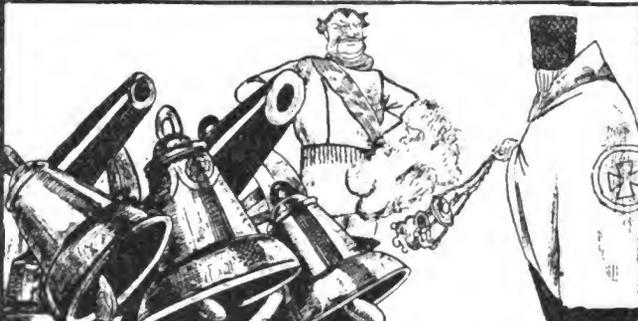
ГРАЖДАНЕ! ПОЙМ
ГОЛОД ДОШЕЛ ДО УЖА
Хлеба нет. Надо на золото
Мы нищи. А в церквях и собо
христиане, а звери те, кто скажут ту



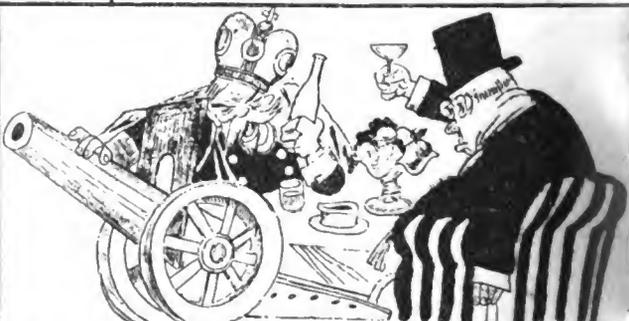
3 Это в одном соборе, а сколько их? в России 4 лавры, 800 монастырей и 60.000 храмов и соборных, и приходских, и домовых.



4 Если все золото соберем и погрузим



5 Цари не раз обирали церкв: Петр I чтоб орудия иметь—переплавил в пушки колокольную медь. Андрей Боголюбского рать походом на Киев ходила: все храмы разграбила и ризы взяла, и ланикадила, и ничего, кроме славы, не слышали цари от поповской оравы.

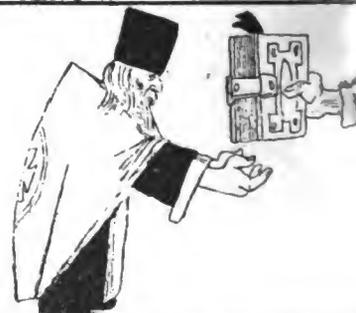


7 Раньше золото брали, чтоб людей убивать, чтоб цари пили и ели, так неужели ж нельзя на голодных брать: всем пожертвовать надо для этой великой цели!



10 Не большевики на изъятие решились. Смотрите об этом вот молят голодающий волжский народ: «Мы просим от имени стонущего в муках голодного народа отдать на борьбу с голодом все то золото, бриллианты, другую церковную утварь, которая не требуется в богослужении, а служит роскошью в церквях».

Словами Владимирских крестьян.

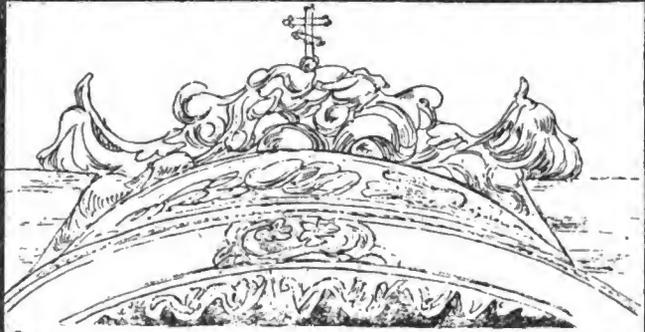


11 Каждый рабочий знает, каждый крестьянин помещик золотом отделявал иконостасы, для заставляли работать нас.

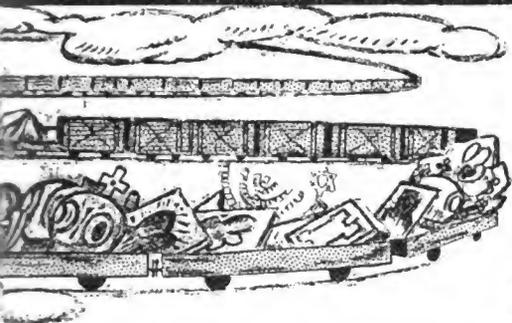
Citizens! Just get this! The famine has become frightful. There is no bread. It has to be gotten from abroad for gold. We are beggars. And in the churches and cathedrals there are plenty of jewels. Not Christians, but beasts are those who say now "we won't give gold—let them die." (1) Is there any gold to buy grain? There is! (2) For instance, in the Troitsky Cathedral there is a tabernacle containing 4 pounds of gold and 6 pounds of silver—an entire village could be fed every day on the cost of it. (3) This is the case in one cathedral, and how many such are there? In Russia there are 4 great monasteries, 800 monasteries and 60,000 churches of all kinds. (4) If we should gather all the gold and load it on

cars, it would make a train seven versts long. (5) If this gold were given for bread, we should have enough bread for two years. And if we should buy drought-proof seeds, we should have enough for all Russia for 10 years. There would be enough grain for seed and food; we should buy 1000 tractors besides, and build 1500 farm schools. (6) The Tsars more than once robbed the churches: To get cannons, Peter I had the copper bells melted down. The troops of Andrei Bogolyubsky marched on Kiev, pillaged all the churches, took the sacerdotal vestments and the priests had nothing but praise for the Tsar for this action. (7) Formerly they took gold in order to kill people, that the Tsars might drink and eat; then

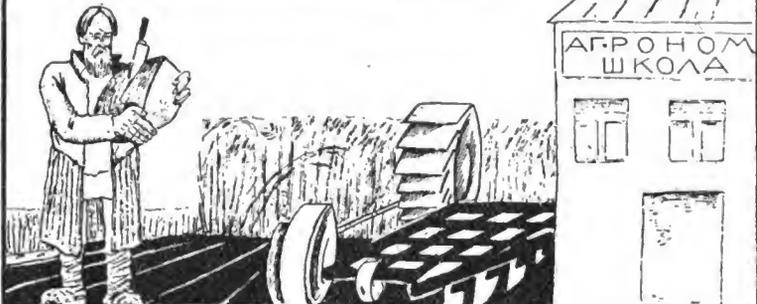
**ИТИТЕ ЖЕ, НАКОНЕЦ,
СА. НАДО ДАТЬ ЕСТЬ,
его из-за границы привезть.
орах—драгоценностей ворох. Не
т—„не дадим золота—пусть мрут“.**



Например, в Троицком соборе есть „сень“ фунта 4 золота да серебра пудов шесть—целое село каждый день могло б на сень на эту есть.



семиверстный поезд наполнится им.



Если б золото было за хлеб отдано—на голодающих хватило б на два года нам. А если б купили засухоустойчивые семена—на 10 лет для всей России хватило б нам. Хлеба хватило б и для сева, и для пищи еще б и тракторов 1000 приобрели и агрономических школ открыли б полторы тысячи.



Мы берем ненужное золото, берем для голодных—никто сказать не смеет, что это вот—против веры христианской идет. В пещерах бедняками жили основатели веры вашей. Сергей Радонежский служил в холщевой ризе, причащал из деревянной чашки.



Честные поняли, не до разговоров тут: в селе Давыдовке, Мели-топольского уезда, собрались, решили и все драгоценности сдают.



ни знает, если купцы жертвовали чаши, если этого грабились прадеды наши. для этого



12. Теперь народ в нужде народ по праву может взять из храма и ризу и оправу. Мы берем бесполезное богатство, мы голодным нищим дадим хлеб. Это не „кощунство, а исполнение Христова завета

why should not we take for the starving? Everybody must sacrifice for this high purpose! (8) We are taking the unnecessary gold, we are taking it for the starving—nobody dares say that this is against the Christian faith. The founders of your faith lived as poor men in caves. Sergey Radonezhsky officiated in a linen vestment and gave communion in a wooden chalice. (9) The honest ones have realized that this is no time for arguing. In the village of Davidovka, county of Melitopol, they came together, decided, and gave up all valuables. (10) It was not the Bolshéviki who decided on the seizures. It is the starving Volga population that beg it. "We in the name of the starving, languishing in torture, we beg you to deliver, for the struggle with famine, all the gold, diamonds and other church vessels which are not indispensable to the services, but are mere church luxuries" (*The Tears of the Simbirsk Peasants*). (11) Every worker and peasant knows that if the rich merchants donated chalices, if the big landholder adorned the iconostasis with gold—for that purpose our forefathers were robbed—for that purpose they forced us to slave. (12) For the starving. Today the people are in need and have a right to take sacerdotal vestments and vessels from the churches. We are taking the useless treasures, we will give bread to the starving. This is not a sacrilege, but the execution of Christ's command.

Saint, Martyr and Terrorist

By STEPNIAK

Of the three figures presented in the present instalment of Stepniak's "Underground Russia"—Vera Zassulich the Terrorist, alone survived the epoch described in this series. After fleeing from Russia in 1878 she became one of the founders of the Marxian group "Emancipation of Labor" and took a prominent part in the Russian Social Democratic movement. Although she did not approve of the November Revolution, she remained in Russia and died there in 1919.

DEMETRIUS LISSOGUB, THE SAINT

I.

IN December of the year 1876 I was present one day at one of those "Students' meetings", as they are called; one of the best means of propaganda among the young, and very characteristic of Russian life. It need scarcely be said that they are rigorously prohibited. But such is the abyss that separates society from the Government, that they are held, and were always held, in the worst periods of the White Terror. Sometimes they are very large meetings, almost public, and extremely stormy.

The danger by which they are surrounded communicates to them a special attraction for the young, giving to the discussions that passionate character which contributes so much to transform an idea into a war-like weapon.

The meeting of which I speak, however, was not a large one, and was very quiet. It was occupied with a project so frequently brought forward and so frequently ending in nothing, for uniting in a single organization all the secret circles established among the young. The thing being evidently impracticable, owing to the great variety of those circles, the project might be regarded as still-born. Even the promoters of the meeting seemed half convinced of this. The discussion therefore dragged on wearily, and had no interest.

Among the few persons present, there was, however, one who succeeded in arousing the general attention, whenever during the languishing discussion he made some little observation, always spirited and slightly whimsical. He was tall, pale, and somewhat slim. He wore a long beard, which gave him an apostolic appearance. He was not handsome. It is impossible to imagine, however, anything more pleasant than the expression of his large blue eyes, shaded by long eyebrows, or anything more attractive than his smile, which had something infantile about it. His voice, somewhat slow in utterance and always pitched in the same key, soothed the ear, like the low notes of a song. It was not a musical voice, but it had the power of penetrating into the very heart, so sympathetic was it.

He was very poorly clad. Although the Russian winter was raging, he wore a linen jacket with large wooden buttons, which from much wear and tear seemed a mere rag. A worn-out black cloth waistcoat* covered his chest to the throat. His trousers, very light in color, could be seen under-

neath the black line of his waistcoat every time he rose to say a word or two.

When the meeting broke up and those attending it went away, not all at once, but in groups of three or four persons, as is always the case in Russia upon similar occasions, I left with my friend together with this stranger. I observed that he had only a thin jacket, an old red comforter, and a leather cap. He did not even wear the traditional "plaid" of the Nihilists, although the temperature was at least twenty degrees below zero.

After bowing to my friend, whom he evidently was slightly acquainted with, the stranger went on his way, almost running, to warm himself a little, and in a few moments disappeared in the distance.

"Who is he?" I asked my friend.

"He is Demetrius Lissogub," was the reply.

"Lissogub, of Chernigov?"

"Precisely."

Involuntarily I looked in the direction in which this man had disappeared, as though I could still discern traces of him.

This Lissogub was a millionaire. He had a very large estate in one of the best provinces of Russia, and houses and forests; but he lived in greater poverty than the humblest of his dependents, he devoted all his money to the cause.

II.

Two years afterwards we met again in St. Petersburg as members of the same revolutionary organization. Men know each other as thoroughly in such organizations as in the intimacy of family life.

I will not say that Demetrius Lissogub was the purest, the most ideal man whom I have ever known, for that would be to say too little of him. I will say that in all our party there was not, and could not be, a man to compare with him in ideal beauty of character.

The complete sacrifice of all his immense wealth was in him the least of his merits. Many have done the same in our party, but another Demetrius Lissogub is not to be found in it.

Under an aspect tranquil and placid as an unclouded sky, he concealed a mind full of fire, of enthusiasm, of ardor. His convictions were his religion, and he devoted to them, not only all his life, but what is much more difficult, all his thoughts. He had no other thought than that of serving his cause. He had no family. Love did not disturb him. His parsimony was carried to such an extreme, that friends were obliged to interfere in order to prevent him from falling ill

*The Russian *rubashka* (shirt) is meant.

from excessive privation. To every remonstrance he replied, as if he foresaw his premature end:

"Mine will not be a long life."

And in truth it was not.

His determination not to spend a single farthing of the money with which he could serve the cause, was such, that he never indulged in an omnibus, to say nothing of a cab, which costs so little with us that every workman takes one on Sunday.

I remember that one day he showed us two articles, forming part of his dress suit, which he wore when, owing to his position, he was compelled to pay a visit to the Governor of Chernigov, or to one of the heads of the Superior Police. They were a pair of gloves and an opera hat. The gloves were of a very delicate ash color, and seemed just purchased. He, however, told us that he had already had them for three years, and smilingly explained to us the little artifices he adopted to keep them always new. The hat was a much more serious matter, for its spring had been broken a whole year, and he put off the expense of purchasing a new one from day to day, because he always found that he could employ his money better. Meanwhile, to keep up his dignity, he entered the drawing-room holding his opera-hat under his arm, his eternal leather cap, which he wore summer and winter alike, being in his pocket. When he passed in to the street, he advanced a few steps with his head uncovered, as though he had to smooth his disarranged hair, until, being assured that he was not observed, he drew the famous cap from his pocket.

This money, however, that he endeavored to save with the jealous care of a Harpagon, was his determined enemy, his eternal torment, his curse: for, with his impassioned disposition and with his heart so prone to sacrifice, he suffered immensely from being compelled to remain with his arms folded, a mere spectator of the struggle and of the martyrdom of his best friends.

Subjected to a rigorous surveillance, having been denounced for participation in the Revolutionary movement by his relations, who hoped, if he were condemned, to inherit his fortune, he could do nothing, for at the first step, his property would have been taken away from him, and his party would thereby have been deprived of such indispensable assistance. Thus his fortune was, to him, like the cannon-ball attached to the leg of a galley slave; it hindered him from moving about.

His involuntary inaction was not only an annoyance, a cruel vexation, as it could not fail to be to a man who united in himself the ardor of a warrior with that of a prophet, it was also a source of profound moral suffering. With the modesty of a great mind, he attributed to himself not the slightest merit for what seemed to him the most natural thing in the world,—the renunciation of his wealth, and his life of privation.

Merciless towards himself, as a cruel judge who will not hear reason, and refuses to consider anything but the crime pure and simple, he regarded his inactivity, which was only an act of the highest

abnegation, as a disgrace. Yet this man, who at the sacrifice of his own aspirations, sustained for a year and a half almost the whole Russian revolutionary movement; this man, who by his moral qualities inspired unbounded admiration among all who knew him; who, by his mere presence, conferred distinction on the party to which he belonged; this man regarded himself as the humblest of the very humble.

Hence arose his profound melancholy, which never left him, and showed itself in his every word, notwithstanding the sorrowfully whimsical tone he was accustomed to adopt, in order to conceal it.

Thus, resigned and sad, he bore his cross, which sometimes crushed him beneath its weight, throughout his whole life, without ever rebelling against his cruel lot.

He was a most unhappy man.

He was arrested at Odessa in the autumn of the year 1878, on the accusation of his steward, Drigo, who was a friend, but who betrayed him because the Government promised to give him what still remained of the patrimony of Lissogub,—about twenty thousand dollars.

Although a veritable White Terror was prevailing at that time, and in Odessa, where he was to be tried, the hero of Sebastopol, and of Plevna, the infamous ruffian, Count Todleben, ruled with the utmost bestiality, no one expected a severer punishment of Lissogub than transportation to Siberia, or perhaps some few years of hard labor; for nothing else was laid to his charge than that of having spent his own money, no one knew how. The evidence of Drigo, however, left no doubt upon the very tender conscience of the military tribunal.

Amid universal consternation, Demetrius Lissogub was condemned to death. Eye-witnesses state that, after hearing his sentence, his jaw fell, so great was his astonishment.

He scornfully refused the proposal made to him to save his life by petitioning for pardon.

On August 8, 1879, he was taken to the scaffold in the hangman's cart, with two companions, Chubarov and Davidenko.

Those who saw him pass say that not only was he calm and peaceful, but that his pleasant smile played upon his lips when he addressed cheering words to his companions. At last he could satisfy his ardent desire to sacrifice himself for his cause. It was perhaps the happiest moment of his unhappy life.

Stefanovich was the Organizer; Clemens the Thinker; Ossinsky the Warrior; Kropotkin the Agitator.

Demetrius Lissogub was the Saint.

* * *

JESSY HELFMAN, THE HUMBLE MARTYR

There are unknown heroines, obscure toilers, who offer up everything upon the altar of their cause, without asking anything for themselves. They assume the most ungrateful parts; sacrifice themselves for the merest trifles; for lending their

names to the correspondence of others; for sheltering a man, often unknown to them; for delivering a parcel without knowing what it contains. Poets do not dedicate verses to them; history will not inscribe their names upon its records; a grateful posterity will not remember them. Without their labor, however, the party could not exist; every struggle would become impossible.

Yet the wave of history carries away one of these toilers from the obscure concealment in which she expected to pass her life, and bears her on high upon its sparkling crest, to a universal celebrity. Then all regard this countenance, which is so modest, and discern in it the indications of a force of mind, of an abnegation, of a courage, which excite astonishment among the boldest.

Such is precisely the story of Jessy Helfman.

I did not know her personally. If I deviate, however, in this case from my plan of speaking only of those whom I know personally, I do not do so because of the fame which her name had gained, but because of her moral qualities, to which her celebrity justifies allusion. I am sure the reader will be grateful to me for this, as her simple and sympathetic figure characterizes the party which I am depicting, better perhaps than an example of exceptional power; just as a modest wildflower gives a better idea of the flora of a country, than a wonderful and rare plant.

Jessy Helfman belonged to a Jewish family, fanatically devoted to their religion, a type unknown in countries where religious persecution has ceased, but which is very common in Russia. Her family regarded as an abomination everything derived from the gentiles, especially their science, which teaches its disciples to despise the religion of their fathers. Jessy, excited by the new idea, and unable to bear this yoke, fled from her parents' house, taking with her, as her sole inheritance, the malediction of these fanatical believers, who would willingly have seen her in her coffin rather than fraternizing with the "goi". The girl proceeded to Kiev, where she worked as a seamstress.

The year 1874 came. The Revolutionary movement spread everywhere, and reached even the young Jewish seamstress.

She made the acquaintance of some of the women who had returned from Zurich, and who afterwards figured in the trial of the *fifty*, and they induced her to join that movement. Her part, however, was a very modest one. She lent her address for the Revolutionary correspondence. When, however, the conspiracy was discovered, this horrible "crime" subjected her to two years, neither more nor less, of imprisonment, and a sentence of two more years' detention at Litovsk. Shut up with four or five women, confined for participation in the same movement, Jessy for the first time was really initiated into the principles of Socialism, and surrendered herself to them body and soul. She was, however, unable to put her ideas into practice, for, after having undergone her punishment, instead of being set at liberty she was by order of the police interned in one of the

northern provinces, and remained there until the autumn of the year 1879, when, profiting by the carelessness of her guardians, she escaped and went to St. Petersburg. Here, full of enthusiasm, which increased in her all the more from having been so long restrained, she threw herself ardently into the struggle, eager to satisfy that intense craving to labor for the cause which became in her a passion.

Always energetic, and always cheerful, she was content with little, if she could but labor for the benefit of the cause. She did everything: letter-carrier, messenger, sentinel; often her work was so heavy that it exhausted even her strength, although she was a woman belonging to the working classes. How often did she return home, late at night, worn out, and at the end of her strength, having for fourteen hours walked about all over the capital, throwing letters into various places and corners with the proclamations of the Executive Committee. But on the following day she rose and recommenced her work.

She was always ready to render every service to any one who needed it, without thinking of the trouble it might cost her. She never gave a single thought to herself. To give an idea of the moral force and boundless devotion of this simple, uneducated woman, it will suffice to relate the story of the last few months of her revolutionary activity. Her husband, Nicholas Kolotkevich, one of the best known and most esteemed members of the Terrorist party, was arrested in the month of February. A capital sentence hung over his head. But she remained in the ranks of the combatants, keeping her anguish to herself. Although four months pregnant, she undertook the terrible duty of acting as the mistress of the house where the bombs of Kibalchich* were manufactured, and remained there all the time, until, a week after March 13, she was again arrested.

On the day of her sentence she stood cheerful and smiling before the tribunal which was to send her to the scaffold. She had, however, a sentence more horrible, that of waiting four months for her punishment. This moral torture she bore during the never-ending months without a moment of weakness, for the Government, not caring to arouse the indignation of Europe by hanging her, endeavored to profit by her position to extract some revelations from her. It prolonged, therefore, her moral torture until her life might have been endangered, and did not commute her sentence until some weeks before her confinement.

* * *

VERA ZASSULICH, THE FIRST TERRORIST†

In the whole range of history it would be difficult and perhaps impossible to find a name which at a bound has risen into such universal and undisputed celebrity.

*Chemist who prepared the bombs with which the Tsar, Alexander II, was killed.

†By shooting at the Police Prefect Trepov (1878) who had ordered the whipping of an imprisoned student—unknown to her—Vera Zassulich had inaugurated the terroristic epoch of the revolutionary struggle.

Absolutely unknown the day before, that name was for months in every mouth, inflaming the generous hearts of the two worlds, and it became a kind of synonym of heroism and sacrifice. The person, however, who was the object of this enthusiasm obstinately shunned fame. She avoided all ovations, and, although it was very soon known that she was already living abroad, where she could openly show herself without any danger, she remained hidden in the crowd, and would never break through her privacy.

In the absence of correct information imagination entered the field. Who was this dazzling and mysterious being? Her numerous admirers asked each other. And every one painted her according to his fancy.

People of gentle and sentimental dispositions pictured her as a poetical young girl, sweet, ecstatic as a Christian martyr, all abnegation, all love.

Those who rather leaned towards Radicalism pictured her as a Nemesis of modern days, with a revolver in one hand, the red flag in the other, and emphatic expression in her mouth; terrible and haughty—the Revolution personified.

Both were profoundly mistakent.

Zassulich has nothing about her of the heroine of a pseudo-Radical tragedy, nor of the ethereal and ecstatic young girl.

She is a strong, robust woman, and, although of middle height, seems at first sight to be tall. She is not beautiful. Her eyes are very fine, large, well-shaped, with long lashes, and of gray color, which become dark when she is excited. Ordinarily thoughtful and somewhat sad, these eyes shine forth brilliantly when she is enthusiastic, which not infrequently happens, or sparkle when she jests, which happens very often. The slightest change of mind is reflected in the expressive eyes. The rest of her face is very commonplace. Her nose somewhat long, thin lips, large head, adorned with almost black hair.

She is very negligent with regard to her appearance. She gives no thought to it whatever. She has not the slightest trace of the desire, which almost every woman has, of displaying her beauty. She is too abstracted, too deeply immersed in her thoughts, to give heed continuously to things which interest her so little.

There is one thing, however, which corresponds even less than her exterior with the idea of an ethereal young girl; it is her voice. At first she speaks like most people. But this preliminary stage continues a very short time. No sooner do her words become animated, than she raises her voice, and speaks as loud as though she were addressing some one half-deaf, or at least a hundred yards distant. Notwithstanding every effort, she cannot break herself of this habit. She is so abstracted that she immediately forgets the banter of her friends, and her own determination to speak like the rest of the world in order to avoid observation. In the street, directly some interesting subject is touched upon, she immediately begins to exclaim, accompanying her words with her favorite and

invariable gesture, cleaving the air energetically with her right hand, as though with a sword.

Under this aspect, so simple, rough, and unpoetical, she conceals, however, a mind full of the highest poetry, profound and powerful, full of indignation and love.

She is incapable of the spontaneous friendship of young and inexperienced minds. She proceeds cautiously, never advancing to supply with imagination the deficiencies of positive observation. She has but few friends, almost all belonging to her former connections; but in them is her world, separated from every one else by a barrier almost insurmountable.

She lives much within herself. She is very subject to the special malady of the Russians, that of probing her own mind, sounding its depths, pitilessly dissecting it, searching for defects, often imaginary, and always exaggerated.

Hence those gloomy moods which from time to time assail her, like King Saul, and subjugate her for days and days, nothing being able to drive them away. At these times she becomes abstracted, shuns all society, and for hours together paces her room, completely buried in thought, or flies from the house to seek relief where alone she can find it, in Nature, eternal, impassible, and imposing, which she loves and interprets with the profound feeling of a truly poetical mind. All night long, often until sunrise, she wanders alone among the wild mountains of Switzerland, or rambles on the banks of its immense lakes.

She has that sublime craving, the source of great deeds, which in her is the result of an extreme idealism, the basis of her character. Her devotion to the cause of Socialism, which she espoused while a mere girl, assumed the shape in her mind of fixed ideas upon her own duties, so elevated that no human force could satisfy them. Everything seems small to her. One of her friends, X. the painter of whom I spoke just now* who had known Zassulich for ten years, and was a very intelligent and clever woman, seeing her only a few weeks after her acquittal, a prey to these gloomy humors, used to say:

"Vera would like to shoot Trepovs every day, or at least once a week. And, as this cannot be done, she frets."

Thereupon X. tried to prove to Zassulich that we cannot sacrifice ourselves every Sunday as our Lord is sacrificed; that we must be contented, and do as others do.

Vera did so, but she was not cured. Her feelings had nothing in common with those of the ambitious who want to soar above others. Not only before, but even after her name had become so celebrated, that is, during her last journey in Russia, she undertook the most humble and most ordinary posts; that of compositor in a printing office, of landlady, of housemaid, etc.

She filled all these with unexceptionable care

*In "Revolutionary Portraits", SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. VI, p. 332.

and diligence; but this did not bring peace to her heart.

I remember that one day, relating to me how she felt when she received from the President of the Court the announcement of her acquittal, she said that it was not joy she experienced, but extreme astonishment, immediately followed by a feeling of sadness.

"I could not explain this feeling then," she added, "but I have understood it since. Had I been convicted, I should have been prevented by main force from doing anything, and should have been tranquil, and the thought of having done all I was able to do for the cause would have been a consolation to me." This little remark, which has remained as though engraven upon my memory, illustrates her character better than pages of comments.

A unique modesty is only another form of this extreme idealism. It may be called the sign of a lofty mind to which heroism is natural and logical, and appears, therefore, in a form divinely simple.

In the midst of universal enthusiasm and true adoration, Vera Zassulich preserved all the simplicity of manner, all the purity of mind, which distinguished her before her name became surrounded by the aureole of an immortal glory. That glory, which would have turned the head of the strongest stoic, left her so phlegmatic and indifferent, that the fact would be absolutely incredible, were it not attested by all who have approached her, if only for a moment.

This fact, unique perhaps in the history of the human heart, of itself suffices to show the depth of her character, which is entirely self-sustained, and neither needs nor is able to derive any inspiration or impulse from external sources.

Having accomplished her great deed from profound moral conviction, without the least shadow of ambition, Zassulich held completely aloof from every manifestation of the sentiments which that deed aroused in others. This is why she has always obstinately avoided showing herself in public.

This reserve is no mere girlish restraint. It is a noble moral modesty, which forbids her to receive the homage of admiration for what, in the supreme elevation of her ideal conceptions, she refuses to consider as an act of heroism. Thus this same Vera, who is so fond of society, who is fond of talking, who never fails to enter into the most ardent discussion with any one who appears to her to be in the wrong; this Vera no sooner enters any assembly whatever, where she knows she is being regarded as Vera Zassulich, than she immediately undergoes a change. She becomes timid and bashful as a girl who had just left school. Even her voice, instead of deafening the ear, undergoes a marvelous transformation; it becomes sweet, delicate, and gentle, in fact an "angelic" voice, as her friends jestingly say.

But that voice of hers is rarely heard, for in public gatherings Vera ordinarily remains as silent

as the grave. She must have a question much at heart, to rise and say a few words about it.

To appreciate her originality of mind and her charming conversation, she must be seen at home, among friends. There alone does she give full scope to her vivacious and playful spirit. Her conversation is original, exuberant, diversified, combining racy humor with a certain youthful candor. Some of her remarks are true gems, not like those seen in the windows of the jewellers, but like those which prolific Nature spontaneously scatters in her lap.

The characteristic feature of her mind is originality. Endowed with a force of reasoning of the highest order, Zassulich has cultivated it by earnest and diversified studies during the long years of her exile in various towns in Russia. She has the faculty, which is so rare, of always thinking for herself, both in great things and in small. She is incapable by nature of following the beaten tracks, simply because they are the tracks of many. She verifies, she criticises everything, accepting nothing without a serious and minute examination. She thus gives her own impression even to the tritest things, which ordinarily are admitted and repeated by everybody without a thought, and this imparts to her arguments and to her ideas a charming freshness and vivacity.

This originality and independence of thought, united with her general moral character, produce another peculiarity, perhaps the most estimable of this very fine type. I speak of that almost infallible moral instinct which is peculiar to her, of that faculty of discernment in the most perplexing and subtle questions, of good and evil, of the permitted and the forbidden, which she possesses, without being able, sometimes, to give a positive reason for her opinion. This instinct she admirably evinced in her conduct before the court on the day of her memorable trial, to which, in great part, its unexpected result is to be attributed, and in many internal questions.

Her advice and opinions, even when she does not state her reasons, are always worthy of the highest consideration, because they are very rarely wrong.

Thus Zassulich has everything to make her what might be called the conscience of a circle, of an organization, of a party; but great as is her moral influence, Zassulich cannot be considered as a model of political influence. She is too much concentrated in herself to influence others. She does not give advice, unless she is expressly asked to give it. She does not, on her own initiative, interfere with the affairs of others, in order to have them arranged in her own manner, as an organizer or an agitator endeavors to do. She does her duty as her conscience prescribes, without endeavoring to lead others by her example.

Her very idealism, so noble and so prolific, which makes her always eager for great deeds, renders her incapable of devoting herself with all her heart to the mean and petty details of daily labor.

She is a woman for great decisions and for great occasions.

Another woman presents to us the example of an indefatigable and powerful combatant, whose imposing form I will endeavor, full of fear and

doubt of my capacity, to delineate in the following article.*

*The next article in this series will be on Sophia Perovskaya, who organized the successful attempt on the life of Tsar Alexander II in 1881.

The Metal Workers and the New Policy

By W. DEMAR

I. *The New Task of the Russian Trade Unions*

THE new economic policy established by the Soviet Government in the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Republic has for some time been a subject of interest and discussion among the Western European proletariat. The new tack is a temporary retreat. But not every retreat may be considered a flight. The new economic policy of the Soviet power is an organized deflection, a temporary concession to the bourgeoisie of the world, whose forces were not sufficient for the task of shattering the Soviet Republic, but are nevertheless able to continue for a while the existence of capitalism, and by this fact alone to inflict considerable damage on the working class and on Soviet Russia.

The Soviet power, headed by the Communist Party, in the execution of this new policy is in a position to take all necessary measures in order to reduce to a minimum any possible evil influence of the consequences of the new policy on the economic life of the working class. For this reason the trade union organizations, as soon as the new policy made its appearance, and without limiting themselves to the existing Soviet legislation (Code of Labor Laws, etc.), undertook certain entirely concrete innovations, intended for the so-called transition period; in their theoretical and practical program. Communists differ from the Social-Democratic bureaucrats of the western trade union movement in the fact that they never propose to the proletariat any immutably rigid forms of organization, but always attempt to adapt the organizations of the working class to the concrete conditions of the epoch in question.

But the trade union organizations are now faced not only by these tasks alone. We must admit that the economic Soviet organs are not yet free from defects, in fact they could not be so. Particularly under the circumstances of the "free play of economic forces," under the conditions of the competitive struggle, the negative side of our working organs must frequently come to light. For this reason the trade union organizations must be opposed not only to private capital, but must also in specific cases bring their forces to bear on the national administration. But (since the Russian trade union organizations are based on the foundation of the Soviet system, it will be much easier for them to eliminate the evil consequences of capitalism than it will be for the Amsterdammers* to resist the capitalist offensive, for the Amsterdammers are putting their hopes on capitalist reconstruction.

II. *Organizational Measures.*

In order to do their best with the new tasks, our trade union organizations have carried out two fundamental alterations in organization: 1) they have adopted the principle of voluntary membership; 2) they are re-organizing the trade union mechanism. During the past years of the Revolution, membership was obligatory for all workers and employees engaged in production; at present, however, we are returning to voluntary membership, since this method is better adapted under the present circumstances to elevating the activities of the working masses and bringing life into the trade union work. As for the reorganization of the trade union apparatus, this was attempted first by the All-Russian Metal Workers Union, whose projects, as elaborated by its Central Committee and approved by the All-Russian Metal Workers' Congress (March 1-15, 1922), have already been carried out in practice by the newly appointed Central Committee. In introducing the new and simplified mechanism of the Central Committee, the main object was to select a trained instructing force and to reduce the total number of trade union officials by 50 per cent.

III. *Relations to Private Owners and to the Wage Policy*

Whenever a private manufacturer acts in violation of the legal provisions for workers' protection, or does not pay the minimum wage provided by the state, the union summons him before a judge. Whenever a private capitalist fails to observe the collective agreements concluded between him and the trade union, the trade union will actively intervene, going even as far as to call a strike, if no adjustment has been secured by the committee on regulations.

The union gives its attention not only to the regulation of wages, as dictated by the continued devaluation of money, but also to the concluding of collective contracts, both with private capitalists and with state economic organizations. As long as the industry of the republic was centralized in sufficient measure the national wage fund (money and supplies) was distributed according to a definite plan and with the cooperation of the union administrations. At present, however, now that many nationalized enterprises have been deprived of their regular national rationing, and also owing to the fact that the industrial management has been largely decentralized, the questions connected

*The so-called "Yellow" Trade Union International.

with the determination of wages for work, and the methods of pay, have become somewhat more complicated.

The organization for distributing the wage fund under the new circumstances becomes an institution that decrees a national minimum wage. The trade union, however, tries by concluding wage agreements and collective contracts to adjust the wages policy, considering in each case the material resources of this national enterprise or that, or of a whole group of such (national trusts), and also the market conditions of the district in question.

IV. General Observations

One of the most important tasks of the new organization under present circumstances is that

of protection of labor. In this matter the local sections of the organization are developing an energetic activity, particularly with the object of preventing any violation of the existing laws by the private proprietors.

It is not possible at present to support the above statement with actual figures, as the new registration of trade union members under the principle of voluntary membership is only beginning. But the provisional results of the new listings permit us to judge that the number of members in the trade unions is not decreasing owing to the transition from obligatory to voluntary membership and that the union will presumably retain its present membership of half a million organized metal workers.

An Open Letter of A. Tolstoi to Nikolai Chaikovsky

Correspondence between the Russian writer Alexei Tolstoi and N. Chaikovsky, of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary fame.

DEAR Count Alexei Nikolaievich Tolstoi:

I am writing this letter to you by order of the Executive Bureau of the Committee for Aid to Russian Writers and Scholars in France. In this letter I beg to ask you, as a member of the committee, to explain to us how we are to understand your contributions to the newspaper *Nakanunye*, which, as is generally known, is being published with Bolshevist money, and which has apparently set itself the task of fighting against the Russian refugees to whom all the members of the Committee, including you and myself, belong. You are well aware, of course, that the Committee for Aid to Russian Writers and Scholars according to its by-laws has as its aim "to help the victims of the events in Russia", that is, of Bolshevist terror. Is the attitude which you are taking at present to be understood in the sense that you are going over to the banner of that usurping power to which all the sufferings and humiliations and misery of those victims of the terror in Russia are due?

NIKOLAI V. CHAIKOVSKY.

II.

Dear Nikolai Vassilievich:

I am addressing you as the chairman of the Committee for Aid for the Writers, which has asked me to explain my collaboration with *Nakanunye*. I am most anxious to give you this explanation.

In your letter the question of why I joined this movement is directly connected with an almost prejudged indictment of myself. Therefore I must first answer the indictment itself, and then I shall answer you.

The newspaper *Nakanunye* which, "as is generally known, is published with Bolshevist money" is in reality published with the money of a private person who has absolutely no connection whatever with the present Russian Government. *Nakanunye* is an independent newspaper. The editorial staff consists of members of the group "Smyena Vyekh" (*The Change of Landmarks*). The contributors are recruited from those who are in general sym-

pathetic to that current. The basic condition of my collaboration with this paper was the fact that *Nakanunye* is not an official paper. Furthermore, the task of the paper *Nakanunye* is not, as you write, the struggle against the Russian refugees, but the struggle for the Russian state. If, in the course of this struggle, a fight against this or that political party within the camp of the émigrés should take place, this struggle should not be considered as the aim of the newspaper, but as the tactics which are applied in the course of its political struggle.

As a contributor to that paper, who took up this work on the basis of the greatest possible independence, I did not engage in any political struggle, for I consider that a writer who exploits his real occupation, that of artistic creation, in the service of political struggles, is acting improperly and thus does harm to himself as well as to his cause.

Now allow me to explain to you the reasons which have induced me to become a contributor to a paper which has set itself the task of strengthening the Russian State, of reviving the economic life in disorganized Russia, and of re-establishing Russia's status as a great power. In the present existing Bolshevist Government the newspaper *Nakanunye* sees the real and only power that at present is defending the Russian frontiers from the attacks of her neighbors, which maintains the unity of the Russian State, and which at the Genoa Conference is the only one to defend Russia from possible enslavement and spoliation by other countries.

I am one of the representatives of the typical Russian émigré, that is, of a man who went through the whole sad history of sufferings during the epoch of the great struggle between the Whites and the Reds, at which time I was on the side of the Whites. I had a physical revulsion for the Reds. I considered them the destroyers of the Russian State, the cause of all its miseries. During

those years, two of my brothers perished. One of them was killed in action, the other died of his wounds. Two of my uncles were executed, eight of my relatives died from hunger and disease. I really had reason for my hatred.

The Reds have won, the civil war has come to a close, but we, the Russian refugees in Paris, have still continued to live under the inertia of the past struggle. We fed ourselves on wild rumors and fantastic hopes. Every day we fixed a new term within which the Bolsheviki would unquestionably fall, and we observed irrefutable symptoms of their end. Life in Paris began to be a sort of madness. Awake, we yet had nightmare visions at all times—in the trolley cars and on the streets. The French were afraid of us as if we were insane. A few words of telegraphic news, in most cases fabricated on the spot in the editorial offices, brought us to a state of ecstasy; we bought trunks for the trip to Moscow, which was at any moment ready to fall. We were ghosts tramping about in a big city. There were many who could not stand this continuous clash of excited imagination with reality, who could not stand these continuous violent shocks. We were simply unhappy human beings, torn away from their country, birds thrown out of their nests. Perhaps when we come back to Russia those who remained there will compare their sufferings with ours. Ours were not less; we were eating the bitter bread of exile.

Then there happened two events which inflamed the hopes of some as to the fall of the Bolsheviki but which influenced others in quite with the Poles. I could not wish that the frontier and the famine in Russia.

I was one of those who could not sympathize with the Poles. I could not wish that the Frontier of 1772 should be reestablished or that there should be delivered to the Poles the city of Smolensk which four hundred years ago was similarly defended by the Russian Voyevod Sheyin against the Polish army which had appeared before the walls of this Russian city, summoned thither also by Russians. With all my heart I wished that the Reds would be victorious. What a contradiction! I was still half in a delirious condition. There came a new visitation—the apocalyptic period of the famine. Russia was dying. Whose fault was it? Does it matter who is responsible? When the corpses of little children are rolling down the streets like logs at railway stations, when people

COMRADE HALONEN'S CREDENTIALS

MANDATE.

This mandate is given to certify that GEORGE HALONEN is the fully authorized and sole representative in the United States of North America, of The Karelian Workers' Commune, autonomous part of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. GEORGE HALONEN is authorized, in the name of the Karelian Executive Committee and of the Karelian Department for Foreign Trade, to enter into negotiations and correspondence with United States offices and with all kinds of organisations and private persons, and, in accordance with instructions particularly given in each case, to conclude trading, loan and other agreements binding for The Karelian Workers' Commune, and to confirm such with his signature and official stamp. GEORGE HALONEN is authorized, on behalf of the Karelian Workers' Commune, to answer, to raise and to proceed with charges in the legal courts of the United States, when necessity arises. GEORGE HALONEN is authorized to take assistants into his service and to dismiss them from his service when necessary.

This mandate is given in the Finnish, Russian and English languages, and is valid to the first of July, nineteen hundred and twenty-three.

The Karelian Executive Committee:

President: *Edward Gelling*

The Karelian Department for Foreign Trade:

Chief: *Jacob Tichonowky*

1st May, 1922.

Petrozavodsk:

We reproduce above the credentials brought back by Comrade Halonen from the Karelian Workers' Commune, authorizing him to take up activities in trade and other matters.

are reduced to eating human flesh, we are jointly and severally responsible. But of course there appear the irreconcilable ones; they said: "Hunger is terrible, but with the robbers who have usurped the power in Russia we will not make peace; we will not send bread to Russia to help keep the Bolsheviks in power for one day longer." Fortunately the number of such was not very great. In spite of all this, bread was being shipped to Russia and the starving were being fed with it. Finally, a third extraordinary event was the change of the internal and later the external policy of the Russian Bolshevik Government. Every Russian who comes from the west, eastward to Berlin, becomes aware also of the following: the idea of Russia as a completely neglected desert, covered with graves, and nests of robbers, i. e., of the Bolsheviks, this fantastic idea gradually undergoes a change and assumes an aspect nearer to the truth. Russia is not entirely ruined. One hundred and fifty millions

are living on her plains—they are living of course badly—hungry, infested with vermin—but in spite of such a life they do not desire either an invasion by foreigners, or the ceding of Smolensk, or their own death and ruin. The population absolutely will not take into consideration the question of whether its attitude in Russia is convenient to the various political groups living outside of Russia.

Now imagine, Nikolai Vassilievich, what must be going on, at the present time, in the conscience of a Russian émigré, e. g., myself. You must admit that thinking of the lot of one's country, and coming to the conclusions of conscience and reason, is not a crime. Thus I saw but three ways to the same end, the preservation and maintaining of the Russian State; (I do not say to the overthrow of the Bolsheviki, because: first, the moment of their overthrow is at present no longer synonymous with Russia's recovery from its present infirmity; second, nobody can show me the real forces which could overthrow them; third, if such a force could be found, I am still convinced that the population of Russia would not want their overthrow and their replacement by men coming from outside.)

The first way is: to collect an army of émigrés, add to them the last remainder of the dispersed White armies, invade Russia through the Polish and Rumanian borders, and take up the struggle against the Reds. It is possible to begin something of this kind, but those who do it should say to themselves: "I am taking upon my conscience the blood of those Russians who will be killed and tormented to death." My conscience is not sufficiently robust to take upon itself the blood of other people.

The second way: to kill the Bolsheviki through the famine, feeding those who are particularly hungry, however. This way would have the following consequences—1) the increase of mortality in Russia; 2) the diminishing of Russia's power of resistance as a state. But I lack the conviction that the Bolshevist Government, protected as it is by a splendid army, and living—as every Government does—under better material circumstances than the common citizens, will be starved out before the whole population of Russia.

There is a third way—to recognize the reality of the existence in Russia of a government, i. e., the Bolshevist Government, to admit that there is no other government, either inside or outside. (To admit this would be equivalent to recognizing that outside of the window there is a heavy storm, although, standing at the window, we should prefer to have it a beautiful May day). After recognizing this it is necessary to do everything in order to help the last phase of the Russian revolution to move in the direction of enriching Russian life, in the direction of getting out of the revolution all that is good and just, and of maintaining these conquests in order to destroy all that is bad and unjust that was brought about by this revolution, and finally, in the direction of strengthening our position as a great power. I am choosing this third way.

There is still another road—not even a road, but merely a little path: some time ago there arrived, by way of Paris, a young writer, and he came straight from the railroad station to see me. "Well," said he, "the end is obviously very near," and in his glittering eyes was sparkling the flash of the well-known Parisian insanity. "In our set (in Paris) they say that the Bolsheviki will soon be at the end of their rope." I began to talk to him more or less about the three roads mentioned above. He frowned as if he had scented some evil odor. "I shall never make peace with the Bolsheviki."

"And if they recognize them?"

"Alexander Herzen lived fifteen years in exile, and I will wait until they fall. No, I shall not return to Russia."

When he heard that my contributions were being printed in *Nakanunye*, he literally ran away as he was, and I had to catch him on the staircase in order to hand him his hat and cane. He ran as if I were plague-stricken.

The fourth road is of course not dangerous—it is clean, it is quiet. But unfortunately in our times it is the road of the oyster, and not of human beings. Herzen did not live in exile, but in the world, but we would have to rot in obscurity.

Thus, Nikolai Vassilievich, I have chosen the third road. They tell me that I am making my peace with murderers. Well, it was not easy for me to enter upon this third road. In the past the Bolsheviki were exercising terror. But the war and the terror are in the past. That it will not happen in the future depends on our good will. It would certainly be my wish that the government should be in the hands of men to whom one would not have to say, "You have killed."

But in order to put into the government such unstained men it would be again necessary to start killing, to start war, to cause starving, etc. It is a vicious circle. And again I repeat: I cannot say that I am innocent of the spilled Russian blood, that I am pure and that there are no stains on my conscience. We are all responsible for everything that happened. And my conscience tells me not to seclude myself in the vault of exile but to go to Russia and to enter my little effort into the Russian ship that was so horribly hit by the storm.

As for the question of what political conditions are to be desired in Russia, I do not understand anything about this; what is better for my country, a constituent assembly, a king, or anything else. I am convinced of only one thing, that the form of government in Russia now after four years of revolution, will grow up from the soil, from the root itself, and that it should be formed in the empirical, experimental way, and in this experimental choice there will express itself the wisdom and the wishes of the people. But it is impossible to begin anew by applying to the open Russian wounds abstract ideas elaborated in cabinets. There has been already too much blood and vivisection.

ALEXEI TOLSTOI.

Books Reviewed

DR. MED. GINSBURG: *Das Russische Kindersterben.* Berlin S. W. 68, 1922. A pamphlet.

A woman physician, Dr. Ginsburg, has written this pamphlet: "Russia's Perishing Children". You would imagine that a woman doctor, a lady of philanthropic inclinations, would depict in warm words the wretchedness and suffering of the poor little ones who are dwindling more and more to mere skeletons in the famine regions. You would imagine this kind lady would challenge the whole world to open its eyes and come to the support of the proletarian government of Russia, which is sacrificing everything and doing all in its power to organize the combat with hunger. But no, the kind lady is not interested in relief work. Being a counter-revolutionary she regards the famine sufferings of the Russian children in the parched steppes as only another count in the mass of evidence that she aims to pile up against the cultural activity of the "unscrupulous" Bolsheviki. This material, for the most part reports in which the various commissariats frankly practice self-criticism, expose their own defects and mistakes, in order to discover possible remedies, is exploited by this woman in the most perfidious manner, by a generalization of individual cases and a concealing of the valuable attainments already made by the Bolsheviki, particularly in the field of education.

For all who have eyes to see, it is evident that the counter-revolution in Russia and in the world in general bears the chief blame for the catastrophe of the famine. But for this Menshevik lady the catastrophe of the famine is only an additional argument against Bolshevism. She indulges in recriminations against the Soviet Government for having assumed the care of all those thousands neglected and deserted children, the victims of war, civil war, or the impoverishment or death of their parents, and gathered them in homes, without having sufficient resources to nurse and feed all of them sufficiently! To be sure, there are official reports stating cases of children in these homes who got nothing but bread and water and who were obliged to suffer hunger and cold, not to mention the fact that their evenings were spent in darkness. But Dr. Ginsburg does not tell us that these children had been no better off "at home", in fact, had suffered still worse conditions, and that all Russia was then living on bread and water and getting along without wood and coal, and she conceals the fact that there were nevertheless thousands of institutions in which the children received the best that was available under the circumstances, in support of which statement she could also have found official reports, and furthermore the confirmation of all who have been in Russia. But why were not conditions favorable everywhere? Was it really due to the incompetence or malice of the Bolsheviki, as this Menshevik doctor says, that they were not able to put through their ideas everywhere? Were they the guilty ones? Not by any means! Counter-revolution at home and on the border was blockading Russia, cutting off its means of sustenance and production, occupying precisely those regions that were the source of fuel for light and heat. In addition, most of the teachers at that time were counter-revolutionary and were sabotaging the children's institutions. Was it a crime for the Soviet Government in spite of these difficulties to undertake to organize the backward and totally corrupt national life which they had inherited, which had no institutions for children or for the poor, no universal education or other institutions of the kind? Was it a crime for them to put through their program on instruction, culture, hygiene, agriculture, in short on all useful activities? By no means! They would have been guilty of a crime if they had not taken up this struggle on the internal front, in spite of their understanding that they could not under any circumstances carry out their full program.

To be sure a capitalist government, in the same plight in which Russia was situated, would never have thought of cultural work at all. It simply would have found that there was no money available for the care of children,

schools, homes, hygiene, or other cultural purposes, as is the case all over the world. Children's suffering and hunger, the undernourishment and neglect of proletarian children, are international phenomena, like unemployment, and the proletariat of the entire world has every reason to be interested in the famine in Russia and to investigate its true causes. Why is Russia starving? Why is the mortality of Russian children so "frightful", as the Menshevik lady moans? From time immemorial there have been great steppe regions in Russia visited by periodic droughts and famine. Why has this been the case? Because a backward government did nothing to introduce progressive modes of work, or a modern cultivation of the soil, for it was cheaper to live on the exploitation of primitive peasant labor. But why does the famine catastrophe now assume such frightful proportions? Because the counter-revolution, the saviour of the old system of government, has systematically and consistently been blockading the Bolshevist Government during the five years of war and has blocked the Soviet Government in all its efforts at a reconstruction of Russian economic life. And yet Bolshevism, with a truly titanic power that can flow only from a proletarian state, has succeeded in attaining a cultural accomplishment such as Russia never knew before. The books of Arthur Holitscher and Leo Matthias give information on this cultural work as do also bourgeois eye-witnesses. And the organizations of the bourgeois famine aid (A. R. A., Nansen) unanimously admit that the Soviet Government is exerting all its powers, is doing everything that can possibly be done in present-day Russia, to combat the famine. In fact, it is already pretty clear that none but the Soviet government can effectively cope with the famine conditions in the long run, and that it has thus far borne the lion's share in all the famine work. Statistical material obtained from the famine exposition in Moscow shows how an entire government mechanism is being placed in the service of a social-economic task, and it is clear from these figures that only a proletarian nation could accomplish such results. All energy is there concentrated on the struggle against hunger, and no power in history, no other government, has ever been able to put forth such effort as is now being displayed by the Soviet Russian population in the famine work. The companion-piece of this picture may be seen in the fact that capitalist powers are permitting their subjects to burn up their surplus grain as fuel while thousands of proletarians are starving in the same countries. It must be clear to everyone that only the proletariat of the world can effectively combat not only the Russian famine but also the threatening world famine catastrophe that must come if Russia is permanently excluded from world economy. But the activity of the counter-revolutionists is shameless; they have sabotaged the cultural work of the Bolsheviki and now dare cry out, as does this Menshevik lady, against the neglect of certain defects in education, and against other shortcomings, and they now hold the Bolshevist Government responsible for the "perishing children of Russia" who are really on their own consciences.

G. G. L. ALEXANDER.

THE RESTORATION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE FAMINE AREA OF RUSSIA, being the Interim Report of the State Economic Planning Commission of the Council for Labor and Defence of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. Published for the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation by the Labor Publishing Co., Ltd., 6, Tavistock Square, London, 1922. Cloth, 167 pages.

This official volume is a collection of studies of the various problems raised by the famine situation. These will be of great interest to the agricultural specialist and to the active collectors of relief funds who wish to equip themselves with the intellectual material needed in presenting the case of the starving to those who would be

willing to help them if they knew the need. The first essay, by Professor V. N. Bushinsky, entitled "The Characteristics of the Soil in the Area Suffering from Failure of the Crops in the Year 1921", reviews the agricultural resources of the various provinces affected by the drought and the famine and arrives at the inference, written long before the actual famine period set in: "All the foregoing considerations lead us to the conclusion that, in the above-named sub-areas, and especially in Lower Volga, the population will suffer terribly from the dearth of food and fodder, and that in certain places there will be positive starvation. In the struggle with famine the population will necessarily have recourse to substitutes. In part they will compensate for the lack of bread by eating meat. This will lead to a still farther reduction in the number of the farm beasts, all the more seeing that these, as we have just learned, are already in part doomed to destruction owing to the insufficiency of fodder." All this has now changed from mere prophecy to bitter experience, which can be said also of many other contributions to the volume, which were all written immediately after the first alarm of drought and famine danger was sounded. (In fact the Preface, written by S. P. Sereda, President of the Section for Rural Economy of the State Economic Planning Commission, and then still People's Commissar for Agriculture, was signed as early as September 10, 1921.) Other articles in the book are: "The Agricultural Characteristics of the South East and the Extent of the

Crop Failure", by J. V. Blyaher; "The Future of Agriculture in the South East and the Methods of its Organization", by Professor N. Tulaikov; "The Probable Yield of the Crops When the Agriculture of the South East Has Been Rationalized", by Professor V. N. Bushinsky; "Soviet Farms in the South Eastern Area", by N. V. Turchaninov; "The Necessary Improvements in the South East", by Professor A. N. Kostyakov; "Irrigation Works for the South East in the Basins of the Great Uzen, the Little Uzen, and the Kushum", by Professor R. P. Sparro; "Improvement Schemes in the Volga Delta and in the Alluvial Strips of the Volga and the Akhtuba", by Civil Engineer B. H. Shlegel; "Electrification in the South East", by Civil Engineer A. V. Vinogradov; etc., etc. Particularly interesting at present is the article by Professor A. V. Gan, "Agricultural Machinery Required", which reviews the needs in tractors, ploughs, and other farm implements that would be of value in the famine area. This article is now timely, in spite of the fact that it was written nearly a year ago, because it serves to emphasize the appeal now being made for money with which to buy tools and tractors for Soviet Russia, an appeal to which we hope every reader of SOVIET RUSSIA will lend a willing ear and respond with a generous hand. To aid in securing this result, we shall print the article "Agricultural Machinery Required" as one of the features of our next issue.

J. W. H.

The Trial of the "Social Revolutionaries"

By L. SOSNOVSKY

An interesting imaginary conversation between a Russian Communist and a German Social-Democrat, which requires no special comment.

I.

The Communist: Well, the Commission of Nine is dissolved after all. The leaders have gone home. But what are we to do? We can't go home. We work in the same factory. We suffer under the same enemy, we suffer the same misery. We are forced to pay taxes regardless of party-creed. The traders on the market do not examine our membership cards either; all they are interested in is how to skin us alive. The shareholders oppress us with burdens just as great. What are we to do?

The Social Democrat: The united front is a necessity, for without it we shall be stripped to the bone. But it is you Communists who are responsible for the breaking-up of the united front. I read in the Berlin *Vorwärts* that it was absolutely impossible to organize the united front with you, because the Russian Government prevents such an action through its persecution of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. Just now, the Social Revolutionary trial is beginning in Moscow; there must be an end to all this.

Communist: Listen, friend, your *Vorwärts* is again lying, as usual. In the republic of your party-comrade Ebert, thousands of Communists and independent workers are languishing in prison for their revolutionary activities. Yet we do not make the liberation of these workers a condition for the united front. *We are working for their freedom in other ways.* But the united front of the working class is by far more important than the fate of a number of workers. The united proletarian front will bring them much nearer to the

hour of freedom. But tell me, do you really believe that the fate of the revolutionary workers can be compared with that of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in Russia?

Social Democrat: I must admit, I can see no distinction between the two; in both countries people are persecuted for their convictions.

Communist: I see that you are not acquainted with the truth. If you will listen I will tell you what I know about the Social-Revolutionaries. Shall I?

Social Democrat: Go ahead.

Communist: To begin with, tell me whether you approve of the Russian workers' struggle against the capitalists and large landowners; against the Denikins and Wrangels?

Social Democrat: Of course. Do you think for a moment that I sympathize with these monarchistic dogs?

Communist: You recognize therefore the right of the Russian proletariat to defend itself against the counter-revolution and to attack it? You grant them the right to put the counter-revolutionaries into prison and even to shoot the most dangerous among them?

Social Democrat: Of course I recognize this right. But what has that to do with the Social Revolutionaries? Aren't they Socialists and Revolutionists?

Communist: Now listen, friend. The Social Revolutionaries are double faced; one of their faces is turned towards Europe, the other towards Russia. You see the first face, and we see the

other face. The capitalists are attempting to overthrow the Russian Soviet Government by force. Do you or don't you consider such an attempt as counter-revolutionary?

Social Democrat: I certainly do!

Communist: Well then. The Social Revolutionaries have been working for just this aim since the 7th of November, 1917, and they are still at it today; they want to overthrow the Soviet Government by force. Haven't you heard, don't you know, that for some time the Social Revolutionaries actually had some success on the Volga, in Siberia, in Archangelsk, and in the Ukraine; that they succeeded in overthrowing the Soviet Government and in substituting another government for it? At Archangelsk, the Chaikovsky government of the Social Revolutionaries was organized, in Samara and in Siberia, the Constituent Government, in the Ukraine, the Government of the so-called *Rada*.

Social Democrat: First of all, this happened a long time ago, and secondly, the Social Revolutionaries displaced the Soviet Governments with democratic and Socialist ones. You can't call this a counter-revolution.

Communist: But didn't your *Vorwärts* tell you the whole story up to the end? Aren't you acquainted with the following facts: On the 3rd of May, 1918, the Social Revolutionaries, aided by the Czecho-Slovak troops that were paid by France, succeeded in overthrowing the Soviet Power on the Volga. On the 18th of November of the same year, Kolchak very easily drove out the Social Revolutionaries, declaring himself regent and dictator. In Archangelsk, at about the same time, the Social Revolutionary Government of Chaikovsky, Ivanov and Ignatiev, was arrested by General Miller, and displaced by the dictatorship of this same General. As a matter of fact, it was the Entente Generals that ruled there and that stood behind Miller, the English Generals Ball, Ironside, and others. In the Ukraine, the "Socialist" *Rada* was driven asunder by German bayonets, and displaced by the dictatorship of the Hetman Skoropadsky, a dummy of the Hohenzollerns. In Azerbaijan, the rule of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries lasted a few weeks after the overthrow of the Soviet Power; then the bourgeois Mohammedan Musavat Party came into power.

Social Democrat: It is too bad that the democratic Socialist power of the Social Revolutionaries could not withstand the onslaught of reaction. But that is not the fault of the Social Revolutionaries.

Communist: No, they consciously aided the bourgeoisie in overthrowing the Soviet Power; they entered into an alliance with the Entente, and received money and weapons from it. In the first period of the revolution, when the reaction was beaten, the Social Revolutionaries helped to organize White Guard armies by secretly transporting monarchist officers from Moscow into the border regions, where the fronts of attack against the Soviet Government were organized. The Russian

Bolsheviks always pointed out that the Social Revolutionaries make the preliminary preparations for the counter-revolution. As to the methods of their so-called "Socialist" activities, permit me to ask you a few questions.

Social Democrat: Please.

Communist: Just now, the Social Democrat Ebert is at the head of the German Republic. Tell me then, would you approve of the vicious assassination of Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, Branting of Sweden, Vandervelde of Belgium, would you approve the organization of such attempts by our Communists?

Social Democrat: Why these questions? Everybody knows that the Social Democrats are against terroristic tactics, even when these are applied against the monarchistic governments.

Communist: To the great joy of the world bourgeoisie, the Social Revolutionaries made attempts against the lives of Lenin (failed), Volodarsky (killed), Trotsky (they failed to blow up the train in which he was traveling).

Social Democrat: No honest workers would approve of such deeds, if what you say is true.

Communist: We shall come back to this later, and see whether it is true or not. Now tell me: if any Communist or Communist group in Germany had organized an attempt against the life of a Social Democratic Minister, what would have happened to them? Would the guilty one be brought to trial or not?

Social Democrat: What a question! Of course he would have been tried.

Communist: I also think so. And what's more I think that Trotsky and Zinoviev would *not* have been allowed to appear for the defense of the prisoners before a German court. The Russian Bolsheviks, however, have premitted the appearance of Vandervelde, Rosenfeld, Modigliani and others. Another quest: What do you think of the following acts? The Central Committee of the Social Revolutionaries organizes an attempt against Lenin's life, and creates a special terroristic fighting organization for this purpose. After the attempt has been made, the Central Committee shirks all responsibility for the criminal act.

Social Democrat: But why should we not believe that the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party did not participate in the attempt, and that it was only individual persons who acted upon their own initiative?

Communist: The trial of the Social Revolutionaries will clear up this matter. But what is your opinion?

Social Democrat: To send men to kill, to endanger the lives of the perpetrators, and then to wash one's hands of the whole matter is, I think, morally reprehensible.

Communist: You will soon see that was the case. Yet another question: What would the German Social Democrats say if we Communists had organized the plundering of government treasuries,

of cooperatives and even private homes for private purposes?

Social Democrat: These would have been common crimes, pure and simple.

Communist: And what if we had broken into the safe of a Food Committee?

Social Democrat: That would have capped the climax.

Communist: And what, if under the pretense of being detectives, we had broken into the house of a citizen, and then under the pretext of making a search, we had cleaned out his safe for party-purposes, causing the death of the owner through apoplexy?

Social Democrat: But devil take it, what dirt.... Why do you tell me all this? Are the Social Revolutionaries guilty of anything like that?

Communist: Yes, indeed. These facts will be examined at the public session of the Moscow Tribunal, in the presence of several thousand citizens and under the participation of the European Right Socialists, with Vandervelde at their head. What will you say when everything is proved true?

Social Democrat: I would say that for such people there is no room in the Workers' International.

Communist: Well then, should such a gang of criminals stand in the way of the united proletarian front, although the menace of the capitalist reaction is immense? What's more, the Russian Social Revolutionaries left the Second International in 1920, and decided to join the 2½ International. But two years have passed and they have not as yet been accepted into the 2½ International. It seems that there they know the adventures of these gentlemen much better than you, an average worker.

Social Democrat: All this is peculiar. To tell the truth, I am not fully satisfied with your explanations. I am not very clear as to the tactics of the Social Revolutionaries in the past few years, their present tactics, and how the party-members react to the tactics of their leaders.

Communist: We can speak of this another time. At any rate, think over the following: Are your leaders right in sabotaging the united front on account of such a party? Should not we workers begin all together, to build up the united front for the struggle against capitalism, from below?

Social Democrat: This would not be bad at all.

Communist: Well then, good-bye.

II.

Social Democrat: Oh yes, last time I forgot to ask why the Russian Bolsheviks are trying the Social Revolutionaries in 1922 for acts committed in 1918. Are the Social Revolutionaries right after all when they say that the only purpose of this trial is to clear opponents out of the way?

Communist: As to the "clearing out of the way", the naivité of this presumption is only too ap-

parent. For the last two or three years all the defendants have been in the hands of the Soviet Government. Had the latter only desired to clear them out of the way, it would have had no difficulty whatever in finding a good reason. For have not the Social Revolutionaries committed numerous crimes against the Revolution? Don't you understand that the Social Revolutionaries, whose lives were spared at a time when the Revolution was in the greatest danger, need not be nervous over their lives in 1922? *They are not in danger of death.* They are, however, in danger of a *moral death*, the pitiless verdict of the world proletariat.

Social Democrat: But why have you instituted this trial only now?

Communists: It was just now that new material was discovered, illuminating the dastardly policy of this party. The Social Revolutionary leaders succeeded in fooling everybody: the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, the Independents, the International and their own party. When the leader of the Petrograd workers was assassinated and Lenin was wounded, the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party issued a statement on the day following the attempt, in which it washed its hands of all guilt. And everybody believed that it had actually nothing to do with these criminal acts. Now, however, the direct perpetrators of these acts, Semionov and Konopleva, have issued a statement in which they clearly say that they had acted upon the orders of the Central Committee of their party, and that this Central Committee had created a special organization for the assassination of the leaders of the proletariat. They also point out that besides Lenin and Volodarsky, Trotsky and Zinoviev were also to be killed. Trotsky was to be killed by blowing up the entire train in which he rode. The details have been published in Berlin in Semionov's pamphlet. These will be investigated at the trial.

Social Democrat: Does Semionov claim that the Social Revolutionary leaders commissioned him and other comrades with the assassination of Communists, and then denied all connection with the perpetrators, thus branding the murderers as common criminals?

Communist: Yes. In the struggle against Tsarism, when the Social Revolutionary Party applied the terror against the Tsar and his servants, it declared soon after the terroristic act had been perpetrated, that it had organized the act in question, and gave the reasons for it. Although if arrested the terrorist faced death, he nevertheless felt proud of his deed, of which the whole world would learn on the next day; he felt proud of his name, which would go down in history. But here it was exactly the contrary that took place. The party in a disgraceful and cowardly manner denied any connection with those whom it had commissioned to commit the murderous acts, thereby deceiving everybody, including its own membership.

(To be concluded in next issue)

Relief Contributions, June 15-30

Here is a complete list of contributions received by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York, during the second half of June. It is unfortunate that the total for these fifteen days is so low. Have you sent in a contribution to help raise our relief funds? A blank on page 64 will make it easy for you to send something for insertion in next month's list.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
11086	Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.	50.00	11155	FSC No. 115, CRC, Brooklyn	21.54	11217	E. Bond, Anacortes, Wash...	2.00
11087	FSR Branch, St. Paul, Minn.	425.00	11156	Wm. M. Raine, RC, Denver, Col.	20.00	11218	FSR Branch, Vancouver, BC...	300.00
11088	Anonymous	5.00	11157	FSR Branch, Seattle, Wash.	19.00	11219	Wm. A. Evalenko, N. Y. C.	10.00
11089	Italian-American Family Ass'n, Clifton, N. J.	45.00	11158	J. Pldperhoror, RC, Ont.	15.00	11220	W. G. Daniels, Davenport, Ia.	1.65
11090	N. Kuahner, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	11159	Otto Baehr, Monico, Wis.	10.00	11221	Mrs. A. Cohen, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	9.00
11091	Jos. S. Obradovich, RC, Hale Eddy, N. Y.	2.00	11160	F. G. Shallenberger, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	8.00	11222	L. C. Fortin, Jr., San Francisco, Cal.	3.00
11092	Antoni Byrn, Phila., Pa.	2.00	11161	J. Lambrecht, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	7.00	11223	P. Kearns, Forks, Buffalo, NY	1.00
11093	L. Leatherman, Rosston, Okla.	2.25	11162	Mary C. Trask, N. Y. C.	5.00	11224	A. Sturm, RC, Chicago, Ill.	15.00
11094	Lola Furgason, Buffalo, Okla.	2.00	11163	Wm. Schoonmaker, RC, Livingston Manor, N. Y.	5.00	11225	G. Stanic, TD, Birmingham, Ala	22.00
11095	W. W. Whalen, Buffalo, Okla.	2.00	11164	H. Stols, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00	11226	W. A. Prentice, TD, Elmira, N. Y.	10.00
11096	O. Piersching, CRC, Louisville, Ky.	3.50	11165	E. Israelite, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	11227	O. Kocer, RC, Squantum, Mass.	19.00
11097	S. Kucher, RC, Gary, Ind.	30.00	11166	A. Fergin, Detroit, Mich.	5.00	11228	Women's Club, RC, Squantum, Mass.	10.00
11098	Cancelled.		11167	Martin Siltera, Omaha, Neb.	5.00	11229	M. Zieper, TD, Worcester, Mass.	2.00
11099	Relief Committee, Akron, Ohio	25.00	11168	Nick. Papalexaton, RC, So. Bend, Ind.	5.00	11230	Shop of Max Goldberg, NYC	14.00
11100	Ukrainian Singing Society, Toledo, Ohio	19.00	11169	Fred C. Sarvice, RC, Dayton, Ohio	1.00	11231	FSR Branch, Aberdeen, Wash.	348.20
11101	R. Smirnof, RC, Toledo, O.	16.00	11170	H. S. Fox, RC, Mantica, Cal.	1.00	11232	S. Fabijanovic, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	6.60
11102	S. Gurin, Coll., Fall River, Mass.	15.00	11171	R. White, Hamilton, Canada.	1.00	11233	Dr. Carl S. Jorgens, TD, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00
11103	H. Victor, RC, N. Y. C.	15.00	11172	N. Vlahos, RC, Salt Lake City, Utah	1.00	11234	A. Ottelin, RC, Hoquiam, Wash.	3.00
11104	S. Boyko, RC, Kent, O.	7.00	11173	Gaspar Lito, RC, Kansas City, Mo.	16.00	11235	L.T. Matson, Bay Village, Ohio	2.00
11105	A. N. Sutkovoy, RC, So. Windham, Me.	6.00	11174	G. Fransen, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	16.00	11236	Chas. Thieman, TD, San Diego, Cal.	5.00
11106	Ph. Mostovoy, Eureka, Cal.	5.00	11175	A. Engman, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	11.00	11237	Pedro Beope, TD, San Diego, Cal.	5.00
11107	V. Torgovitaky, Bklyn, N. Y.	3.00	11176	Union Laboradora Venezolana, Sa Jose, Costa Rica	5.00	11238	W. C. No. 548, N. Y. C.	194.25
11108	FSR Branch, Steubenville, O.	71.55	11177	S. Walter, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	11239	W. Goloboff, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	2.00
11109	Russian Branch, W. P., N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.	39.55	11178	V. M. Johnson, Riverside, Cal.	2.00	11240	Nick Fedikka, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
11110	M. Balaseff, RC, Beverly, Alberta	30.50	11179	J. B. Milgram, RC, Sheepshead Bay, N. Y.	1.00	11241	H. Hopp, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	2.00
11111	M. E. Karpovich, Lynch, Ky.	27.75	11180	A. Ehlenberger, RC, Astoria, L. I.	1.00	11242	U T of A, RC, Milwaukee Wis.	2.00
11112	Joe Masur, RC, Montreal, Can.	21.61	11181	J. Soe, TD, Canton, O.	1.00	11243	Bishop & Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Gallon, Ohio	50.00
11113	Nick Rozhko, RC, Steubenville, Ohio	18.05	11182	B. Bielostotky, Coll., Samana, D. R.	15.00	11244	Bishop & Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Women's Div., Gallon, Ohio.	50.00
11114	Russian Club, Newton Upper Falls, Mass.	14.48	11183	E. Palaut, RC, Woodridge, NY	3.00	11245	Bishop & Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, FSC, Gallon, Ohio	50.00
11115	M. Proliako, RC, Akron, O.	9.00	11184	H. Basner, RC, Woodridge, NY	2.00	11246	FSR Branch, Waterbury, Conn.	120.00
11116	A. Jorkowaky, RC, Detroit, Mich.	12.85	11185	Workmen's Circle, RC, Woodridge, N. Y.	10.00	11247	International Concert, Chicago, Ill.	21.00
11117	FSR Branch, Detroit, Mich.	300.00	11186	F S R Branch, Everett, Wash.	2.00	11248	Chas. Haeckl, Hamilton, O.	10.00
11118	M. Matchok, RC, Denba, Pa.	8.00	11187	A. Albam, CRC, Samana, Dom. Rep.	5.00	11249	H. Johnson, TD, Cristobal, CZ	10.00
11119	K. Flauk, RC, New Castle, Pa.	2.75	11188	Wm. Mandloff, CRC, Samana, Dom. Rep.	5.00	11250	W. Sillanpaa, RC, Chas River, B. C.	6.00
11120	L. Josephson, Trenton, N. J.	5.00	11189	Joel Tesatore, RC, Wilmington, Del.	2.00	11251	P. J. Bleka, Easton, Pa.	5.61
11121	FSR Branch, Worcester, Mass.	45.00	11190	L. Jones, RC, Wilmington, Del.	1.00	11252	FSR Branch, Boston, Mass.	250.00
11122	FSR Branch, RC, Bayonne, NJ	140.00	11191	A. Robert, RC, Wilmington, Del.	1.00	11253	FSR Branch, Springfield, Mass.	150.00
11123	FSC, CRC, Santa Rosa, Cal.	25.00	11192	W. J. Roberts, RC, Phila., Pa.	1.00	11254	Wm. Pitsch, RC, Muskegon Heights, Mich.	10.00
11124	H. B. Cooper, RC, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone	16.00	11193	Zella Smith, RC, Modale, Ia.	3.00	11255	Inter. Pub. & Printing Society & Woman's Lith. Prog. Society, Kenosha, Wis.	112.00
11125	F. Deach, Eureka, Cal.	8.00	11194	J. Pallin, RC, Newport, N. H.	35.30	11256	FSR Branch, Cortland, N. Y.	64.00
11126	I A of M, St. Paul Lodge, No. 112, St. Paul, Minn.	7.00	11195	F S C No. 4, CRC, Wilmington, Del.	3.08	11257	FSR Branch, Flint, Mich.	50.00
11127	Greta C. Colman, Cambridge, Mass.	5.00	11196	H. Huennekes, RC, N. Y. C.	9.85	11258	O. Paakoff, RC, Rochester, NY	26.00
11128	J. Bobobonikoff, Astoria, L. I.	10.00	11197	F S R Branch, N. Y. C.	412.90	11259	Z. Gurnowitz, Coll., Norwich, Conn.	16.00
11129	P. Polaretsky, RC, N. Y. C.	12.50	11198	Finnish Socialist Branch, Glaseport, Pa.	30.40	11260	Max Slobodinuk, RC & CRC, Lewiston, Me.	12.00
11130	V. Nicolopoulos, RC, N. Y. C.	8.10	11199	L. Marks, N. Y. C.	1.00	11261	Sam Mamchur, RC, Holden, W. Va.	8.00
11131	A. Elva, RC, Linden, N. J.	6.25	11200	G. Shoene, RC, Hiram, Alberta	2.90	11262	E. Smolorchuk, Joliet, Ill.	3.00
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The Hague Conference

By KARL RADEK

Although the Hague Conference terminated without effecting its aims, the following statement of Russia's hopes from the Conference will be read with interest.

THE French memorandum of June 2 as well as the English answer of June 12 aroused a discussion in the French press, which together with the above mentioned notes, throws a certain light upon the conference that is to take place at the Hague.

First of all it is interesting to note that the English memorandum emphasizes the *sovereign rights of the Russian Soviet Government*, and warns France to make no encroachment upon these rights. We greet this part of the English memorandum as a significant step forward from the first memorandum which was presented to the Russian Delegation in Genoa, and which would have meant nothing more than the capitulation of Russia, that is, the attempt to make Russia a colonial country. *The unmistakable language of the Soviet Delegation finally convinced the English Government that Soviet Russia was neither Old Turkey, nor Old China.* The English Government defends the sovereign right of the Soviet Powers to *nationalize every sort of property*, and it announces that any encroachment upon these rights is a contradiction to the conditions of Cannes.

The Paris *Temps*, the leading organ of French imperialism, answers that the sovereign right of every Government to nationalize involves also the right of foreign capitalists to be indemnified for their nationalized property. If the existing Government has no means of paying these indemnities, then its sovereignty must bow to the moneybags.

We have here a classical example of capitalistic "right" in general, whether it concerns a person, citizen or nation. "Where there is money, there is right," announces the Paris Stock Exchange sheet. We shall not waste any time answering the capitalistic metaphysics of right with revolutionary metaphysics. Instead of discussing the differences between proletarian and capitalist "right," we will rather talk business, for we think that even the French capitalists are interested not so much in the abstract right as in concrete interests.

It is true that at present the Soviet Government is not able to pay cash to the French capitalists for their offended innocence, even if such an act were motivated by the desire to be "just" in the capitalistic sense. But if we are unable to pay indemnities in cash, you gentlemen are unable to support your beautiful rights, your "holy" rights, by force. You have been sufficiently convinced of that.

You are able to support your claims only by means of a *financial boycott*. But in the first place your financial boycott will not last forever, for if Russia is in need of foreign capital, foreign capital is also in need of Russia. For this reason foreign capital will not for the sake of past profits shut the door to future profits, and the English Government is right when it points out in its memorandum that if no business relations are established with Soviet Russia in the name of the bourgeois governments, various capitalist groups will enter into business with it for the sake of concessions.

Secondly, Soviet Russia is an agricultural country. One or two good harvests, and its position will be strengthened; then it will be less disposed to make concessions than it is today.

In such a case there is no need of a debate on the rights of capitalist humanity which were offended by the proletarian revolution in Russia, whose conceptions of right, as expressed in the memorandum of May 11, the French Government simply seeks to reject and the English Government kindly to ignore (as befits noble lords). At the Hague the facts must be learned and practical conclusions drawn from them. And here is what the facts teach us:

In the first place, although the Soviet Government possesses no bagfuls of gold, it will not agree to the restoration of property that was in the hands of foreign capitalists. The greater part of the Russian metal, coal and oil industries was in the hands of foreign capital. The restitution

of these industries would mean that the Russian Government would be left without coal, without iron and without oil, and that it would have to buy all these things. This would mean in turn that the Russian Government would have to burden the Russian peasant with a huge taxation. The return of the former foreign-owned industries to the foreign capitalists would destroy the industrial foundation of the Soviet Government, the basis which enables the Soviet Government to direct the economic development of Russia. It is useless to make demands which your opponent cannot satisfy except by committing suicide. The enemies of Soviet Russia have made every possible and impossible accusation against her, but no one has yet claimed that Russia intends to commit suicide. For this reason, it is better to drop all talk of restoration.

Secondly, such a restoration is impossible because in many cases the property in question either has been destroyed or would be absolutely worthless to the owner. It is not rational from a technical point of view. Thus, for example, the centralization of management in the coal mines of the Don basin and in the oil industries in Baku, which before the revolution were distributed in a chaotic manner, may be looked upon as a great technical step in advance, which may become such a source of income as to render compensation possible later on. For this reason, the demand that these be returned to their former foreign capitalist owners seems to be an act of stupidity or the game of banking interests that seek to buy out the rights of the former property owners in Russia and at the same time to negotiate with the Russian Government and get concessions from it favorable to their respective Stock Exchanges. That is why it is impractical from an economic point of view even to speak of a return of these individual former properties.

Thirdly, the question of indemnity as well as the question of debts are rather questions of the possibilities and the paying capacity of the Russian Government in the future. If the experts of the capitalistic countries wanted to distinguish themselves from the diplomatic know-nothings who unfortunately so often speak in the name of these countries, instead of wasting time in idle talk about property rights, they would ask the Soviet

Delegation: "What branches of industry does the Soviet Government intend to keep for itself and what other branches of industry is it ready to lease?" Secondly, they would ask the Soviet Delegation for the most favorable conditions upon which the former foreign property owners in Russia could receive their old undertakings on a concessionaire basis, if the Soviet Government were to decide to keep these in its own possession; or on what basis it would grant new concessions. It should be clear that the Soviet Government, being interested in the attraction of foreign capital, would not proceed to boycott the old owners who are already well acquainted with their former activities. Thirdly, the experts would state on what conditions and to what extent the capitalist groups which they represent would be willing to furnish credit to the Soviet Government. If they really desire to do business with Russia and not merely to receive "rights" which would become the object of speculation on the Stock Exchange, they will and must understand that even for their own benefit it is necessary to improve Russian transportation and the Russian financial apparatus.

Fourthly, in the question of debts concrete language should be used, based upon concrete facts. Russia is financially bankrupt. A bankrupt always pays only a certain percentage of his debts, and he pays them not at once, but only after a certain time has passed, during which his creditor helps him get on his feet, for otherwise the creditor, with all his "rights," would have about the same chance of getting his interests paid as a normal mortal has of seeing his own ears without looking into the mirror. The Soviet Delegation is going to the Hague to talk business for the very reason that it is a Delegation sent by a proletarian Government, and that it consists of Communists. It knows that it is useless to argue with capitalist representatives about principles. It did announce the principles at Genoa, namely at the moment when the capitalist representatives, instead of avowing their predatory appetites, proclaimed *their* principles. At the Hague, however, the Soviet Delegation will only talk business. The only question is whether the representatives of the capitalist world will display as much interest in business. In such case it will be possible to come to a settlement while each party retains its principles.

The Trial of the "Social Revolutionaries"

By L. SOSNOVSKY

An interesting imaginary conversation between a Russian Communist and a German Social-Democrat, which requires no special comment, and of which the first instalment appeared in our last issue. The Semionov mentioned here is not to be mistaken for Ataman Semionov of Siberia.

Social Democrat: But are the statements of Semionov true? I heard that he was a renegade, *Cheka* agent, a traitor.

Communist: The main public trial, at which for-

eign attorneys will be present, must show whether Semionov has told the truth, and whether Chernov and Co. are guilty of slander. I personally know that all the allegations made by Semionov have

already been corroborated by about a dozen of the defendant Social Revolutionaries. The Social Revolutionary leaders have simply continued their old lies and this time they fooled their friends, Vandervelde, Rosenfeld, Theodore Liebknecht and others.

Social Democrat: Wherein does the great deception lie?

Communist: Chernov and Co. have apparently succeeded in convincing Vandervelde and others that the entire Bolshevik prosecution is based solely upon Semionov's pamphlet. Furthermore, that Semionov's allegations deserve no confidence, because he is a deserter, a renegade, a traitor. Should, however, at the main trial a single person, Semionov, say "yes", and 47 defendants say "no", then the impression would be made that Semionov's allegations are nothing more than a false denunciation, a disgraceful slander. Chernov counted upon the old pre-revolutionary tradition, that the defendants would refuse to make any declarations whatever before the tribunal. At the main trial, he hoped that they would pronounce thundering denunciations against the Bolsheviks. But only three or four members of the Central Committee have refused to give evidence. These were the leaders of the terrorists (Gotz, Donskoy and others). All the terrorists, however, those who left the Social Revolutionary Party, and those who remained in it, made detailed declarations, which corroborate those of Semionov in all particulars. Some of these terrorists are old members of the Social Revolutionary Party, workers who under the Tsarist regime spent a dozen years in Siberia at hard labor, because of their party membership. I believe one of them has been in the Social Revolutionary movement since 1899.

Social Democrat: But why do those who remained in the Social Revolutionary Party make depositions so ruinous to their leaders? Moreover, don't they run the danger of being punished by the tribunal on the basis of their deposition? Could they not all, like Gotz, refuse to make any declarations whatever?

Communist: Two sorts of men will appear before the tribunal. On the one hand, brave fighters who attack their enemy with bomb or revolver, but who also boldly sacrifice their own lives for the cause which they think just. On the other hand, there will appear miserable politicians, cowardly hyenas, who send others to death only to repudiate their own comrades for fear of consequences. The former were of the opinion that the Bolsheviks were causing the ruin of the country, and that for this reason, the Bolshevik leaders must be killed even at the cost of their own lives. To this group belong: Semionov, Konopleva, Yefimov, Kononov, Ussov and others. When they read in the newspapers of the cowardly repudiation by the Social Revolutionary Central Committee, immediately after the terroristic acts had been perpetrated, they asked themselves: *If the assassination of Volodarsky was beneficial to the revolution, why does*

the Central Committee repudiate this revolutionary act? If the assassination of Volodarsky was no revolutionary act, why did the same Central Committee order the assassination? But they received no frank or honest answer from the leaders. Their position then became uncertain. And when they saw how great the indignation of the masses was against the attempts on the lives of Lenin and Volodarsky, they understood that the Central Committee had commissioned old revolutionary fighters with a counter-revolutionary deed. For this reason they decided to tell the truth.

Social Democrat: But who is this Semionov? Why is he so slandered?

Communist: Semionov is still a young man. He played no important part in the party until the Revolution came. But in his fourteenth year he joined a revolutionary organization. At fifteen he already sat in a Tsarist prison. After this arrest he dedicated himself wholly to revolutionary work. He worked chiefly in the fighting-division (not literary or agitational work). So, for example, he organized the escape from the Riga prison, etc. The November Revolution roused his indignation. The dispersion of the Constituent Assembly made him an irreconcilable enemy of the Bolsheviks. Thereafter he organized the illegal groups that used armed force against the Bolsheviks. Being very energetic, brave and trustworthy, he enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the party. The party appointed him leader of the central fighting organization. Such posts were filled by the Social Revolutionary Party with absolutely trustworthy men. In 1918, after the repudiation by the Central Committee of the terror organized by itself, Semionov decided to quit the party. At that time a whole group, *Narod* (People), quit the Social Revolutionary Party. In 1919, he, together with a group of comrades, proposed to the Soviet staff to send them to the Southern front against General Denikin. At that time they demanded in the most energetic manner that they be assigned the most dangerous tasks; for example, to get behind the enemies' lines, to organize explosions, attack higher commands, etc. After the liquidation of the Denikin front, Semionov went to the Polish front. Here too he reached the enemies' lines. There he was arrested. He gained the confidence of Soviet Russia's worst enemy, the White Guard Savinkov,* learnt his plans, and returned to Russia with important information. In 1920 he decided to join the Communist Party. As an honest and brave man he first related his counter-revolutionary past, at the same time revealing the past of his party. Only after he had staked his life several times for the cause of the Bolsheviks, did he feel that he had acquired the right to membership in the Communist Party. Judge for yourself whether Semionov is a man to be bought or bribed, or who can be forced to make a false affidavit.

*Through a strange coincidence seventeen years ago this same Savinkov occupied the same position of chief organizer of the terrorist activities of the Social Revolutionary Party, then fighting against the Tsar.—Ed.

Social Democrat: Indeed, he is a very interesting person. A marvelous fate. First he organizes an attempt on Lenin's life, then he joins the ranks of the Leninists.

Communist: It is a fact that the great majority of those who have shown that they fight and die for their ideas, have left the Social Revolutionary Party. All that the Social Revolutionary Party can boast of now are miserable scoundrels and petty intriguers who receive their pay from the Paris and Prague Exchanges.

Social Democrat: Are there other men like Semionov on trial?

Communist: A very interesting case is that of Gregory Ratner. He was a high official in the Social Revolutionary Party (Secretary of the Moscow Committee and member of the Party Central Bureau). His sister, Eugenie Ratner, member of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, is one of the chief defendants. Like Semionov, Ratner was a bitter enemy of the Soviet Power. Later, he realized his mistakes, and volunteered as a Red Guard for the front. There he turned Communist. Being a man of rare modesty, he refused to accept any office in the Soviet Government, and in spite of his high education, he now works as an ordinary railroad worker. Just now, Ratner has made depositions not only against the members of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, but also against his sister, revealing the participation of the Central Committee in the assassination of Volodarsky.

Social Democrat: Will Semionov and others also have to defend their past activities, or will they be spared because of their Communist membership?

Communist: Semionov, Konopleva and Ratner are also among the defendants. Ratner even declared that only upon this condition would he make any depositions. This group, however, will not be defended by Vandervelde and Co., but by the leading Communists, Bukharin, Pokrovsky and, if I am not mistaken, also by Clara Zektin. Besides these, there is another category of defendants; for example, one of the persons mentioned in Semionov's pamphlet was arrested because he had participated in a military conspiracy against the Soviet Power; at present this person is a non-partisan and serves faithfully in the Red Army. He declared that everything that Semionov alleges against him in his pamphlet is true, and that he is ready to suffer the consequences for his past activities. He refused, however, to say anything against other persons. But when he was confronted with the Berlin organ of the Social Revolutionaries, *Golos Rossiya* (the "Voice of Russia"), this man was filled with indignation against the downright lies of Chernov, and declared himself ready to furnish evidence and to tell the truth about the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party.

Social Democrat: It seems therefore that the position of the foreign attorneys for the defense is not one to be envied. They had simply been

deceived and persuaded to take over the defence. They think that the Moscow trial is a mere mockery and that they can beat the Bolsheviks with ease.

Communist: Neither do I envy the attorneys. Thousands of Red Guard workers of Moscow will be present in the court-room. Their glances of contempt alone will make the lawyers nervous. Just think this over: You are a Social Democratic worker, and I'm a Communist worker; I ask you how many Social Democrats are to be found in the prisons of the bourgeois countries of Europe?

Social Democrat: I must admit that I have not heard of any such cases.

Communist: But have you heard that thousands of Communist workers in every "democratic" country are languishing in prison?

Social Democrat: Yes, I have heard of this.

Communist: Now, listen. The workers of Moscow will ask Vandervelde and Co. why they do not appear for the defense of the true revolutionary workers of Western Europe, and why they raise no finger to free them from the bourgeois prisons. Why did they come to Russia to defend the counter-revolutionaries, the enemies of the Soviet Power, the enemies of the Proletarian Revolution, the murderers of Volodarsky? Why?

Social Democrat: Indeed, I do not envy Vandervelde. But perhaps the policy of the Social Revolutionary Party has become more revolutionary than it used to be in 1918?

Communist: No! The form has perhaps changed, but the counter-revolutionary spirit has remained the same. But of that we shall speak another time.

Telegram on the Trial

The following radio relating to the attorneys of the Social Revolutionaries has been received from Moscow:

In the trial of the Social Revolutionaries, Zetkin, Muna and Bokanyi will represent the Executive Council of the Communist International; Sadoul and Kohn will represent those former Social Revolutionaries now supporting the Soviet Power; Frossard, Smeral, Sadoul, Bell and Jordanov will act as experts.

RADEK, KOHN.

Telegram to Anatole France

Anatole France,
c/o Humanité, Paris.

On the eve of the opening of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries, the Soviet Government, with which you interceded on behalf of the accused on the ground of one-sided information whose purpose was to take advantage of your good faith, invites you to attend the proceedings. The Soviet Government would be pleased to be able to welcome you here, and the representatives of the French Communist Party in Moscow join in this request of the Russian proletarian government.

Moscow, June 5th.

ZINOVIEV, FROSSARD.

Four Years of the Red Army

A Short Historical Sketch.

BETWEEN the workers' groups of the Red Guard in Petrograd, Moscow, the Donetz Basin, and in the Urals, in the months from March to May, 1917—to the regular divisions of the Red army of the present day there lies a path of hard experience, a path that finally led through victories and defeats to the termination of all internal and external fronts.

The Tsar's army was overtaken by the same fate as all of the old Russia; the germs of disintegration were present in it long before the March Revolution. The peasantry, tired of the war, whose aims were unsympathetic to them, were already beginning in May and June 1916 to leave the trenches and to fraternize with and desert to the enemy. The revolution gave the final blow to the old army as an organization, which proceeded to crumble into the elements of which it was composed; the working class, however, which had inherited not only the governing power but also the questionable legacy of the old regime, found itself facing the task of creating a Red Army of workers and peasants, under the immediate pressure of the events of war. What is the history of the formation of this army? What are the results of the four years of revolution?

First Stage: from March to November

On February 24, 1917, strikes broke out in Petrograd; after short encounters with the police the troops went over to the people. The Red flag of revolution was raised over the palaces of the Tsar. But at this time the army, constituted, in the main, of peasants, which had so unanimously rebelled against its "Supreme Master" had no revolutionary organization. The proletariat, which in reality was the driving power in this revolutionary blow, had no mass party; the only power of organization lay in the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie, to whom the power now passed. The general enthusiasm could, to be sure, smooth over all antagonisms for a time, but it could not eliminate the conditions making for class war; the formation of an armed force of its class was the chief task of the proletariat. The workers at Petrograd and other industrial centers already began to arm themselves on the day after the March Revolution, and to form the first troops of the workers' guard. The protests of the government and of the Soviet still dominated by the Mensheviks can no longer hold up the course of events, and already the number of Red Guards has risen to ten thousand. When in the July days the Bolshevik party meets with defeat, this work suffers an interruption; but immediately after the Kornilov insurrection new workers' battalions are formed, drills are held in the factories and works and in November the Red Guard, together with

the sailors, knock Kerensky on the head before the gates of Petrograd. Moscow and the provinces do not lag behind Petrograd; in the Urals there have been "Fighting Organizations of the People" since June, which have their own staff, subject to the party committee, and a firm basis is thus afforded for the passing of the power into the hands of the workers; Odessa and Moscow already have their Red Guard divisions in April. Parallel with this spontaneous movement there proceeds among the most advanced workers, beginning as early as March, 1917, the formation of a military organization of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks; communications have been established between all the regiments and detachments of the Petrograd garrison, as well as groups formed and revolutionary work among the masses begun. Early in May connections with the provinces and the front have been made and the Petrograd Military Commission becomes an All-Russian Center. The inability of the Kerensky Government to help the provinces, their treasonable agrarian policy and the desire of the masses for the termination of the war, create a situation in which the military organization has the greatest difficulty in preventing a premature uprising. In the July days after the unsuccessful Bolshevik revolt, the organization is destroyed. But the work of military preparation is continued and strengthened "illegally" and, simultaneously with the arming and grouping of the masses of the proletariat, as well as of the soldiers, a far-reaching, successful campaign is inaugurated at the front and also in the rear. November approaches. The Military Organization draws up the plan for an uprising, sends Commissars to the troops of the Petrograd garrison, with the aid of the latter takes possession of the stores of arms and munitions, and retains control of the insurrection.

The Red Guard, which arose everywhere during this first period of the organized armed proletariat, constituted a firm nucleus for the formation of the future Red Army. These troops were prepared, steeled in the fire of insurrections, for a hard task of battle.

Second Stage: From November to the Decree Creating the Red Army

The street fights in Petrograd and the still more bitter fights in Moscow, where the revolutionary garrison had to force the *yunker** troops out of the Kremlin and drag them one by one from houses in which they had taken refuge, ended with the victory of the revolution. Kerensky is able to recall only a few Cossack regiments from the front, under the command of General Krassnov. They are beaten by the Red Guards outside Petrograd in stubborn encounters. About the

*Cadets (young military students) were called "yunkers".

middle of November the headquarters are taken over by Comrade Krylenko and the counter-revolutionaries attempt to gain a foothold in the border regions. Kaledin gathers together regiments of officers in the Don region, Dutov occupies Orenburg, Petliura and Vinnichenko convoke the Ukrainian Rada, Semionov is in Siberia and Dovbor-Musnitski in White Russia. The workers' troops of the Red Guard rush into serious battles. Petersburg alone sends ten thousand men to the Don front; the Moscow and Ural workers are not outdone by those at Petersburg; revolutionary enthusiasm spurs these masses on to battle against the well organized enemy, whose forces consist frequently of officers only, and are led by famous military specialists. Poor training, weak discipline, and unorganized actions by small independent units—these peculiarities of the first stage of any popular army—were also characteristic of our first volunteer detachments. But these defects are neutralized by an iron will to conquer, by obstinacy, by the initiative of the fighters and by the support of the workers and peasants who join them in masses. After four months of combat our troops take Kiev (January, 1918), occupy Orenburg, defeat Kaledin's forces at Taganrog, Alexeyev's troops at Rostov, and Dovbor-Musnitski at Rogachev and Shlobin, and before the middle of April all the Ukraine, and the Don region, the Urals and Siberia are in the power of the Workers' and Peasants' Government. The latter now issues in rapid succession a number of decrees on peace, on the abolition of private property, as well as on the abolition of differences of rank and station; peace negotiations begin with Austria and Germany.

What has meanwhile been going on in the Tsar's army?

The commanders for the most part, especially those of higher rank, were enemies of the workers' revolution. The soldiers take demobilization in their own hands. The army was crippled from within, and no armed force of the revolutionary proletariat could be built up upon it. Every soldier, whether he was a worker or a peasant, exhausted by the four years of warfare, necessarily had to be brought back to his accustomed work and to be remade in it before he could enter the new army that was to be built in the interests of the workers and peasants; the troops remaining at the front were completely disorganized; only a few Lettish regiments and detachments, in which the influence of the Bolsheviks was particularly strong, formed the sole strength remaining from the old army, upon which one could depend. The great masses were pouring back to their homes, and on their way destroyed the already feeble transportation facilities of the Republic.

On February 18 the Germans unexpectedly resume their advance and occupy Dvinsk; early in March they take Pskov and advance rapidly on Petersburg. The troops at the front flee without offering the least resistance. The Red Guard of the Petersburg proletariat in a single night calls into life whole regiments of workers. In the

Smolny Institute a general staff is created. Twenty-four hours later armed trains and artillery proceed to the front, and after two days more the first cavalry division sets forth. "The Socialist fatherland is in danger," Comrade Lenin announces in his proclamation. Red Petersburg receives its baptism of fire and forces the German advance to halt. An armistice is called, which leads to the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The entire situation of the Republic indicated the urgent necessity of creating a regular Red Army. The principle of universal military service was not in accord, however, with the attitude of the masses for the moment; as a provisional measure the principle of voluntary military service is applied and the local soviets display the greatest initiative. After this question has been elaborated in the All-Russian Collegium for Organizing a Red Army, and after the fundamental points of the decree have been approved by the Soldiers' Sections of the Third Congress of Soviets, the Council of People's Commissars issued the Decree on the Organization of the Red Army, the army of the workers and peasants.

Third Stage: The Red Army and Voluntary Military Service (February to June, 1918)

The decree issued on February 23, 1918, includes the following statement:

"The new army is to be created from the conscious and organized elements of the working class. It is to be the foundation on which the standing army is to be succeeded in the near future by an arming of the entire population, and is to serve as a support for the approaching social revolution in Europe."

With this decree the foundations are laid for a regular army of the proletariat. The workers and Red Guards constituted the kernel of the new formation, and gathered about them volunteers from among the working masses; thus there arose, simultaneously with the military operations, increasing more and more in extent, the first sections of the Red Army. At the same time local organs of supervision are formed, without which a transition to Universal Military Service would be impossible; furthermore, schools are established to prepare instructors for the workers' and peasants' army; old, experienced military specialists are engaged for the work. The All-Russian Executive Committee, on the basis of Comrade Trotsky's report of April 22, sanctioned the decrees on the organization of War Commissariats in the villages, counties, provinces and cities, for the purpose of carrying out an efficient military training of the workers and peasants, and provided that the volunteers shall be obliged to undergo a training period of one-half year in the Red Army; at the same time the right of the troops to elect their officers is abolished and the number of instruction courses for army officers is increased. Finally, the Fifth Congress of Soviets establishes the necessary centralization of military organization, and war is declared against all

independent military actions (June 5, 1918).

The formation of the Red Army continues to progress during the bloody struggle in Ukraine and on the Don. The bourgeoisie of the entire world hastens to the aid of its Russian brothers. Petlura, with the aid of German and Austrian regiments, takes possession of the Ukraine and Crimea; the vacillating policy of the irresponsible Petlura soon compels the Germans to replace him with Hetman Skoropadski. Krasnov, who had taken Kaledin's place, occupies Rostov, Novorossisk and the entire Donets Basin. In Georgia and Baku, with the benevolent approval of the English garrison, the Mensheviks take charge of affairs. Our troops, as yet insufficiently supplemented by volunteers, wage a stubborn fight; the detachment of Comrades Sivers and Kividze—both die the death of heroes—acquire eternal fame in the fight against the Haidamaks* and Krasnov. The Czecho-Slovak uprisings in Tambov and Kozlov are the links in the chain forged by the Entente to throttle the Russian workers' revolution. The external and internal fronts require reserves and replacements. The principle of voluntary service does not suffice to fill these demands. The organs of control have now been organized, and officers are present in sufficient numbers, and therefore the first order of mobilization is issued on July 28, 1918. From the standpoint of the conduct of affairs during recent events, this entire period, up to the creation of the Revolutionary Council of War of the Republic, as well as of the single field staff attached to it, is characterized by a multifarious division of power, by duplication, by great powers in the hands of single groups, commanders-in-chief, heads of individual detachments and sections, etc. Already in February, at the time of the German advance, the Supreme Council of War had been formed as an administrative center of organization against the enemy in the West. It was concerned only with the events in the west. The creation of internal fronts and lines of defense made it imperative to create a new strategic body from the operative section of the staff of the Moscow War Area. If we add to this the staff of the Field Headquarters and finally also the All-Russian Supreme Staff, together with the still existing administration of the General Staff, the necessity for concentration becomes apparent, and this concentration was effected by the creation of the Revolutionary Council of War; this period is therefore characterized at the Center by a lack of unity and decision, and in the provinces by a burning initiative of the lower organs and the creation of more or less isolated sectors.

Fourth Stage: From the Czecho-Slovaks to Kolchak (July, 1918—March, 1919)

The Czecho-Slovak army, consisting of 30,000 men and eight batteries of three-inch guns, armored trains, and an air squadron, was to be transported to the French front by way of Vladivostok. The causes of the Czecho-Slovak insurrection were suf-

*Ukrainian nationalists.

activity of the French and English Governments in supporting this army, particularly its officers, is not open to dispute. On May 29 the Czecho-Slovaks took Penza; reinforced by all the counter-revolutionary forces of the Urals and Siberia, they then occupy Samara, Simbirsk, Ufa, and Yekaterinburg; thereafter their advance on Moscow begins. On July 28 they take Kazan, where our gold supply and great powder stores fall into their hands. At about the same time, Anglo-American detachments seize Murman and the White Sea region and send their flotillas up the Dvina. A number of insurrections in our rear, and the attempt of the Left Social-Revolutionaries, displeased by the Brest peace, to seize power in Moscow as well as Muraviev's adventure at the front, put the republic in an extremely grave position. Connections between the front and rear were proven in this period to be quite firm. The country was transformed into a military camp. Conscriptations of workers are made in Moscow and Petrograd and later in the provinces, masses of non-commissioned officers and former officers formed the necessary kernel of the army; the mobilization of all party forces raised the morale of the Red Army men; the army loses the last vestiges of its improvised character and under the leadership of General Tukhachevsky (commander of the First Army), the first Red divisions march eastward. The recovery of the Volga and the Urals from the Whites was quickly accomplished, and on January 22, 1919 our troops united after the fall of Orenburg with the troops of Red Turkestan.

The mass mobilizations made it necessary to expand all the central provisioning organs and to create extraordinary military supply organs. The central provisioning administration, the national army administration, the national military supervision, the National Quartermaster's Department and the central economic administration were reconstructed, placed in charge of a specialist and two commissars, and immediately began organizing a planful provisioning of the divisions in process of formation. The Supreme Military Inspection and the Bureau of Military Commissars develop the greatest energy; the former in the control and organization of military affairs in the localities, the latter in the distribution of the mobilized political workers and in guiding the activities of the commissars. The Chief Commissar for Military Schools speedily creates a system of short time courses. Hundreds, nay, thousands of workers, who passed through the fire of the first revolutionary struggle completed their military training in these schools. The first Red commanders appear on the Czecho-Slovak front as early as August 15; later they arrive at all the other fronts. In the severest moments that the Republic was obliged to undergo, they were the strongest prop and imbued our army with the necessary aggressiveness. After the East and South fronts had been formed, the Revolutionary efficiently explained at the time, and we may be excused from dwelling further on them now. The

Council of War of the Republic was established on September 2 under the chairmanship of Comrade Trotsky; all questions of national defense are centered in this institution. It organizes the northern and western front, liquidates countless centers of operation and consolidates their functions in the Field Staff of the Republic. The formation of new military units corresponding to the country's resources, technology and transportation—in a word the entire military and peace work of the General Staff—is a heavy burden on the Republic's Staff. In order to increase the performance of all the economic institutions of the country as much as possible and to strengthen its military forces, the Council of Labor and Defense was established under the chairmanship of Comrade Lenin late in October; on the fronts and in the armies appropriate revolutionary councils of war are created which contribute in great measure to the raising of the authority of the commanders and to the utilization of local resources for the army's requirements. This internal organizing process in the army coincides with new successes of the Red arms. Toward the end of November, after the fall of William II, the German troops begin to evacuate our territory. Without encountering any resistance the Red Army occupies Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia and then also Ukraine. At the end of the period we are now considering there is at our disposal an army of more than one million men, of whom six hundred thousand constitute the fighting strength; in the provinces supplementary divisions were formed, but the following situation developed at the front: in the east, Kolchak, after dispersing the remnants of the Constituent Assembly, proclaims himself ruler of Russia (November 2, 1918). He does not limit himself to enrolling officers and Cossack detachments, but also conscripts the Siberian peasantry, obtains money and weapons from the Entente and prepares an offensive against Moscow for the Spring. In the south, Krassnov threatens Tsaritsin more than once during the Summer and Fall of 1918, finally pushes back our troops and threatens Voronezh; in the north, Chaikovsky, aided by the English troops, occupies Archangel, proceeds southward along the railroad line and the Dvina to give aid to the Czecho-Slovaks and occupies the northern shores of Lakes Onega and Ladoga; in the west the advance guard of the Entente, consisting of Letts, Estonians and Poles, takes Riga and Narva, and later also Pinsk, Vilna and Baranovichi. The ring of the blockade tightens on all sides. The worst days of the Republic are at hand. Kolchak is the first to attempt to seize the power.

Fifth Stage: Kolchak and Denikin

In March, 1919, Kolchak advances rapidly to the Volga with 300,000 bayonets, 6,000 sabres, 700 guns and 2,500 machine guns. Soviet Russia's peasantry very quickly grasped the significance of this offensive; behind Kolchak stood the big landed proprietor and behind him the tsarist uriadnik†;

†Village constable.

the Communist Party sends its best party workers to the Volga. "All to the East!" is the slogan of defense. All the available forces are placed at the disposal of the Commander on the East front, S. S. Kamenev*; on April 25 (encounter at Buguruslan) begins the retreat of the shattered divisions of the "Supreme Ruler," who had been recognized by all the nations of Europe. The Red volunteers have done much to bring about this result; they occupy Irkutsk, capture Kolchak and shoot him (February 7, 1920).

At the moment of the greatest exertions of our forces against Kolchak, Denikin puts in his appearance as Krassnov's successor. He is superior to us in his technical equipment, particularly artillery and tanks, presents from our former "Allies." He has under him a well organized, powerful and able cavalry, is favored by the general situation (the attitude of the wealthy peasants of southeastern Russia), and thus he advances (beginning May, 1919) in order to unite as rapidly as possible with Kolchak on the Volga, and to take Moscow. Red Tsaritsin, on the flank of the southern front, was a reliable support for the armies fighting Kolchak and Denikin; the latter encounters increasingly stubborn resistance as his advance proceeds. The mobilization in Ukraine and the attitude of a great many of the landed proprietors in the region create a new Red front in that region, which engages much of Denikin's strength. Hoping to accelerate his advance, he determines to strike a blow at the heart of the Soviet State by means of a cavalry attack. Mamontov commits great depredations and temporarily occupies Kozlov and Tambov. "Proletarians to horse!" is Comrade Trotsky's slogan in the formation of a great cavalry army, which is enthusiastically complied with. Already on October 19, Budenny's armies crush Mamontov at Voronezh. On the 20th our troops take Orel. Budenny's army advances into the center of the enemy's forces, cuts them in two and forces them to retreat with enormous losses and without offering resistance. The eastern portion falls back on the White capitals, Rostov and Novorossiik, the western to the Crimean peninsula; the intervention of Curzon and of the Entente fleet help General Wrangel, and we have had to pay heavily for not eliminating him at the proper moment.

The destruction of Yudenitch, near Petrogard, the elimination of the northern front and the absence of military operations on the Polish front, afford us a short breathing spell lasting until the spring of 1920. This period is characterized from the standpoint of organization by the great creative work of shock-troops, cavalry masses, the better training of the new formations, improvement in the command and technical equipment. From the operative standpoint Comrade Kamenev's idea of a thoroughgoing liquidation of the fronts is fully carried out in this period.

*Commander-in-Chief and one of the first organizers of the Red Army; not to be mistaken for L. Kamenev, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet.—Ed.

Sixth Stage: Polish War, Wrangel, Internal Fronts

The fruits of the work of the Red Army on the internal labor front do not have time to mature. Supported in the most far-reaching manner by the Entente, the Poles, together with Petlura hasten to utilize this breathing spell by launching an offensive on Ukraine, hoping to find us too weak to fight; our army had only one-fourth the numerical strength of the Polish Army and had to retreat at the end of April and to relinquish Kiev, Zhitomir and Berdyansk.

"On to the fight with the Polish Pans*" was the battle cry of the Government all through the Russian Republic; it found an echo everywhere in the country; the Communists set forth in masses, followed by tens of thousands of volunteers, while trusted regiments and divisions are fetched up from all the fronts. The Polish "Pans" receive their first blow on the northern section of the Polish front; our counter-offensive in Ukraine recaptures Kiev; then our armies pierce a line of fortified positions 110 versts long, advance, and occupy Minsk, Vilna, Molodechno, Bobruisk; Comrade Gay's army corps on July 19 destroys powerful Polish detachments at Grodno, and advances to envelop Warsaw, taking possession of the Polish corridor. But the farther we advance the more stubborn becomes the Polish resistance; our rear does not keep pace with the front; on the other hand, the Polish "Pans" conduct a violent agitation among the peasant masses against our offensive and seek to awaken a national enthusiasm; they form fresh infantry and cavalry divisions and on August 14, under the walls of Warsaw, after a short and powerful drive, take the counter-offensive, penetrate our front in the north, throw the Gay Corps and the Fourth Army into German territory, and our troops are obliged to fall back to approximately the position of the present national boundary.

The conclusion of the Polish campaign permitted us to devote our best energies to fighting Wrangel, who had issued from Crimea through the isthmus in the spring. There was danger that the Donets Basin would be seized by him. By a series of crushing blows at Nikopol and Kakhovka, Wrangel's forces are smashed and the powerful Red Army storms the impregnable fortifications of the isthmus of Perekop and the Sivash. Again the Soviet flag waved over Crimea.

The Red Army proved just as powerful in putting down mutineers and bandits. Kronstadt, the Makhno episode, the Tambov affair, the Savinkov and Petlura bands on the western boundary, the Finnish adventure in Karelia, all this is torn up by the roots and can no longer obstruct the economic reconstruction of the country.

During the four years of war the army, in spite of its organizational defects and its weak technique, threw back all the onslaughts of world imperialism. It has forced if not a formal recognition (which is also not far off), at least a *de facto*

*"Pan" (in Polish "mister" or "lord") is used in Russian in the meaning of Polish nobleman.—Ed.

recognition of the Soviet Republic; it is a permanent inspiration for the world proletariat in its struggle against its oppressors.

Let us not take up the specifically tactical and strategic problems, but simply review briefly what has been said:

In spite of the far-reaching support of the Entente the power of the White Guard generals disappears as soon as they begin to mobilize masses and draw them into their armies; as these armies were formed exclusively of officers, they disintegrated as soon as the latter were destroyed. The Red fronts in the rear of our enemies were one of the decisive factors in our victories. A second factor determining the outcome of the struggle was the manner in which the Communist Party was able to stimulate and increase further and further the enthusiasm in the ranks of the Red Guard masses. In this enthusiasm we must also look for the cause of the irresistible and rapid nature of our operations and the elemental force of our attack.

At present our army has been reestablished on a peace footing, reduced by one-third, and made into a frame for future operations. "When there are no fronts, danger is nevertheless not far off," Comrade Trotsky said at the Ninth Soviet Congress. The present events sufficiently prove the truth of these words; the adventure in Karelia, the attack on the Far Eastern front, the disarmament farce in Washington, the cabinet crises in Western Europe, all these events are followed with interest by the Red Army. "Danger is at hand," therefore there must always be a strong armed force ready to give battle at any moment.

While Soviet diplomacy is straining every means of securing a condition of peace, the army is not less tensely engaged in improving its quality.

The strengthening of the technical equipment, the growth of the Communist influence, the preparation and training of soldiers as well as commanders of Red divisions, the amelioration of our material situation—these are the tasks approached by the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and requiring solution to the greatest possible extent. It is a task that is clearly outlined, demanding great energy, great perseverance, great patience. A glorious past is behind us, but a still more glorious future awaits us.

The Great Northern Route

THE shortest and cheapest way from any European port to the markets of Central Asia is by the North Cape of Norway, through the Kara Straits, and along the mouths of the immense rivers of Siberia—the Ob and the Yenisei. This route has been known for some centuries now and many attempts have been made to use it for commercial purposes, but the corruption and indifference of the Tsarist Government were formidable obstacles in the past, and nothing could be done. With the advent of the Soviet Government the question became an important business proposition.

The first attempt, since the revolution, to make practical use of the north sea passage was in 1918, when the Chief Water Transport Commission fitted out at Archangel an expedition to the mouths of the Ob and the Yenisei, chiefly for the purpose of obtaining grain. Then came the work of preparing definitely for the commercial use of the sea route. To begin with, an organizing body, the "Northern Route Committee," was set up and began its work in Siberia. This committee consisted of a group of specialists and some members of the Communist Party interested in the attempt. Plans were drawn up and a series of radio stations erected along the route to help passing shipping with weather reports and advice as to direction. At the same time, very successful land expeditions were organized to explore the northern regions, and to carry out scientific research over the whole area. An expedition under the direction of Professor Osipov discovered deposits of graphite to the extent of over 3,000,000 tons along the river Kureika, a tributary of the Yenisei. These deposits could supply the whole world requirements of graphite for several score years.

Along the banks of the Stony Tunguska vast deposits of coal were found, containing not less than 5,000,000 tons of coal. Shipping can get up to the very source of the coal.

Another expedition under Engineer Urantsev explored Norilsk, and found a very favorable coal bed for working, with deposits of 75,000,000 tons of coal of a quality equal to the best Cardiff. (See *Russian Information and Review*, No. 7, January 1, 1922, page 157.) Deposits of copper and nickel ores and graphite have also been discovered in this district.

The results of these expeditions have made it possible for S. Obruchev, the geologist, to make an estimate as to the area of the Tungus coal basin and the total quantity of coal to be found there. The basin covers all the right bank of the northern Yenisei and the valleys of its tributaries, the Angara, the Stony and the Lower Tunguska, the Kureika, the upper waters of the Piasina, Khatanga, and Anabara rivers, right up to the western tributaries of the Lena, only a few score miles from Lake Baikal. The area covered is nearly 400,000 square miles, and the coal bed is the richest in the world—three times as large as that of North America and more than forty times bigger than the Donetz basin.

The work of the railway building expedition at the mouth of the Yenisei is progressing steadily. About sixty miles of line is to be laid down between Norilsk and Dudinsk to link up the coal basin with the quays on the bank of the Yenisei. All the necessary surveying has been carried out, the sleepers are prepared, and the rails have been brought up by river. The timber for building huts for the workers and for telephone posts is carried to Dudinsk on reindeer sleighs. An expedition was sent under the direction of the celebrated polar explorer, K. K. Neupokoyev, to investigate port and landing conditions in the estuary of the Ob.

Twenty-five miles north of Nakhodka Bay they found another bay—Novyi Port—which is better sheltered from the wind; it is a safe and convenient anchorage where the work of transshipment should be easy. The port of Ust Yeniseisk is being fitted up and improved. The harbor has a depth of twenty-two feet and warehouse accommodation for 4,150 tons of goods.

Thus the work of establishing the northern sea route is going on with energy. The most acute and urgent question is that of constructing coaling stations on the sea route and on the Ob and Yenisei.

Foreign firms have begun to make proposals to the Commissariat for Foreign Trade for using this route; if their plans can be carried out it will be to the commercial advantage of Russia and of Europe. The business holds out lucrative promises and should be safe. The profits made by the Norwegian "Siberian Shipping Company for Trade and Industry" (1912) were very considerable, and the results of the two Kara Sea trading expeditions, one from Archangel and one from England, have been satisfactory. It is certain that many tempting offers will be forthcoming from western Europe for use of the shortest water route, from western Europe to the very heart of Siberia, China, and Mongolia.

In view of the great commercial possibilities presented by this route another Kara Sea expedition is about to be undertaken. (For the previous expedition from England, see *Russian Information and Review*, No. 3, November 1, 1921, pp. 64-65.) Large stores of raw materials—wool, hides, bristles, etc.—have been accumulated along the rivers Ob and Yenisei. The Northern Route Committee has been supervising the repair of the river fleet which will take cargoes down the Ob to Novyi Port, where the cargoes will be loaded on steamers for export. The expedition will, as formerly, be controlled by the Commissariat for Foreign Trade jointly with the Supreme Economic Council, the Centrosoyus, and the Ural Foreign Trade Commissariat.

It is proposed to send abroad, via the Kara Sea, 10,000 tons of raw materials, in exchange for which imports needed by Siberia will be sent in: agricultural machinery, guns, powder, small shot, axes, and other things needed by the peasants. Last year the work of purchasing goods for import was splendidly carried out by Arcos,* which will do the purchasing this year. There will be four or five cargo ships from those recently chartered by the Commissariat for Foreign Trade—the "Trotsky," "Yakov Sverdlov," "Arcos," "Vneshtorg," and "Brann."

Last year's Kara Sea expedition carried 10,000 tons of goods into Siberia and brought out 5,000 tons. It will probably be possible to carry out the expedition at a lesser cost than that of last year; and since its political and economic importance is very great there is every reason for undertaking it and every hope of its success.

* All-Russian Cooperative Society with Foreign Headquarters at London.

Agricultural Machinery Required

PROFESSOR V. G. GAN

Ploughs

THE term of service of a plough is generally reckoned at ten years.

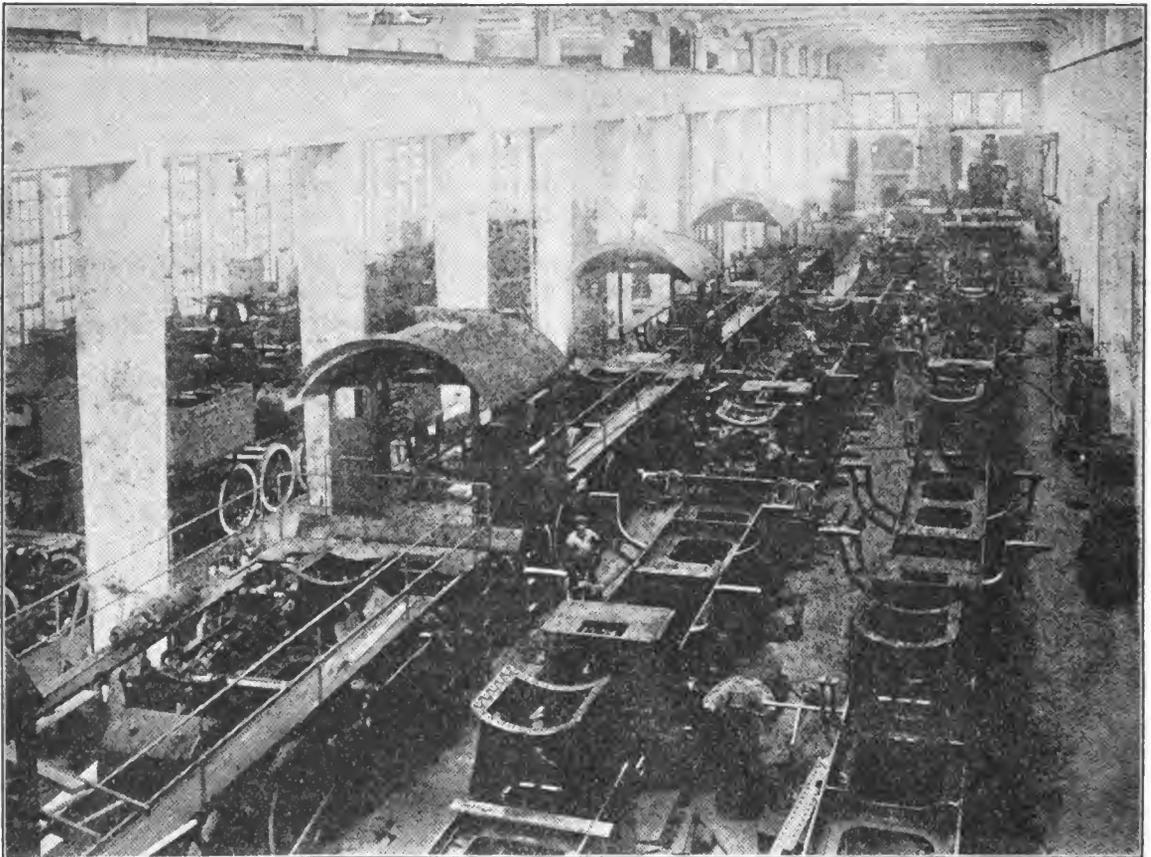
For the ten-year period 1906-16 the number of ploughs manufactured in Russia and imported from abroad was about 8,300,000 in all. This number, therefore, would represent the actual number of ploughs fit for work in Russia in the year 1916. At that date, the amount of land under the plough in Russia was about 100,000,000 desyatinas.*

Since there are no data as to the local distribution of ploughs throughout Russia, we have to assume a uniform distribution, and that the eleven hunger-stricken provinces have the same proportion of ploughs as the rest of the country. Even though we may suppose that there must be local differences (so that the numerical distribution of the ploughs will vary a little from place to place), when we are dealing with very large areas and very great numbers of ploughs, these differences cannot be considerable.

If we base our estimate as to the actual number of ploughs in certain localities in the year 1916 upon the average amount of land worked by one plough, we find, according to the reports of the year 1916, that we obtain the following data for the hunger-stricken provinces:

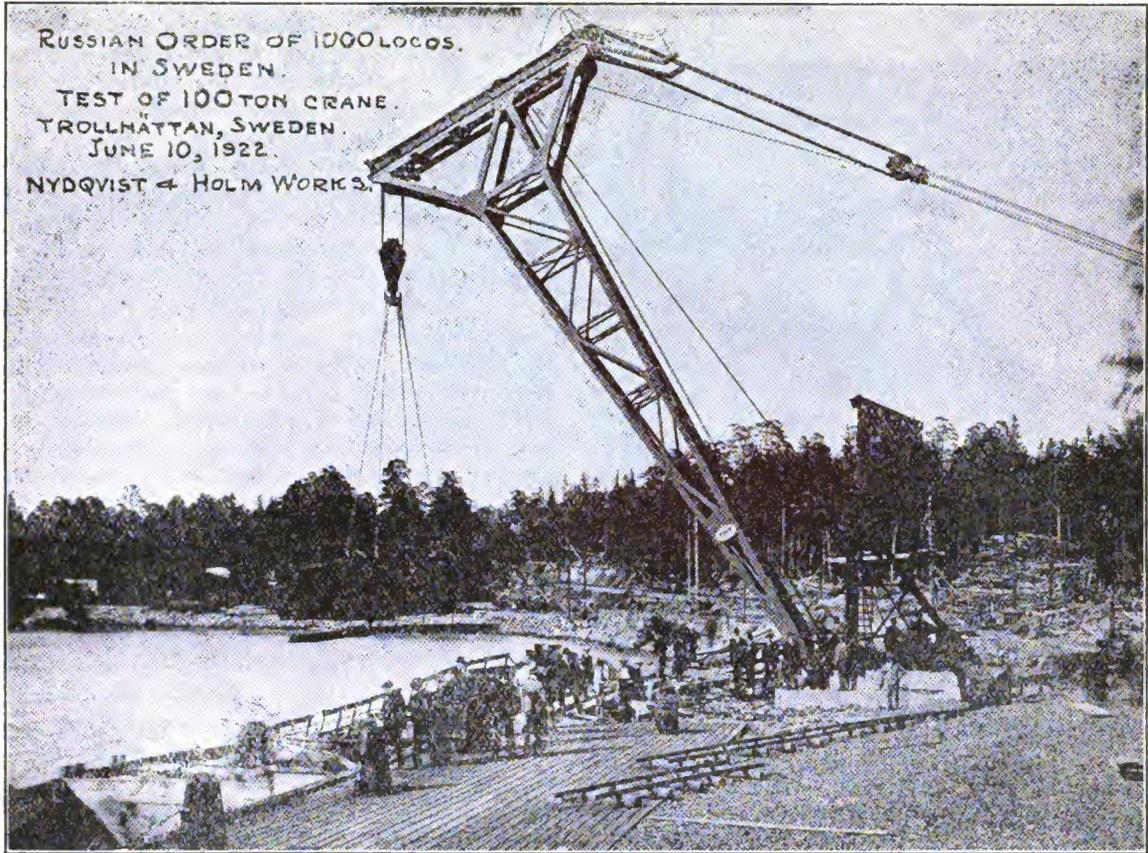
Province.	Area Sown in Desyatinas.	Number of Farms.	Approximate Number of Ploughs.
Samara ..	4,098,000	512,804	340,000
Saratov ..	2,489,000	435,076	208,000
Astrakhan	730,000	198,492	61,000
Uralsk ...	279,670	43,275	23,000
Turgai ..	1,013,000	140,992	90,000
Kazan ...	1,634,000	445,888	135,000
Simbisrk .	1,346,000	305,513	112,000
Ufa	2,446,000	500,543	204,000
Orenburg	2,291,000	344,592	190,000
Vyatka ..	3,003,000	593,561	250,000
Stavropol	2,092,000	178,213	175,000
	21,421,670	3,698,949	1,788,000

* 1 desyatina equals 2.7 acres.



ASSEMBLING LOCOMOTIVES FOR RUSSIA

A photograph taken in the Nydqvist & Holm Works, Trolhättan, Sweden, where hundreds of locomotives were made for Russia, with very beneficial effects on Swedish industrial and labor conditions. See also cuts on pages 77 and 78.



RUSSIAN ORDER OF 1000 LOCOS.
IN SWEDEN.
TEST OF 100 TON CRANE.
TROLLHÄTTAN, SWEDEN.
JUNE 10, 1922.
NYDQVIST & HOLM WORKS.

The supply of ploughs began to fall off at the beginning of the war. During the years 1916-1921 inclusive, the supply of new ploughs was reduced to the inadequate amount of 900,000 ploughs for the six years. The average supply was 150,000 ploughs per annum, this being only 20 per cent. of the normal yearly supply of ploughs, of the amount which is essential if the stock of ploughs in Russia is to be maintained at the 1916 level (assuming that the supply for the years 1916-1921 ought to have been the same as that for the years 1906-1911). During the last five years, the supply of ploughs for the whole of Russia has fallen short by the amount of 3,400,000 ploughs. In other words, the stock of ploughs in the country is now 40 per cent. less than the stock at the beginning of the year 1916.

In conformity with these suppositions, we may calculate that in the eleven hunger-stricken provinces the shortage of ploughs at the present date is as follows:

Province.	Number of Ploughs.
Samara	136,000
Saratov	83,000
Astrakhan	24,000
Uralsk	9,000
Turgai	36,000
Kazan	54,000
Simbirsk	45,000
Ufa	82,000
Orenburg	76,000

Vyatka	100,000
Stavropol	70,000
Total	715,000

As regards type of ploughs and efficiency of ploughs, the prevailing need is everywhere the same, if we exclude Vyatka province, and parts of Kazan and Simbirsk provinces. Any inequalities in respect to the distribution among the provinces can be ascertained when fuller and more accurate details have been secured by the local councils of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture.

In this matter of type and efficiency the requirements for certain kinds of ploughs are as follows:

No.	Required.
Anglo-Bulgarian, the Gena No. 0.....	30,000
Anglo-Bulgarian, the Gena No. 1.....	55,000
Anglo-Bulgarian, the Gena No. 2.....	10,000
One-shared Plough made in the Ryazan Factory, Trademark R Shch	20,000
Sachs swing Plough, Trademark R 6...	30,000
Sachs Plough with Fore-Beam, Trade mark DM 7	45,000
Sachs Plough with Fore-Beam, Trademark DM 8	5,000
The Citizen	25,000
The Reform and the Ideal, Trademarks 5-8	20,000
Total	240,000

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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ON the day when the Hague conference finally adjourned, Holland's foremost actor, Louis Bouwmeester, gave to the conference delegates and the visiting newspaper representatives a specimen of his sense of humor by a gala performance of—"Shylock." We hope the delegates of the various countries that did not succeed in getting their pound of flesh (as a matter of fact they coveted *all* the flesh) took this taunt gracefully, especially as the final proposal of Litvinov to deal directly with all the claimants and creditors already proved rather strong for their delicate nerves. As an "Associated Press" cable of July 19 reports:

Apparently they (the delegates) do not wish to appear as opposing any legitimate project for the small European investors to get their money back. At the same time they are opposed to the Bolsheviki working over the heads of their Governments and establishing organized relations with their citizens, which they consider would be too much like aiding and abetting the Bolshevist cause.

Some of the European representatives, however, speaking unofficially, pointed out what they termed the grave danger to the social and government systems of Europe, which they deemed an inevitable accompaniment of the Russian project, if put into operation. They contended that it offered untold opportunities for the dissemination of Bolshevist propaganda because it meant that every small bondholder in Europe henceforth would have a direct interest in the welfare of the Soviet Government and would be put into direct communication with it. Their hope of eventual payment would lie in the perpetuation of the Soviet regime. These people would be interested in having their Governments help the Russian Government into permanent power.

"Thus it opened," said one of the delegates, "a very subtle means of Bolshevist propaganda, through the direct establishment of a community of material interest between the Moscow Government and millions of people of Europe whose small savings are invested in Russia. This is particularly true of France."

Which almost literally confirms the words of Chicherin in Genoa that the capitalist governments are ready to sacrifice the interests of innumerable

small investors for the sake of a small number of millionaire concerns, which may have to remain unindemnified. But we never expected that the representatives of the Western governments should so frankly expose the real interests served by the "free democracies" of Europe and elsewhere.

IN the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA we printed the correspondence between the Russian author Alexis Tolstoi and the counter-revolutionist Nikolai Chaykovsky, of Archangelsk fame. In his letter, A. Tolstoi dramatically describes how the Polish war, and especially the famine, brought him—once a fanatical enemy of the Soviet Government—to the realization that his duty was to forget the past and to collaborate in the reconstruction and rescue of his country. But while Tolstoi is ready to forget the bulk of the intellectuals in Russia, those who consider themselves the salt of the earth and its born teachers and uplifters, still sulk and refuse to help as long as the Government they hate has not been overthrown. Referring to this attitude, Semashko, People's Commissioner of Public Health, wrote the following remarks in the *Pravda* of Moscow:

"At the recent Soviet Congress, Kalinin pointed out the splendid response to the appeal of the starving, which was made by the masses of the workers and peasants. Though suffering themselves from hunger they help their starving brothers to the utmost of their ability. The educated classes, on the contrary, render very little assistance in our fight against the famine. We only know of isolated humanitarian relief actions undertaken by groups of doctors and others. The bulk of the intellectuals, however, content themselves with fair words and give but little actual help. However it may grieve us to have to make such avowal, we still must admit that the staff of our medical service is quite inadequate for relief to the starving. Our appeals to come to the assistance of the heroic staff of our health service on duty in the famine-stricken areas has been re-echoed even abroad, and only the Russian physicians remained deaf to the call of their colleagues. From Moscow and Petrograd, which are crowded with physicians, and where people like so much to talk about the "ethics of the medical profession," not a single sanitary detachment has left for the famine-stricken provinces to stand by the local staff of the medical service, who threaten to break down under the burden of their heavy task.

"Let the intellectuals take for a model the workers and the peasants, and let those who will not do it voluntarily, be compelled to do their duty. The fight against the famine is also a war, and in a war corresponding methods must be applied.

"The working class will always discriminate between its true and false friends among the intellectuals, those who cooperate with the workers and share their grief and joy, and those who decline to do so. We shall do all in our power to alleviate the life and work of such intellectuals, because without them we cannot erect the great fabric of Communism."

PROFESSOR Edwin R. Seligman of Columbia University, belongs to that group of enemies of the Soviet Government that does its work in a "decent" manner, without resorting to the methods of Gompers, Walling, Brasol, Spargo and Ole Hanson. His method is "scientific", and in one of the literary supplements of the *Evening Post* (June 24, 1922) Professor Seligman

gives, under the caption "The Bolshevist Experiment," in an article free from all vituperation, a review of a book by Professor Zagorsky, prefaced by Emile Vandervelde, and "based entirely upon official documents and communications". We shall not argue with the learned professor about the question of whether the retreat from the Communist positions is due to the impracticability of Socialist theories, or to the fact of Russia's isolation; we point out only two sentences in this article which are sufficient to characterize the genuineness of those "official documents," and the good faith of the scholars that are using them, pretending to give them credence. "*The trades unions were prohibited*" (the learned professor probably considers counter-revolutionary political parties as "trade unions"); and further: "The population of Russia fell from 180 to 130 millions." We are to surmise that the population was actually reduced by 50 millions through starvation, suicides, illness, etc.—while as a matter of fact this reduction simply means that large parts of the former Russian Empire, such as Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Finland, Bessarabia, and portions of Eastern Siberia, have become colonies of British, French and Japanese imperialism, and that the military aid sent by all the Allies to the enemies of the Soviet Republic was the only cause that brought about this "reduction" of the population of Russia.

This is the way the growing generation in America is taught the unadulterated historic truth about Russia—and about many other things—by the representatives of the higher learning.

A SHORT cable report of hardly six lines published recently in the press had it that a French Red Cross mission will go to Russia early in July aboard the steamship California, which is now being loaded with 9,000 tons of supplies at Dunkirk. The mission expects to land at Petrograd. A few executives will precede the vessel in order to establish headquarters.

On its face the report sounds like any other famine relief item, if we forget that it was exactly nine months ago that the French parliament voted credits in the amount of six million francs, to be spent for relief in Russia. This decision was simply disregarded by the Government—proving once more how much reality there is in the "democratic" principles which are supposed to be supreme in the "civilized" Western countries. But it is interesting to ask why the French Government disregarded the decision of its own Parliament. It did so simply because it had not given up its hopes to induce its Polish and Rumanian vassals to start a new war against famine-weakened Russia. But it so happened that while Pilsudski, the "Socialist" President of Poland, with his retinue of job-hungry intellectuals of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) were ready to start anew a merry war for a "Greater Poland" with 20 per cent Poles and 80 per cent Ukrainians and Russians, the outright capitalist and landholdnig class-

es represented by the National Democrats, who had more to lose by defeat than the jingoistic, pseudo-socialistic intelligentsia, were not at all enthusiastic to venture upon such an enterprise. Especially as they knew that the Polish workers and peasants have lost very much of their patriotic enthusiasm since 1920. And as this party has now the upper hand in Poland, and as other circumstances—such as the prospects of a good harvest—pointed also to a survival of the Soviet Government—the French Government consented to announce that it will magnanimously send supplies to Russia, now that the worst need seems to have been overcome.

THIS attitude of the Polish "Socialists" gives color to the statement made not long ago by Victor Chernov, in his daily paper *Golos Rossiya* (Berlin). In this publication (No. 972) this leader of the "Socialist Revolutionists"—a party which is as "Socialist" as Comrade Millerand and as "Revolutionary" as Comrade Noske, made an apparently very paradoxical statement. He said that while the present bourgeois governments, for various reasons, are abstaining from intervention against Russia, a Europe governed by Socialists—of his kind, of course—would most likely be more inclined to take up the interrupted task of 1918-1920. Strange as it sounds, this statement is quite plausible. For the Western European gentlemen of Chernov's brand, who so splendidly contributed to the saving of the bourgeois order during the war and in the first years after the November Revolution, the very existence of the Soviet Republic is undoubtedly a perpetual reminder of their noble achievement and of the fate that might befall them should the workers of their countries follow the example of a reconstructed Soviet Republic. But although their conception as to what is due to traitors may be correct, they are really mistaken in their fears. The victorious working class would certainly be merciful and would not pursue a policy of vengeance. Especially as the administrative talents of the leaders of the various "Socialist" parties would undoubtedly be very useful in the work of reorganization. Provided, of course, they accept their defeat and do not enter upon the road of counter-revolution—organizing insurrections, robberies and terrorist acts. In that case the story may be different. And if there is some truth in the newspaper reports that Maxim Gorky has expressed dissatisfaction with the trial of the bettors of Kolchak, the assistants of Denikin and Yudenich, and the murderers of Volodarsky and Uritsky—on the theory, as the *New York Times*, of July 8, 1922, quotes, that "Russia needs to preserve what little intellect she still has"—(even if that intellect is bent upon murdering the workers' revolution)—then we are sorry to say that the great writer at present betrays the same lack of political understanding which he showed during the first eight months of the Soviet Republic, before he grasped the real significance of the great overturn.

Sophia Perovskaya, Organizer and Terrorist

The present instalment of Stepniak's "Underground Russia" gives a portrait of Sophia Perovskaya, whose heroism and greatness of spirit have given her a place for all time in Humanity's Hall of Fame.

SHE was beautiful. It was not the beauty which dazzles at first sight, but that which fascinates the more, the more it is regarded.

A blonde, with a pair of blue eyes, serious and penetrating, under a broad and spacious forehead. A delicate little nose, a charming mouth, which showed, when she smiled, two rows of very fine white teeth.

It was, however, her countenance as a whole which was the attraction. There was something brisk, vivacious, and at the same time, ingenuous in her rounded face. She was girlhood personified. Notwithstanding her twenty-six years, she seemed scarcely eighteen. A small, slender, and very graceful figure, and a voice as charming, silvery, and sympathetic as could be, heightened this illusion. It became almost a certainty, when she began to laugh, which very often happened. She had the ready laugh of a girl, and laughed with so much heartiness, and so unaffectedly, that she really seemed a young lass of sixteen.

She gave little thought to her appearance. She dressed in the most modest manner, and perhaps did not even know what dress or ornament was becoming or unbecoming. But she had a passion for neatness, and in this was as punctilious as a Swiss girl.

She was very fond of children, and was an excellent schoolmistress. There was, however, another office that she filled even better: that of nurse. When any of her friends fell ill, Sophia was the first to offer herself for this difficult duty, and she performed it with such gentleness, cheerfulness, and patience, that she won the hearts of her patients, for all time.

Yet this woman with such an innocent appearance, and with such a sweet and affectionate disposition, was one of the most dreaded members of the Terrorist party.

It was she who had the direction of the attempt of March 13th*; it was she, who, with a pencil, outlined on an old envelope the plan of the locality, who assigned to the conspirators their respective posts, and who, on the fatal morning, remained upon the field of battle, receiving from her sentinels news of the Emperor's movements, and informing the conspirators, by means of a handkerchief, where they were to proceed.

What Titanic force was concealed under this serene appearance? What qualities did this extraordinary woman possess?

She united in herself the three forces which of themselves constitute power of the highest order: profound and extensive talents, an enthusiastic and ardent disposition, and, above all, an iron will.

Sophia Perovskaya belonged, like Kropotkin, to the highest aristocracy of Russia. The Perovskys are the younger branch of the family of the famous Rasumovsky, themorganatic husband of the Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, who occupied the throne of Russia in the middle of the eighteenth century (1741-1762). Her grandfather was Minister of Public Instruction; her father was Governor-General of St. Petersburg; her paternal uncle, the celebrated Count Perovsky, conquered for the Emperor Nicholas a considerable part of Central Asia.

Such was the family to which this woman belonged who gave such a tremendous blow to Tsarism.

Sophia was born in the year 1854. Her youth was sorrowful. She had a despotic father, and an adored mother, always outraged and humiliated. It was in her home that the germs were developed of that hatred of oppression, and that generous love of the weak and oppressed, which she preserved throughout her whole life.

The story of her early days is that of all the young in Russia, and, at the same time, of the revolutionary party. To relate it would be to present in a concrete form, what I have narrated in an abstract form in my preface.* For want of space I can only, however, indicate its chief features.

Sophia Perovskaya commenced, like all the women of her generation, with the simple desire for instruction. When she had entered her fifteenth year, the movement for the emancipation of woman was flourishing, and had even impressed her eldest sister. Sophia also wished to study, but as her father forbade her, she, like so many others, ran away from home.

Concealed in the house of some friends, she sent a messenger to parley with her father, who, after having raged in vain for some weeks, endeavoring to find his daughter by means of the police, ended by coming to terms, and consenting to provide Sophia with a passport. Her mother secretly sent her a small sum. Sophia was free, and began to study eagerly.

What, however, did the Russian literature of that period impart to her? A bitter criticism of our entire social order, indicating Socialism as the definite object and the sole remedy. Her masters were Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov—the masters that is, of the whole modern generation. With such masters eagerness to acquire knowledge quickly changed in her into eagerness to work according to the ideas derived from what she had read. The

* Tsar Alexander II was killed on March 13, 1881.

*This preface will be printed in a later issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

same tendency arises spontaneously in many other women who are in the same position. Community of ideas and aspirations develops among them a feeling of profound friendship, and seeing themselves in numbers inspires them with the desire and the hope of doing something.

In this manner we have a secret society in embryo; for in Russia everything that is done for the welfare of the country, and not for that of the Emperor, has to be done in secret. Sophia Perovskaya became intimate with the unfortunate family of the Kornilov sisters, the nucleus from which was developed, two years afterwards, the Circle of the *Chaikovsti*, which I have several times mentioned. Perovskaya, together with some young students, among whom was Nicholas Chaikovsky, who gave his name to the future organization, was one of the first members of this important Circle, which at first was more like a family gathering than a political society.

The Circle, which at first had no other object than that of propaganda among the young, was not a large one. The members had always to be admitted unanimously. There were no rules, for there was no need of any. All the decisions were always taken by unanimity, and this not very practical regulation never led to any unpleasant consequences or inconvenience, as the reciprocal affection and esteem among the members of the Circle were such that what the genius of Jean Jacques Rousseau pictured as the ideal of human intercourse was attained; the minority yielded to the majority, not from necessity or compulsion, but spontaneously from inward conviction that it must be right.

The relations between the members of the Circle were the most fraternal that can be imagined. Sincerity and thorough frankness were the general rule. All were acquainted with each other, even more so, perhaps, than the members of the same family, and no one wished to conceal from the others even the least important act of his life. Thus every little weakness, every lack of devotion to the cause, every trace of egotism, was pointed out, underlined, sometimes reciprocally reproved, not as would be the case by a pedantic mentor, but with affection and regret, as between brother and brother.

These ideal relations, impossible in a Circle comprising a large number of persons united only by the identity of the object they have in view, entirely disappeared when the political activity of this Circle was enlarged. But they were calculated to influence the moral development of the individual, and to form those noble dispositions and those steadfast hearts which were seen in Kuprianov, Cherushin, Alexandra Kornilova, Serdinkov, and so many more, who in any other country would have been the honor and glory of the nation. With us, where are they? Dead; in prison; fallen by their own hands; entombed in the mines of Siberia, or crushed under the immense grief of having lost all—everything which they held most dear in life.

It was among these surroundings, austere and affectionate, impressed with a rigorism almost monastic, and glowing with enthusiasm and devotion, that Sophia Perovskaya passed the first three or four years of her youth, when the pure and delicate mind receives so readily every good impression; when the heart beats so strongly for everything great and generous; it was among these surroundings that her character was formed.

Perovskaya was one of the most influential and esteemed members of the Circle, for her stoical severity towards herself, her indefatigable energy, and, above all, for her greater abilities. Her clear and acute mind had that philosophical quality, so rare among women, not only of perfectly understanding a question, but of always seizing it in its philosophical connection with all the questions dependent on it, or arising out of it. Hence arose a firmness of conviction which could not be shaken, either by sophisms or by the transient impressions of the moment, and an extraordinary ability in every kind of discussion—theoretical and practical. She was an admirable "debater", if I may use the word. Always regarding a subject from every side, she had a great advantage over her opponents, as ordinarily subjects are regarded by most people from one side alone, dictated by their dispositions or personal inclinations. Sophia Perovskaya, although of the most ardent temperament, could elevate herself by the force of her intellect above the promptings of feeling, and saw things with eyes which were not deceived by the bias of her own enthusiasm. She never exaggerated anything, and did not attribute to her activity and that of her friends greater importance than they possessed. She was always endeavoring, therefore, to enlarge it by finding fresh channels and means of activity, and consequently became even an initiator of fresh undertakings. Thus, the change from propaganda among the young, to one among the working men of the city, effected by the Circle of the *Chaikovsti* in the years 1871 and 1872, was in great part due to the initiative of Sophia Perovskaya. When this change was accomplished, she was among the first to urge that from the towns it should pass to the country, clearly seeing that in Russia if a party is to have a future it must put itself in communication with the mass of the rural population. Afterwards, when she belonged to the Terrorist organization, she made every effort to enlarge the activity of her party, which seemed to her too exclusive.

This perpetual craving, however, arose in her from the great reasoning powers with which she was endowed and not from romantic feeling, which generally springs from a too ardent imagination. Of such romantic feeling, which sometimes impels to great undertakings, but ordinarily causes life to be wasted in idle dreams, Sophia Perovskaya had not the slightest trace. She was too positive and clear-sighted to live upon chimeras. She was too energetic to remain idle. She took life as it is, endeavoring to do the utmost that

could be done, at a given moment. Inertia to her was the greatest of torments.

For four years, however, she was compelled to endure it.

II.

On November 25, 1873, Perovskaya was arrested, together with some working men among whom she was carrying on the agitation in the Alexander Nevsky district. She was thrown into prison, but, in the absence of proofs against her, after a year's detention was provisionally released on the bail of her father, and had to go into the Crimea, where her family possessed an estate. For three years Sophia remained there, without being able to do anything, as she was under strict surveillance, and without being able to escape, because she would have thereby compromised all those who had been provisionally released instead of waiting their trial "of the 193" in which almost all the members of the society of the *Chaikovtzi* were implicated as well as Sophia Perovskaya.

Here it may not be out of place to notice a special incident in connection with her first appearance in public, which affords an illustration of her character.

The accused in this trial not wishing to be mere playthings in the hands of the government, which fixed the sentences before the proceedings commenced, resolved to make a solemn demonstration. But of what nature this demonstration should be was not settled before the final day.

Sophia Perovskaya being out on bail, went to the trial without knowing the designs of her friends, who were in prison; and was purposely brought before the court first, as it was thought she would be taken unawares, and that the influence of her example might be turned to account. This hope, however, was completely frustrated. Sophia, seeing herself quite alone, declared, directly her first surprise was over, that she would take no part whatever in the trial, as she did not see those whose ideas she shared, and whose fate she wished to share.

This was precisely what had been resolved upon at the same moment, in the cells of the prison. Sophia was acquitted, not released, however, as might have been expected, but consigned to the gendarmes, in accordance with a mere police order to intern her in one of the northern provinces. This is how all political offenders in Russia who are acquitted by the tribunals are treated.

Henceforth, however, no moral obligation any longer weighed upon her. She resolved, therefore, to escape, and profiting by the first occasion which offered, she did escape, without being aided by any one, without even apprising her friends. Before any one, indeed, had heard of it, she returned to St. Petersburg, smiling and cheerful, as if nothing had happened, and related the story of her flight, so simple, innocent, and almost charming, that, among the terrible adventures of

her life, it is like a rhododendron blossoming among the wild precipices of the Swiss Alps.

In 1878 she again took an active part in the movement. But when, after an absence of four years, she returned to the field of battle, everything was changed there—men, tendencies, means.

The Terrorism had made its first appearance.

She supported this movement, as the only one to which owing to the conditions created by the Government, recourse could be had. It was, indeed, in this tremendous struggle that she displayed her eminent qualities in all their splendor.

She very soon acquired in the Terrorist organization the same influence and the same esteem she had had in the Circle to which she previously belonged.

She was of a voracious energy. Indeed, she could do alone the work of many. She was really indefatigable. She carried on the agitation among the young, and was one of the most successful in it; for, to the art of convincing, she united the much more difficult art of inspiring enthusiasm and the sentiment of the highest duty, because she was full of it herself. Directly the opportunity offered, she carried on the agitation among the working men, who loved her for her simplicity and earnestness, which always please the people; and she was one of the founders of the workingmen's Terrorist Society, called *Rabochaya Druzhina*, to which Timothy Mikhailov and Ryssakov belonged. She was an organizer of the highest order. With her keen and penetrating mind, she could grasp the minutest details, upon which often depends the success or failure of the most important undertakings. She displayed great ability in the preparatory labors that require so much foresight and self-command, as a word let slip inopportunely may ruin everything. Not that it would be repeated to the police, for the secluded life led by the Nihilists renders such a thing almost impossible; but by those almost inevitable indiscretions, as, for instance, between husband and wife, or friend and friend, by which it sometimes happens that a secret, which has leaked out from the narrow circle of the organization through the thoughtlessness of some member, in a moment spreads all over the city, and is in every mouth. As for Sophia Perovskaya, she carried her reserve to such an extreme that she could live for months together with her most intimate personal friend without that friend's knowing anything whatever of what she was doing.

From living so long in the revolutionary world, Perovskaya acquired a great capacity for divining in others the qualities which render them adapted for one kind of duty rather than another, and could control men as few can control them. Not that she employed subterfuges; she had no need of them. The authority she exercised was due to herself alone, to her firmness of character, to her supremely persuasive language, and still more, perhaps, to the moral elevation and boundless devotion which breathed forth from her whole being.

The force of her will was as powerful as that of her intellect. The terrible toil of perpetual conspiracy under the conditions existing in Russia; that toil which exhausts and consumes the most robust temperaments like an infernal fire; for the implacable god of the Revolution claims as a holocaust not merely the life and the blood of its followers—would that it were so—but the very marrow of their bones and brain, their very inmost soul; or otherwise rejects them, discards them, disdainfully, pitilessly; this terrible toil, I say, could not shake the will of Sophia Perovskaya.

For eleven years she remained in the ranks, sharing in immense losses and reverses, and yet ever impelled to fresh attacks. She knew how to preserve intact the sacred spark. She did not wrap herself up in the gloomy and mournful mantle of rigid "duty". Notwithstanding her stoicism and apparent coldness, she remained, essentially, an inspired priestess; for under her cuirass of polished steel a woman's heart was always beating. Women, it must be confessed, are much more richly endowed with this divine flame than men. This is why the almost religious fervor of the Russian Revolutionary movement must in great part be attributed to them; and while they take part in it, it will be invincible.

Sophia Perovskaya was not merely an organizer; she went to the front in person, and coveted the most dangerous post. It was that, perhaps, which gave her this irresistible fascination. When fixing upon any one her scrutinizing regard, which seemed to penetrate into the very depths of the mind, she said, with her earnest look, "Let us go". Who could reply to her, "Not I"? She went willingly, "happy", as she used to say.

She took part in almost all the Terrorist enterprises, commencing with the attempt to liberate Voynarsky in 1878, and sometimes bore the heaviest burden of them, as in the Hartmann * attempt, in which, as the mistress of the house, she had to face dangers, all the greater because unforeseen, and in which, by her presence of mind and self-command, she several times succeeded in averting the imminent peril which hung over the entire undertaking.

As to her resolution and coolness in action, no words sufficiently strong could perhaps be found to express them. It will suffice to say that, in the Hartmann attempt, the six or eight men engaged in it, who certainly were not without importance, specially entrusted Sophia Perovskaya with the duty of firing the deposit of nitro-glycerine in the interior of the house, so as to blow into the air everything and everybody, in case the police should come to arrest them. It was she, also, who was entrusted with the very delicate duty of watching for the arrival of the Imperial train, in order to give the signal for the explosion at the exact moment, and as is well known, it was not her fault that the attempt failed.

I will not speak of the preparation for what took place on March 13, for it would be repeating

* In 1879.

what everybody knows. The Imperial Prosecutor, anxious to show how little power the Executive Committee possessed, said the best proof of this was that the direction of a matter of so much importance was entrusted to the feeble hands of a woman. The Committee evidently knew better, and Sophia Perovskaya clearly proved it.

She was arrested a week after March 13, as she would not on any account quit the capital. She appeared before the court, tranquil and serious, without the slightest trace of parade or ostentation, endeavoring neither to justify herself nor to glorify herself; simple and modest as she had lived. Even her enemies were moved. In a very brief address she simply asked that she might not be separated, as a woman, from her companions, but might share their fate. This request was granted.

Six weary days the execution was postponed, although the legal term for appealing and petitioning is fixed at only three.

What was the cause of this incomprehensible delay? What was being done to the condemned all this time?

No one knows.

The most sinister rumors soon circulated throughout the capital. It was declared that the condemned, in accordance with the diabolically Jesuitical advice of Loris Melikov * were subjected to torture to extract revelations from them; not *before* but *after* the sentence, for then no one would hear their voices again.

Were these idle rumors, or indiscreet revelations?

No one knows.

Having no positive testimony we will not bring such an accusation, even against our enemies. There is one indisputable fact, however, which contributed to give greater credence to these persistent rumors; the voices of the condemned were never heard again by any one. The visits of relatives, which, by a pious custom, are allowed to all who are about to die, were obstinately forbidden, with what object, or for what reason, is not known. The Government was even not ashamed to have recourse to unworthy subterfuges in order to avert remonstrance. Sophia Perovskaya's mother, who adored her daughter, hastened from the Crimea at the first announcement of the arrest. She saw Sophia for the last time, on the day of the verdict. During the five other days, under one pretext or another, she was always sent away. At last she was told to come in the morning of April 15, and that then she would see her daughter.

She went; but at the moment when she approached the prison the door was thrown open, and she saw her daughter, in truth—but upon the fatal cart.

* "By a special ukase all administrative authorities, including the ministers, were subjected to the "Supreme Commanding Commission under the command of Adjutant-General Loris Melikov." (*Modern Russian History*, Kornilov, Vol. II, p. 241).

It was the mournful procession of the condemned to the place of execution.

I will not narrate the horrible details of this execution. —“I have been present at a dozen executions in the East,” says the correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, “but I have never seen such a butchery (*Schinderei*).”

All the condemned died like heroes.

“Kibalchich and Zheliabov* were very calm, Timothy Mikhailov was pale, but firm, Ryssakov was liver-colored. Sophia Perovskaya displayed extraordinary moral strength. Her cheeks even preserved their rosy color, while her face, always serious, without the slightest trace of bravado, was full of true courage and endless abnegation. Her look was calm and peaceful; not the slightest sign of ostentation could be discerned in it.”

So speaks, not a Nihilist, not even a Radical, but the correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*† (of April 16, 1881), who cannot be suspected of excessive sympathy with the Nihilists.

At a quarter past nine Sophia Perovskaya was a corpse.

The above had already gone to press, when I received, from her friends, the copy of a letter from Sophia Perovskaya to her mother, written only a few days before the trial. The translation which follows will not, I think, be unacceptable to my readers. I am far indeed, however, from flattering myself that I have preserved the warm breath of tenderness and affection, the indescribable charm, which render it so touching in the Russian language.

Being under no delusion as to the sentence and fate which awaited her, Sophia endeavored to gently prepare her mother for the terrible news, and to console her beforehand as far as possible.

“My dear, adored Mamma,—The thought of you oppresses and torments me always. My darling, I implore you to be calm, and not to grieve for me; for my fate does not afflict me in the least, and I shall meet it with complete tranquility, for I have long expected it, and known that sooner or later it must come. And I assure you, dear mamma, that my fate is not such a very mournful one. I have lived as my convictions dictated, and it would have been impossible for me to have acted otherwise. I await my fate, therefore, with a tranquil conscience, whatever it may be. The only thing which oppresses me is the thought of your grief, oh, my adored mother! It is that which rends my heart; and what would I not give to be able to alleviate it? My dear, dear mother, remember that you have still a large family, so many grown-up, and so many little ones, all of whom have need of you, have need of your great moral strength. The thought that I have been unable to raise myself to your moral height has always grieved me to the heart. Whenever, however, I felt myself wavering, it was always the thought

of you which sustained me. I will not speak to you of my devotion to you; you know that from my infancy you were always the object of my deepest and fondest love. Anxiety for you was the greatest of my sufferings. I hope that you will be calm, that you will pardon me the grief I have caused you, and not blame me too much; your reproof is the only one that would grieve my heart.

“In fancy I kiss your hand again and again, and on my knees I implore you not to be angry with me.

“Remember me most affectionately to all my relatives.

“And I have a little commission for you, my dear mamma. Buy me some cuffs and collars; the collars rather narrow, and the cuffs with buttons, for studs are not allowed to be worn here. Before appearing at the trial, I must mend my dress a little, for it has become much worn here. Good-by till we meet again, my dear mother. Once more, I implore you not to grieve, and not to afflict yourself for me. My fate is not such a sad one after all, and you must not grieve about it.

“Your own Sophia.

“March 22 (April 3), 1881.”

Send Roll Call Sheets

THE Tool Drive conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia is now on and it is desired that the sheets we used to circulate in connection with the old Roll Call should not continue going around. It would be unfortunate to approach the same people with sheets for both collection methods. For that reason the organizations which have been presenting Roll Calls for signatures through their members should recall them. The sheets, together with the amounts collected on them, should then be forwarded by the organizations to the national office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y. Even in cases where the sheet does not bear any signatures, in other words, even where no money has been collected, we want the sheets anyway. Do not fail, therefore, to get back and send in all the Roll Call pages.

The following communication is being sent out by the San Francisco Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia, in order to accelerate the return of these sheets. Other organizations might perhaps find it useful to use this method of urging that Roll Call sheets be returned:

COMRADES: The famine is not yet over, and there are still people who are hungry in the valley of the Volga. We have sent out the Roll Calls to many people in San Francisco, and, while many have responded, there are some who still have Roll Calls in their possession. We are urging those who have the Roll Calls to return them at once to our branch office, together with the money they have collected on the same. If no money has been collected on a Roll Call, we should nevertheless like to have the sheets returned to us without delay.

San Francisco Branch,
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
225 Valencia Street,
San Francisco, Ca.

* Zheliabov and Perovskaya were the leading spirits in the terrorist activities of their day.—Ed.

†A German capitalist newspaper.

Crop Prospects

IT was a remarkable feature of last year's harvest that the failure of crops occurred just in the "producing" provinces of the southeast—the provinces which normally have a surplus for export to the "consuming" provinces of the northwest. It was this feature that made the drought so catastrophic.

This year the position is more normal—the best crops are in the southwestern "producing" provinces—precisely those provinces which suffered an almost complete failure of crops last year. On the other hand, where the harvest was good last year, in the northwestern half of Russia, this year the forecast is of a harvest only average and in some parts below average.

The accompanying map illustrates the general position of the crops at June 1; the heavy broken line, running from the Urals to the Crimea, indicates the area of last year's crop failure. It will be observed that this area is almost identical with the area of "very good" crops this year.

Taking the country as a whole it is satisfactory to note that the harvest will be more evenly distributed than last year—a most important point in a country of Russia's size. There are likely to be very few, if any, very bad areas. A rather poor harvest may be expected in the western provinces from the Olonetz and Karelian provinces in the north to Vitebsk in the south. Here the weather conditions were extremely unfavorable for the autumn crops. The success of the spring crops in this area, however, may somewhat compensate for this.

The condition of various crops was reported on June 10 as follows:

Autumn wheat is bad in the northwestern, central, and western districts, satisfactory in the north black earth district and the Volga provinces, and good in the southwestern, Kuban, and in part of the central black earth district.

Spring wheat is good in the Volga, southeastern, and particularly in western Siberia. In other provinces it is satisfactory.

Oats varies from satisfactory to good except in the western provinces where the cold weather has retarded its growth.

Barley is good in the Volga provinces—satisfactory in the rest.

Millet is good in the Volga provinces, but below average in the rest.

Rye, buckwheat, and flax are, on the whole, somewhat above average.

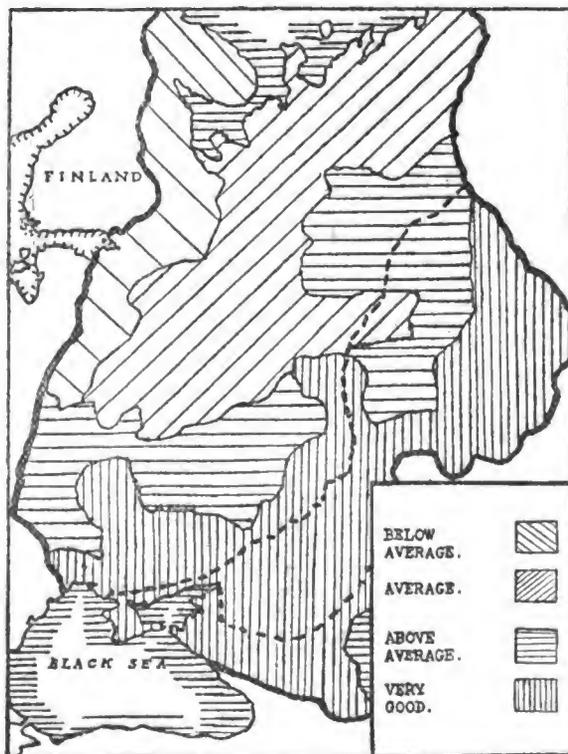
The following tables (on the five mark system—2.5 equals average) illustrate the condition in the various regions of the grain crops at June 1 as compared with the same date for 1921:

CONSUMING PROVINCES:	1922	1921
Northern and western...	2.4	2.9
Central	2.6	2.9

PRODUCING PROVINCES:	1922	1921
Ural group	2.8	2.2
Central Volga:		
Ufa	3.6	2.2
Tartar	2.9	1.5
Simbirsk	3.2	1.4
Penza	2.8	1.9
Saratov	3.4	1.2
Lower Volga:		
Samara	2.9	1.7
German Commune	3.5	2.0
Tsaritsin	3.7	2.2
Astrakhan	3.6	1.9
Crimea	3.5	2.0
Southeast provinces	3.3	2.3
Siberia	3.1	2.6
Ukraine:		
West	2.9	3.6
East	3.2	2.8
South	3.2	2.4

These figures are based on the data furnished by the local population, and tend, therefore, to be below the real values. If we apply the necessary correction as estimated by the Central Statistical Department we get for the prospective 1922 harvest:

Consuming provinces	2.8 to 3.0
Producing provinces	3.3 to 3.5
Southeastern provinces	3.5 to 3.7
Siberia	3.5 to 3.7
Ukraine	3.4 to 3.6



Books Reviewed

SIR PAUL DUKES, K. B. E. *Red Dusk and the Morrow*. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1922. Cloth, 322 pages.

To those of our readers who would like to get an idea of the treachery and sabotage with which the Soviet Government had to cope, and of the extent of the help which the British Government gave to every counter-revolutionary movement within and without Russia, we recommend "Red Dusk and the Morrow." It is a narrative of the experiences of Sir Paul Dukes, chief of the British secret service in Russia from August, 1918, to December, 1919. While operating as a British agent in Russia, Sir Dukes had the assistance not only of avowed counter-revolutionists, but often also of corrupt employees of the Soviet Government. On one occasion, Sir Paul wished to release from prison the wife of a British merchant who was held by the Cheka. He accomplished her release by bribing an employee of that body and escorted her safely to Finland. Through the connivance of another official of the Soviet Government, a commander in the Red Army, Dukes succeeded in enlisting in the Red Army. His commander very obligingly sent him on long trips to purchase supplies in order that he might have the leisure and the opportunity to secure the information which he desired. Sir Paul tells a rather amusing story in connection with this commander. When Yudenich was attacking Petrograd, the commander was ordered to blow up a certain bridge in order to check the White advance and cover a Red retreat. He ordered his regiment, however, to blow up another bridge which would facilitate the White advance and make it impossible for the Reds to retreat. But the soldiers blundered and blew up the bridge originally intended, thus actually making the White advance impossible. Dukes says that not only was the commander in a rage at the mistake and its consequences, but he was even more chagrined when as a reward for his supposed good generalship he received an invitation to join the Communist Party and a letter of commendation from Trotsky.

There are parts of "Red Dusk and the Morrow" which are as interesting as a detective story, for the business of the spy is an exciting one. Sir Dukes describes very entertainingly his many dangerous trips across the Russian-Finnish border, his juggling of passports, and the various disguises which he assumed.

Nevertheless, interesting as the adventures were which he relates in this book, we feel that Sir Paul Dukes hasn't done himself justice. The British Government did not knight Sir Dukes for these comparatively simple feats. Some day, perhaps, he will write a "Now It Can Be Told" book, in which he will—we hope—tell us something about his negotiations with counter-revolutionary generals, how he procured the maps and the military information with which the intelligence bureau which he organized kept Yudenich so well supplied when that gentleman was advancing on Petrograd. And about the armed gangs of hooligans who were organized to be ready to aid the Whites the moment they should enter the city. Also, we should like to know how he managed to circulate the rumors of an impending food shortage with which he kept the population of Petrograd in a state of constant alarm. There is no doubt that Sir Paul as an agent for the British Government was a source of considerable embarrassment to the Soviet Government. He himself states emphatically that England must not be blamed for not having overthrown the Soviet Government. "Although," he says, "the Allies and America all participated in military intervention, it was England who for the longest time, and at the greatest cost to herself, furnished the counter-revolution with funds and material." A significant statement in view of England's refusal now to compensate Russia for the damage done by counter-revolutionary invasions.

In the latter half of his book Mr. Dukes puts down some of his impressions of the Soviet Government. He attaches special importance to the fact that the Com-

munist Party in Russia numbers but 500,000 members. But he neglects to mention the fact, of which he must be equally well aware, that membership in the Communist Party in Russia is by no means a sinecure. It is true that Communists in Russia may have certain special privileges, but from the moment they join the party they are subjected to rigid discipline. Communists are always sent to posts of great responsibility and danger, and offenses which, if committed by a layman, would be considered mere misdemeanors, are punishable by death when committed by a Communist. Communist regiments are sent to the most dangerous positions. Besides, the Communist Party is not open to everyone. When Yudenich was at the very gates of Petrograd, the party sent out a call for new members, feeling certain that anyone who would join at a time of such danger would surely prove a desirable recruit. Under the circumstances, 500,000 is a large membership.

Why does the Soviet Government endure? Mr. Dukes tries to explain. Behind every White army, he says, the peasant sees the *landlord*. And then he goes on to say: "One of the generals of the White Army operating against Petrograd issued an order to the peasant population to the effect that 'this year the produce of the land might be reaped and sold by those who had sown and tilled it (that is, by the peasant who had seized it), but next year it must be restored to its rightful owner.'" Dukes says that this proclamation was mercilessly exploited by the Bolsheviks, who published it on every front for the purpose of influencing the peasant soldiers. Very inconsiderate of them!

Mr. Dukes insists that there is an immense spiritual gulf between the Soviet Government and the Russian people. Maybe so, but apropos, we should like to know how enthusiastic the average British citizen would have been about Mr. Dukes' activities in Russia had he been informed of them. The fact remains that in spite of the powerful financial backing and prestige of the British Government, and in spite of the disaffection and treachery within Russia, which Mr. Dukes exploited to the utmost, his mission in Russia was a failure. The Soviet Government has known how to inspire confidence in the great masses of Russian workers and peasants, for only in this way has it been able to maintain itself.

Doubtless the more congenial atmosphere of the United States—and possibly a mission in this country that includes no instructions to that effect—has prevented Mr. Dukes from practicing very extensively in the last year the peculiar talents whose application in Russia makes such interesting reading. But it is to be hoped that he took at least a few opportunities to assume some of the uncouth aspects with camera counterfeits of which he has so obligingly studded his illustrated pages. M. H.

Вестник Главного Управления Металлопромышленности, В. С. Н. Х., Москва, № 1, Ноябрь, 1921; № 2, Декабрь, 1921; № 3, Январь, 1922; № 4, Февраль, 1922. Ежемесячное Издание. — Journal of the Department of Metals Industry, Supreme Council of National Economy, Moscow. No. 1, Nov. 1921, 80 pages, No. 2, Dec. 1921, 80 pages, No. 3, Jan. 1922, 88 pages, No. 4, Feb. 1922, 96 pages.

Металлопромышленность Республики в ее Нужды, Москва, 1922. — The Metals Industry of the Republic and Its Needs. 127 pages, 5000 copies printed, with 3 large statistical and graphic charts.

Among the far-reaching results of the Russian Revolution, of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is the fact that the great transformation penetrated into and undermined the citadel of that class of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of which the Russian scientists, engineers, and technical experts were the mainstays. The Russian Revolution cut short their capitalistic activities, disorganized their associations, and abolished their scientific organs. The transition from the old to the new labor spirit in Soviet Russia,

was rendered especially difficult for them. They could resume activities only in conformity with this new spirit, or cease to function. They chose the latter. As a result, Russian science and engineering, like other fields of Russian activity—agriculture, industry, transport—suffered much during the catastrophic years of revolution and civil war. The anxieties of the Russian scientists and engineers, separated from their usual fields of endeavor, and keenly aware of the danger involved in their isolation from the scientific progress of Europe and America, can only be faintly imagined.

Scarcity of native technologists made the Russian engineers, even in the old days, "big guns" in the industrial life of the country. They received fine houses, high salaries, high royalties, private carriages. Even those of them who were engaged in revolutionary activities were opposed to the proletarian direction of the Russian Revolution. Their activities of sabotage and in the camps of the counter-revolutionaries now are a matter of history. And yet the disruptive forces of the Revolution are not without their benefits. The events which have taken place in Russia since 1917, though in part of a chaotic aspect, are a creative process of the masses of the people. The "Smyena Viekh" (Change of Landmarks) finally came, and the Russian technologists, after about four years of scientific and engineering passivity, reappeared on the scene of industrial activity and resumed their leadership in the development and management of production. Under the capable leadership of the Communists, the Russian scientists and engineers were finally whipped into a most useful force in the economic reconstruction of the country.

One of the first industries in Russia, and one which was nationalized soon after the decree on nationalization in March, 1918, was the metal industry. In its nationalized form, it was established, and is now still, under the control of the Supreme Council of National Economy, as the Department of Metals Industry. The five issues of the *Journal* here being reviewed are the first official publications of the Metals Department. Their contents are purely scientific and technical and deal with the status, economic progress, and scientific development of the metals and metallurgical enterprises of Soviet Russia. The *Journal of the Metals Industry* is edited by a Board of Editors, of which B. E. Stünkel, a well-known engineer, is the Chief-Editor. There is also a Technical Council, a Collegium, a Committee on Concessions, etc., which together with S. C. N. E. appointees administer the affairs of the Department. The *Journal* has a fixed schedule, which includes articles on eight different subjects, as follows:

1. Science and technique;
2. Economics and production;
3. Statistics;
4. Competitions and prize offers for original plans and projects;
5. Bibliography and reviews;
6. Information;
7. Official news, orders and decrees;
8. Announcements and advertisements.

The scientific articles in these issues deal with: The Production of Carborundum and Graphite in Electric Furnaces, Desulphurization of Steel in Martens and Electric Ovens, the Application of Electricity to Metallurgical Processes, the Diesel-Electric Engine, Mensuration in Machine Construction, and Wartime and Present Fuel Economy of Germany. Among other important articles are the following: The Metallurgy of the Republic During the Eight Year Period, 1913-1920; Standardization in Shipbuilding and the Possibility of Applying it to Russian Industry; Standardization in Machine Construction in Russia and Abroad; Technical Inspection at Metals Factories; The Russian Metals Industry during the World War; Labor and the Metals Industry; National Requirements in Metals Manufactures, Our Production Possibilities and Prospects for Future Development; Technical Life and Success of the Russian Metals Industry in the Last Few Years.

All the articles contain much new information about the

metals industries and, though technical in substance, make very interesting reading. The Chief-Editor's greetings to his colleagues, in the first issue of the *Journal*, state that the situation in the industry is not in the least hopeless, in spite of the insurmountable difficulties endured by it. He bespeaks confidence in the abilities and courage of his colleagues to solve the numerous problems arising from the economic chaos of the country. This sort of optimism, indeed, augurs the success of the proletarian revolution and victory on the economic front in Soviet Russia.

The authors of the articles make references to very recent foreign scientific and technical journals, showing that the intellectual blockade has partly broken down, and with these publications as a start, the old machinery for the exchange of publications with the scientific institutions of the world is being reestablished.

Perhaps the most serviceable section of the *Journal* is the one devoted to encouraging the Russian technologists to submit original plans and projects for the most efficient machine construction, the utilization of waste products, and the conservation of natural resources. The first number of the *Journal* carries an announcement of an offer of substantial money prizes for the most practical plan for the construction of an efficient furnace to burn peat, containing 35-40 per cent. moisture and up to 12 per cent. ash, in two types of boilers. No doubt this will stimulate many an engineer and will be productive of beneficial results for a most important industry.

The wealth of natural resources in Soviet Russia—practically every known metallic ore is found in Russia—makes possible the development of the largest metal industry in the world. Russia aspires to be, and must become, self-sustaining in metals. To make her so is precisely the policy of the Metals Department. Formerly the native Russian engineer held but a secondary post in industry, usually as assistant to some German, Belgian or English chief-engineer, to whose interest it was to stifle every effort to develop Russian industry. The lethargy of mental laziness and lack of initiative on the part of the Russian engineers permitted this outside control of the metals industry and the formulation of such policies as were afterwards detrimental to the interests of the Russian people. This resulted in failure to develop many sound engineering projects. Soviet Russia is now free from such evil domination and the present leaders among the Russian scientists and engineers, steeled in the revolutionary struggles, know what to do with the unprecedented sources of power now at their command. On every hand the lesson is plain to them, that in man's intelligence—not in his muscular power—lies the key to progress.

A glance at the contents of these journals gives one a picture of the arduous and stupendous tasks confronting the rebuilders of Soviet Russia, among whom the scientist and the engineer will take the lead. The absence of instruments and materials is just now very prejudicial to immediate and rapid reconstruction. It is quite possible that relief, either from good crops or from trade relations, will soon make up for the arrears and delays.

Russian inventive genius and engineering abilities have a way out of this economic ruin—build a machine industry in Russia, harness the potentially available mechanical and electrical power, with minimum waste, abolish the huge wastage of man-power—and create an engineering industry in Russia similar to that of Germany, Sweden, and the United States.

Readers of *Soviet Russia* will be interested to know that L. C. A. Martens, formerly Representative of the R. S. F. S. R. in the United States, and the first publisher of this periodical, is now Director of the Department of Metals Industry in Russia. An engineer by profession and experience, Comrade Martens, soon after his arrival in Russia eighteen months ago, was placed in charge of this work and is in a great measure responsible for the good work accomplished by this Department. His speech before the 9th Congress of Soviets in December, 1921, which is printed in one of the *Journals*, reaffirms his faith in the proletarian accomplishments of Soviet Russia.

J. R. M.

A New Disarmament Proposal by Russia

The following note was addressed on June 13 by the Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Republic, Maxim Litvinov, to the foreign ministers of Latvia, Poland, Finland and Esthonia.

DEAR MR. MINISTER:

The Genoa Conference has not fulfilled the hopes placed in it by the great masses of the population of Europe. Summoned under the slogan of aiding economic reconstruction and securing the peace of Europe, the Genoa Conference as a matter of fact devoted almost all of its energies to a stubborn defense of the material interests of the comparatively small group of persons who have suffered losses in Russia owing to the European war, the revolution, and the intervention; on the other hand, the conference has entirely neglected to discuss the solution of the problem proposed, which might really in considerable measure have eliminated the causes of the economic crisis now manifest all over Europe and even beyond its boundaries, as well as the danger of new wars.

The initiators of the conference could not have been in any doubt as to the fact that one of the causes of the European economic crisis, and of the general political insecurity, is to be found in the excessive armaments of Europe, which prevent hundreds of thousands of persons from taking up productive work and impose immense tax burdens on the rest of the population, obstructing the attempts of most countries to restore their financial solvency, and creating an atmosphere of suspicion between peoples, which is the source and support of a constant expectation of new collisions. The initiators of the Conference have nevertheless—in view of the selfish interests of a few countries—considered it advisable to exclude from the order of the day of the Conference not only the question of complete disarmament, but also the question of a partial limitation of armaments.

Although it is not long since Russia repulsed an invasion from abroad, onslaughts by foreign forces, and incursions by foreign bandits; although the remnants of counter-revolutionary armies are continuing to hold their positions not far from its boundaries, supported by foreign money, and ready to break into Russian territory again at the first favorable opportunity, in order there to practice their senseless devastation and destruction of property; although several states are stubbornly opposed to any restoration of normal relations with Soviet Russia and continue, hoping for a new intervention, to carry on their intrigues; although Russia, having introduced a new social system within its borders, still remains an object of hatred for almost the entire capitalistic world; in spite of all this, the Russian delegation—in the interest of all nations—at the very first session of the Genoa Conference called the attention of the participants in the Conference to the necessity of putting the question of general disarmament on the order of business.

Unfortunately, the resistance of the French delegation to this proposition resulted in its rejection; and the question of disarmament found no place in the order of business of a "conference for the securing of peace and economic reconstruction in Europe."

The Russian Government sees no reason why the partial fulfillment of this task that has been neglected by the Genoa Conference should not be undertaken by those states that are most interested in such a fulfillment, that wish to live together in amity and are genuinely convinced that disputed questions arising between them may be settled in an amicable manner, to the elimination of the necessity of maintaining unusually large armies.

Faithful to its peace-loving policy—which has found expression, among other places, in the proposition of the Russian delegation as recorded in the minutes of the Riga Conference of March 30, 1922, as well as in the above-mentioned proposition to the Genoa Conference, and in the effort further to fortify its friendly relations with its nearest neighbors, the Russian Government has resolved to turn to the Governments of Latvia, Poland, Finland and Esthonia, with the proposal that these countries

appoint their authorized representatives for the purpose of consulting with the representatives of Russia on the subject of a proportional reduction of the armed strength of the armies of the countries represented at the Conference, in accordance with the relative size of the various countries.

The Russian Government makes the present proposition to the governments of such neighboring countries as are in normal diplomatic relations with the Russian Government, but considers it necessary at the same time to point out that the Russian Government is ready to enter into negotiations on this subject with those neighboring countries also with whom there are still disputed territorial and other questions to be adjusted; and also, with other more distant countries.

Being convinced that the proposition made in this note is fully in accord with the desires for peace of your Government and that the carrying out of this proposition would advance the interests of the Russian people as well as of the peoples of Poland, Latvia, Finland and Esthonia. I beg you, Mr. Minister, kindly to inform me of the attitude your government takes in principle to the proposed question, as well as to give your suggestions as to the most proper time and place for such a conference.

Kindly accept, etc., etc.

Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Signed, LITVINOV.

MOSCOW, JUNE 13, 1922.

Gratitude to the International Proletariat

MOSCOW, JUNE 9.

THE Central Committee for Famine Aid, connected with the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in its session of June 7, after hearing Comrade Münzenberg's report on the activity of the Foreign Committee for the Starving in Soviet Russia, states with satisfaction that owing to its energetic activity—in spite of the very bad economic conditions and the many difficulties, the international working class succeeded in obtaining great results in fighting the Russian famine.

The Central Committee forwards through the Foreign Committee in Berlin its heartiest thanks to the workers of all countries for their brotherly aid. In view of the continuing bitter need in Soviet Russia the Central Committee addresses itself to the workers and the workers' organizations of the whole world with an appeal not to tire in their efforts to help, but to continue their assistance with ever increasing energy. First of all, it is necessary to place and feed thousands of orphan children, and to feed the workers, who are suffering greatly, and to reconstruct agriculture and industry—which have been destroyed by hunger—with the help of productive economic assistance. The Central Committee is certain that the call of the starving Russian workers and peasants for help will be heard.

AUDIT OF AMERICAN FEDERATED RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

(Purchasing Agent for Friends of Soviet Russia, etc.)

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Statement "A"

From date of Organization, September 20, 1921 to May 31, 1922.

The INCOME of this Committee consists principally of certain of the amounts which the FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, National Office, spends for Relief, but it also includes appropriations by OTHER organizations and contributions from individuals. Receipts are issued for income received. The income received to May 18, 1922, is summarized in Statement "B" below, showing a total of.....\$439,997.29
The above income was deposited in a bank account and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to..... 106.30

Making the TOTAL INCOME.....\$440,103.59

EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds and expending them for Relief the Committee needs a secretary, office employees, and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent less than \$1.00 for each \$100.00 of income and amount to.....\$4,049.34

Also the Committee organized a FOOD DRAFTS DEPARTMENT as an additional means of purchasing food to send to Russia, to enable people in the United States to send packages to friends and relatives in Soviet Russia. The scheme was discontinued after incurring the following expenses:

Salaries\$1,058.55
Office Expenses 698.45 1,757.00

The Committee also made advances to the TRADE UNION NATIONAL COMMITTEE for RUSSIAN RELIEF of New York and Chicago in order to assist in its organization. That Committee addresses its appeal to organized labor. The advances amount to..... 7,500.00

Making TOTAL EXPENSES equivalent to \$3.02 of each \$100.00 of income..... 13,306.34

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of.....\$426,797.25

Most of which has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF as follows:

The Committee expended the money when it was received for shipments addressed to "CENTROKREST, MOSCOW" (Central Office of the Russian Red Cross) and "ARBEITER HILFE-AUSLANDS KOMITTEE (Berlin) REVAL" (The Workers' Aid-Foreign Committee, Headquarters in Berlin, Distribution Center in Reval). The Committee sent the kind of food and equipment requested, at a cost of:

Food\$286,398.62
Ford Trucks and Ambulances..... 15,400.00
Commissions and Brokerage..... 1,419.63
Moving Picture Equipment..... 6,851.88
Ocean Freight and Marine Insurance Cartage, and dock charges on above..... 45,549.20
Ocean Freight and Marine Insurance on Shipment made up by Soviet Karelian Relief Committee 2,446.10

The Committee also equipped and transported to Moscow an AGRICULTURAL RELIEF UNIT as a means of helping Soviet Russia increase production. The unit cost \$60,449.66 as follows:

Machinery and Equipment..... 42,164.25
Household and Camp equipment and supplies..... 5,002.21
Crew outfit, supplies, traveling, passage and allowances to dependents..... 4,965.89
Moving Picture Equipment for demonstration purposes, etc. 2,240.24
Freight, insurance, etc..... 1,874.72
Office Expenses in New York..... 202.35
Advance for Crew Expenses through Russia and Border States 2,000.00
Deposit for Return Fares of Crew..... 2,000.00

Total SHIPMENTS and UNIT.....\$418,515.09

Other Payments for Relief:

To Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia,
Tailors' Group 3,400.00
Shoemakers' Group 3,287.00
Capmakers' Group 200.00
Expenses: International Connections:
Cables 26.85

TOTAL RELIEF 425,428.94

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of.....\$ 1,368.31

Which is represented by

Cash in Bank.....\$ 582.58
Petty Cash 1.51
Due from Friends of Soviet Russia for Moving Picture Film 374.46
Advance to Agent..... 334.76
Office Typewriter (Cost) 75.00

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

From date of Organization, September 20, 1921 to May 31, 1922.

Name and Address of Contributor	Amount Statement "B"
Friends of Soviet Russia, N. Y. C.....	\$413,784.46
Co-operative Socialist Publishing Co. (Volkszeitung; exclusive of \$1,000 donated for and forwarded to an affiliated relief organization), N. Y. C.....	11,500.00
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, N. Y. C.	4,000.00
Joint Conference Russian Relief Association, Springfield, Mass.	3,502.20
Joint Board of Furriers, N. Y. C.....	1,732.12
Workingmen's Mutual Aid Association, N. Y. C.	1,500.00
Int. Fur Workers Union of U. S. & Canada, Long Island City	1,262.00
Children's Milk Fund, N. Y. C.....	1,000.00
St. Nicholas Society, Kenosha, Wis.....	800.00
Workmen's Circle No. 457, Grand Rapids, Mich.	100.00
Perfection Lodge No. 1033, A. F. & A. M., Chicago, Ill.	10.00
Community Service League, So. Orange, N. J...	10.00
B. Morsoff Employees, N. Y. C.....	202.56
Wallace Advertising Service, Halifax, Canada..	175.00
R. C. Williams & Co., N. Y. C.....	125.00
Remitted through Wm. Rempfer, Cashier, First National Bank, Parkston, S. D.....	52.00
William Stake & Co., N. Y. C.....	50.00
John J. Sullivan, San Francisco, Cal.....	50.00
Mrs. A. G. Eddy, Berkeley, Cal.....	25.00
N. Nepokroff, Martinsville, N. Y.....	15.00
Mr. and Mrs. Thereon P. Cooper, Chicago, Ill...	10.00
Vera L. Moyers, Washington, D. C.....	10.00
B. J. Sweeney, Wichita, Kansas.....	10.00
Sam Schwartzman, N. Y. C.....	10.00
Wolf & Stanley, N. Y. C.....	5.00
B. Blau, N. Y. C.....	5.00
Temple Israel Sunday School, Cambridge, Mass.	5.00
George Clifton, N. Y. C.....	5.00
A. Eckerle, Cheyenne, Wyo.	5.00
H. Kosokow, Scienceville, Ohio	5.00
Morris Lipshitz, Downers Grove, Ill.....	5.00
A. Arensen, Jacksonville, Fla.	5.00
Ben Farbstein, St. Joseph, Mo.....	5.00
Anonymous, N. Y. C.....	4.85
Eliz. Guerini, Ardmore, Pa.	3.00
J. W. Bissell, Cambridge, Mass.	3.00
L. G. Arnold, Genesee, N. Y.....	2.00
H. J. Arens, N. Y. C.....	2.00
J. Ryan, Los Angeles, Cal.....	2.00
Miss S. A. Pfuhl, Philadelphia, Pa.....	.10
	\$439,997.29

Statement "C"

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

From date of Organization, September 20, 1921 to May 31, 1922.

Wages	\$ 2,365.00
Rent	492.01
Office Space Expenses	39.68
Office Supplies	39.58
Printing, Stationery, Multigraphing.....	77.83
Telephone	134.18
Telegrams and Messengers	77.72
Carfares and Outside Telephones.....	77.33
Postages	35.75
Traveling Expenses	594.03
Exchange	2.23
Accountant's Charges	114.90
Total	\$ 4,049.34

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee for the period from the date of organization, September 20, 1921, to May 31, 1922.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

In my opinion the above Statements, "A," "B" and "C," are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the manner in which the funds entrusted to the Committee by its affiliations were disbursed during the period ended May 31, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLING WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

20 Nassau Street,

New York, July 10, 1922.

The Czech-Russian Agreement

PRAGUE, June 2.

THE main points of the agreement are as follows: Article 1 provides for the establishment of mutual commercial representatives, and declares that these shall be the only mutual representatives. Accordingly, both governments obligate themselves to break off official relations with representatives and organizations aiming at fighting either party. Article 2 guarantees to the head of the mission and to two members each of either commercial mission the rights of diplomatic representatives. Article 6 grants to the representatives the right to issue visas, passports, identification papers, etc. In Article 9, the citizens of Russia in Czecho-Slovakia and vice versa are guaranteed the general civil rights which have been or may later be granted to the citizens of any other foreign country. In Article II, Czecho-Slovakia obligates herself to grant to her citizens who went to participate in the economic reconstruction of Russia any assistance, and Soviet Russia guarantees them every legal protection of their persons and property.

The final articles, 20 and 21, provide for six months' notice of abrogation, and for an additional liquidation period of six months for the commercial missions of both contracting states.

The Czecho-Slovak agreement with Ukraine is identical with the agreement concluded with Russia.

In its official statement the Czecho-Slovak Government declares that the agreement does not imply *de jure* recognition. The Bohemian Communist paper, *Rude Pravo*, makes the following comment concerning this agreement: "The republic came too late. Two years ago, even one year ago, this agreement would have had great importance. But today Russia has already concluded commercial agreements with Germany and England. Only the clause concerning mutual neutrality would have some meaning if such clauses, pronounced by bourgeois governments, are to be given any credence."

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

For Period August 9, 1921—May 31, 1922

National Office: 201 West 13th Street, New York, N| Y.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of organization, August 9, 1921, to May 31, 1922.

Statement "A"

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from Local F. S. R. Conferences and Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received. Receipt Nos. 1 to 8835 for income received to April 30, have been previously reported in detail, a total of\$594,181.24
 Receipt Nos. 8836 to 10560 for income received during April are reported in detail in our official organ, "Soviet Russia," dated June 1 and 15, 1922, a total of 78,083.86

Total received and acknowledged.....\$672,265.10
 The above income was deposited in a bank account, and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to 400.69

Making a TOTAL INCOME of\$672,665.79
 From which must be DEDUCTED the following items:

- (1) Remittances received as contributions which the bank refused to honor (Receipt Nos. 1 and 214) \$274.25
- (2) Remittance addressed "Soviet Russia" received by us in error (Receipt Nos. 1900 and 5000) 42.94
- (3) Checks temporarily returned by bank to be signed (Receipt Nos. 2820, 3732, 3959, 4978, 4327, 4293, 4450, 5956, 6139, 6877, 8534, 6394, 8956, 8872, 9826) 789.24
- (4) Exchange and discount on checks received..... 6.69
- (5) Expenses incurred and charged to National Office by Locals 270.93
- (6) Lawyer's fees and bail premium for Local workers arrested for making appeals 1,250.00 2,509.05

Leaving the INCOME RECEIVED BY NATIONAL OFFICE\$670,156.74

HOW THE FUNDS AND CLOTHES WERE COLLECTED:

In order to assist Locals and Workers' organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and supplied buttons for sale and contribution lists for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for this purpose is explained in Statement "B" below. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals, making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean lot more office work, more bookkeeping. It is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred those expenses themselves. But because this money was spent to help Locals and Workers' Organizations raise the money which they sent to the National Office it is deducted from the amount which they sent in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after deducting all expenses paid by the National Office. Thus: Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office 65,962.10

Leaving INCOME received by National Office LESS COST OF COLLECTING FUNDS AND CLOTHES\$604,194.64

EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent \$4.21 fro each \$100 of funds remaining after deducting the cost of appealing for funds and clothes. They amount to 25,458.37

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of Soviet Russia of.....\$578,736.27

Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:

- Food Shipments, direct..... \$ 2,185.73
- **American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasng agent for F. S. R. for food and equipment 413,784.46
- Money in process of transmission (German Marks).....✓ 54,800.00
- Manufacture fo 1,000 dresses by donated labor of L. L. G. W. U..... 2,288.94
- Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage, adn shipping charges on old clothes contributed 8,014.54
- Federated, International and Russian Conference expenses 10,796.90 491,870.57

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND OF.....\$86,865.70

** From the date of organization to May 31, 1922, each \$100 of relief funds received by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee from the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations was expended for the following purposes:

Office expense	\$ 1.00
Extending its affiliations.....	2.00
Relief	97.00
	<u>\$100.00</u>

Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or FOR EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank.....	\$78,170.63	
Petty Cash on Hand.....	1,800.85	
Notes Receivable No. 8543.....	100.00	
Advances to Publications—for advertising, translation and publishing	1,455.90	
Advances to Sections, Locals and Speakers.....	662.19	
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost).....	1,766.18	
Deposits for Electricity, Gas and Lease.....	145.00	
Books purchased for sale, less sales.....	2,764.95	\$86,865.70

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to March 31, 1922

		Statement "A"
*Wages:		
Speakers and Organizers.....	\$	8,159.70
Publicity		1,080.00
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers.....		10,308.83
Postages		8,028.98
Information Service		1,497.95
Envelopes and Wrappers.....		74.36
Official Organ "Soviet Russia"—subsidy.....		5,400.00
Bulletins and Financial Reports printed and distributed.....		1,480.18
Advertisements		11,199.38
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed.....		5,594.48
Posters, window cards, etc.....		948.00
Motion Picture and Stereopticon Equipment.....		3,927.63
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc.....		1,637.73
Racial and Language Sections preliminary expenses.....		625.00
Organizations supplies, lists, buttons, etc.....		6,158.87
Printing pamphlets and cards for sale.....		1,450.30
		<hr/>
Less sale of pamphlets and cards.....		1,609.29
		<hr/>
TOTAL	\$	65,962.10

* Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to March 31, 1922

		Statement "C"
Wages:		
Secretary	\$	1,800.00
Office Staff		16,718.39
Office Rent		1,105.00
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat		1,086.06
Office Furniture Rent.....		20.00
Office Supplies, etc.....		1,398.93
Printing and Stationery.....		1,605.75
Telegrams		502.46
Telephone		199.70
Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc.....		239.48
Auditor's charge		782.60
		<hr/>
TOTAL	\$	25,458.37

* Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Certificate

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the period from the date of organization, August 9, 1921 to May 31, 1922, a period of nearly ten months.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in this statement. Valuable received to the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements, "A," "B" and "C," are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A," "B" and "C" are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

2764 Creston Avenue,
New York, N. Y.
June 30, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOOD,
Chartered Accountant.

Relief Contributions, July 1-15

The following abbreviations are used: F. S. C., *Famine Scout Clubs*; F. S. R., *Friends of Soviet Russia*; RC, *Roll Call contribution*; TD, *Toll Drive contribution*; W. S. and D. B. F., *Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund*. The total for July will be printed in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
11436	E. Whiting, RC, Baltimore, Md.	2.50	11499	A. Silken, Lincoln, Neb.	1.00	11560	J. Creidenberg, N. Y. C.	3.00
11437	Roy I. Schafer, Garner, Ia.	2.00	11500	Chas. Horney, RC, Davenport, Ia.	6.00	11561	Florence H. Luscomb, Allston, Mass.	50.00
11438M	J. Peterson, Baltimore, Md.	1.00	11501	P. Lorentzen, TD, W. Milwaukee, Wis.	4.00	11562	F.S.R. Branch, St. Paul, Minn.	35.00
11439	E. N. Rutner, Wing, No. Dak.	2 gold rings	11502	F.S.C. No. 115, B'klyn.	7.63	11563	L. Berinhant, RC, Jacksonville, Fla.	31.00
11440	K. Dighton, Hartdale, N. Y.	1.00	11503	J. Soos, Canton, O.	1.00	*11564	C. Alonen, Comstock, N. Y.	10.00
11441	H. Dreyer, B'klyn	1.00	11504	R. V. Warner, TD, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00	*11565	C. Paivio No. 6111, Comstock, N. Y.	10.00
11442	C. A. Kaley, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	11505	Dr. C. I. Nelson, TD, Morgantown, W. Va.	1.00	11566	Donald Amter, N. Y. C., 6 yrs.	.36
11443	S. E. Coble, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	11506	G. M. Hirsch, Portland, Ore.	1.00	11567	Dr. L. Feldman, RC, Pat- chogue, N. Y.	8.00
11444	Walter J. Conarty, Hammond, Ind.	2.00	11507	J. Wilhelm, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	11568	F.S.C. No. 49, Malden, Mass.	7.00
11445	F.S.C. No. 4, CRC, Wilmington, Del.	6.24	11508	J. A. Smith, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	11569	H. Huennekes, RC, N. Y. C.	7.00
11446	F.S.R. Branch, Hartford, Conn.	64.50	11509	C. Mack, RC, B'klyn	1.00	11570	A. Nummi, RC, Goldenbridge, N. Y.	7.00
11447	F.S.C. No. 92, B'klyn.	5.75	11510	Sam Dolinsky, RC, B'klyn.	1.00	11571	Christ Delch, TD, Jacksonville, Fla.	5.00
11448	Dr. S. B. Levy, N. Y. C.	10.00	11511	Jos. Ehremec, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	11572	Wm. Bonko, Denver, Col.	5.00
11449	E. Erikson, RC, Berkeley, Cal.	6.00	11512	D. Bloomberg, RC, B'klyn.	1.00	11573	L. Rosenheld, Cleveland, O.	16.00
11450	B. Jacobs, RC, B'klyn.	5.00	11513	A. Zobkin, N. Y. C., RC.	1.00	11574	M. Nathanson, Cleveland, O.	1.00
11451	R. B. Oppenheimer, N. Y. C.	3.00	11514	J. Yablon, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	11575	F.S.C. No. 9, Ashtabula, O.	10.60
11452	E. A. Freeman, Troy, N. Y.	1.00	11515	H. Pollack, RC, B'klyn.	1.00	11576	Columbiana Co. F.S.R., O., TD	193.25
11453	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 18, RC, N. Y. C.	1.25	11516	H. Prince, RC, B'klyn	1.00	11577	E. J. Ward, Madison, Conn.	5.00
11454	Mias S. P., B'klyn, TD	1.00	11517	I. Kesaryue, RC, B'klyn	1.00	11578	I. L. Quateman, RC, Chicago, Ill.	5.50
11455	Irving Jilbert, TD, Tracy, Cal.	1.00	11518	F. S. R. Branch, Seattle, Wash. (TD 400, RC 200)	600.00	11579	F.S.R. Branch, East Chicago, Ind.	124.56
11456	Spravednost, RC, Chicago, Ill.	718.71	11519	F. S. R. Branch, Detroit, Mich. (CRC 50, RC 150)	200.00	11580	L. Hammel, RC, Nenana, Alaska	4.00
11457	Modern School Association, Seattle, Wash.	36.58	11520	P. W. Whiting, TD, Iowa City, Ia.	25.00	11581	F.S.R. Branch, Los Angeles, Cal.	300.00
11458	Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.	24.25	11521	J. H. Oltman, Berkeley, Cal.	20.00	11582	A. N. Greene, RC, Parthill, Ida.	16.00
11459	F.S.C. No. 35, CRC, Milwaukee, Wis.	4.18	11522	F.S.R. Branch, MtM. Vernon, Wash.	12.00	11583	N. Jackman, RC, Duluth, Minn.	5.00
11460	R. R. R., Buffalo, N. Y.	8.15	11523	Joe Bollnaky, RC, Easton, Pa.	10.00	11584	H. Langley, Ottawa, Canada	5.00
11461	F.S.C. No. 67, Malden, Mass.	4.85	11524	Frod Miller, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	9.00	11585	W. O. Bockewitz, RC, Ft. Dodge, Ia.	4.00
11462	M. Magui, N. Y. C.	5.00	11525	T. E. Butler, RC, Waukegan, Ill.	5.00	11586	H. Pfeiffer (Turner Societies), Detroit, Mich.	92.00
11463	Joe Frift, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	11526	M. Keovitch Compaine, RC, B'klyn	5.00	11587	Chas. A. Mueller, TD, Dundee, Ill.	1.00
11464	F.S.R. Branch, CRC, Detroit, Mich.	100.00	11527	Mary Kas, RC, B'klyn	1.00	11588	Mariti Salmi (Finnish Socialist Local), Wilton, N. H.	4.10
11465	T. Baronoff, Coll., Raymond, Wash.	55.00	11528	F. J. Abhol, Fall River Mills, Cal.	5.00	11589	W. C. Branch 94, Stamford, Conn.	34.00
11466	F.S.R. Branch, Superior, Wis.	9.00	11529	M. E. David, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	11590	Girls Gaiety Club, N. Y. C.	26.00
11467	R. Traak, RC, Portsmouth, N. H.	14.00	11530	W. C. Br. No. 496, Kansas City, Mo.	2.00	11591	Max Millard, RC, N. Y. C.	5.00
11468	I. Seltzer, RC, Indian Head, Md.	10.00	11531	W.W.Cornas, RC, Sacramento, Cal.	2.00	11592	J. Henefeld, TD, N. Y. C.	9.00
11469	Otto Baehr, Monico, Wis.	10.00	11532	A. M. W. Pennypacker, Phil., Pa.	1.00	11593	S. Kellogg, Alameda, Cal.	5.00
11470	Joe Halsan, Hiles, Wis.	1.00	11533	Wm. Niemeyer, Sheridan, Tex.	1.00	11594	Herman Meyling, Berkeley, Cal.	1.00
11471	Frod Landers and Friends, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	10.00	11534	F. Kriech, RC, B'klyn	12.00	11595	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 188, RC, Cleveland, O.	1.50
11472	R. Boyer, Seattle, Wash.	2.00	11535	Vonnegut Hardware Co., TD, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.00	11596	J. Bubien, RC, Wallingford, Conn.	.75
11473	E. Schwarz, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00	11536	H. Bilenki, RC, Sydney, N. S.	1.95	11597	I. Serier, Kennewick, Wash.	5.00
11474	W. Pfohl, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	11537	H. Johnson, Phil., Pa. (9 Belgian francs)	70	11598	Donald Amter, F.S.C. (6 years), N. Y. C.	2.90
11475	F.S.R. Branch, Ironwood, Mich.	20.90	11538	J. Thorn, RC, Eureka, Cal.	12.75	11599	C. & L. Brannin, TD, Dallas, Tex.	25.00
11476	A. Merdian, Salt Lake City, Utah	4.00	11539	P. Wirchenko, RC, Detroit, Mich.	7.50	11600	Employees of National office, F.S.R., N. Y. C., TD.	32.40
11477	F.S.C. No. 121, N. Y. C.	34.50	11540	A. & A. Mencke, Cleveland, O.	7.50	11601	C. Ahorens, N. Y. C.	1.00
11478	W. Kriah, RC, East Chicago, Ind.	4.25	11541	F.S.C. No. 102, N. Y. C.	6.65	11602	Union of Russian Citizens, B'klyn	48.39
11479	T. Popko, RC, East Chicago, Ind.	7.50	11542	Max Sturmer, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00	11603	Nick Ivko, List, B'klyn	3.00
11480	G. Laakarif, RC, Vivian, W. Va.	6.00	11543	Fred Fickas, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00	11604	F.S.C. No. 65, Hartford, Conn.	14.85
11481	Russian Singing Dramatic Society, Gary, Ind.	66.00	11544	F. Leary, RC, San Diego, Cal.	2.50	11605	E. Muller, Ashbury Park, N. J.	1.00
11482	F.S.R. Branch, Akron, O.	35.00	11545	F. Williams, RC, San Diego, Cal.	1.00	11606	F. S. R. Branch, TD, St. Paul, Minn.	600.00
11483	Rose Goldstein (FSC), N. Y. C.	3.70	11546	Relief Committee, Phil., Pa.	910.00	11607	J. M. Olsen, List, Blind Slough, Ore.	12.00
11484	H. Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00	11547	Pitt. Dist. Lith. Br. F.S.R., Pittsburgh, Pa.	100.00	11608	K. Arthur, TD, Ventnor, N. J.	10.00
11485	B. Tallis, RC, N. Y. C.	15.75	11548	F. L. Cheney, P. Johnson and Gum Geon, Bemus Point, N. Y.	16.00	11609	Mrs. L. P. Brown, TD, Warren, O.	10.00
11486	Mrs. S. Kauk, RC, B'klyn.	33.00	11549	H. Holhauser, RC, Portland, Mo.	10.00	11610	J. H. Wolfe, Salt Lake City, U.	10.00
11487	F.S.R. Branch, Saginaw, Mich.	25.00	11550	S. S. Kats, Perth Amboy, N. J.	7.00	11611	W. E. Staples, E. Khaluck & J. W. Schlickter, Kamloops, B. C.	10.00
11488	Sam Privol, RC, Ambridge, Pa.	12.00	11551	Floyd C. LaRue, TD, Plymouth, Conn.	5.00	11612	J. Anderson, RC, Sointula, B. C.	7.00
11489	F.S.R. Branch, N. Y. C.	3,000.00	11552	Mrs. E. V. La Rue, TD, Plymouth, Conn.	5.00	11613	G. R. Haubold, TD, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
11490	C. Zadraka, RC, Waverly, Pa.	10.00	11553	F.S.R. Branch, Nanticoke, Pa.	44.29	11614	A. Efron, RC, San Diego, Cal.	5.00
11491	Jos Genielaky, RC, Garfield, N. J.	10.00	11554	F.S.R. Branch, Chelsea, Mass.	34.03			
11492	K. Rakoff, RC, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	11555	Ida Rosen, RC, B'klyn.	5.00			
11493	A. Oja, RC, Inwood, L. I.	10.50	11556	A. Gordon, RC, B'klyn.	5.00			
11494	Th. Lapko, RC, San Antonio, Tex.	10.30	11557	H. Nelson, Bay City, Wash.	4.00			
11495	J. Shepurko, RC, Chicago, Ill.	10.50	11558	W. E. H. Porter, TD, Hansboro, N. D.	1.00			
11496	J. Kuchun, RC, Maynard, Mass.	9.50	11559	E. P. Tia'evy, Huntington, W. Va.	1.00			
11497	P. Frochan, RC, Edmonton, Alberta	9.50						
11498	Spuvak, RC, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	7.50						

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
11615	Hyman Lipnick, RC, New Bedford, Mass.	3.00	11657	F. B. Gray, TD, Melrose, Mass.	2.00	11698	D. M. Lovell, TD, Reger, Mo.	2.00
11616	M. Ragoza, New Haven, Conn.	2.00	11658	M. Gilheart, RC, Baltimore, Md.	1.00	11699	Louis Long, TD, N. Y. C.	1.00
11617	Em Casselberg, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	11660	F.S.C. No. 37, Portland, Ore.	15.00	11700	F. Barage, RC, Bertha, Pa.	17.75
11618	K. Kaulinis, RC, B'klyn.	13.45	11661	F.S.C. No. 38, Lynn, Mass.	7.50	11701	F.S.R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00
11619	C. O. Nelson & J. Nasterneck, TD, Fort Strong, Mass.	15.00	11662	F.S.R. Branch, Chicago, Ill.	7,000.00	11702	F.S.R. Branch, San Francisco, Cal.	165.00
11620	Frank Evers, TD, Chicago, Ill.	3.00	11663	Relief Committee, TD, Phil., Pa.	130.00	11703	C. F. Partridge, RC, Rochester, Minn.	17.00
11621	M. Adamit, RC, Woodchopper, Alaska	2.00	11664	H. Pfeiffer, Detroit, Mich.	100.00	11704	J. B. Robinson, TD, Sange-tuck, Mich.	10.00
11622	Dultz, N. Y. C.	10.00	11665	F.S.R. Branch, Binghamton, N. Y.	50.00	11705	U. G. W. of A. No. 42, Cleve-land, O.	5.00
11623	L. Scaman, Groton, Conn.	5.00	11666	J. Wasileff, TD, Detroit, Mich.	20.00	11706	H. Stolz, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
11624	J. Kovacs, RC, Yonkers, N. Y.	16.40	11667	J. M. Killough, TD, Waco, Tex.	10.00	11707	S. E. Coble, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
11625	P. Martinko, RC, Ambridge, Pa.	2.50	11668	I. Laskow, TD, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00	11708	C. A. Kaley, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
11626	F.S.R. Branch, Endicott, N. Y.	250.00	11669	S. Statlander, RC, Paterson, N. J.	9.00	11709	W. J. Conarty, Hammond, Ind.	2.00
11627	Ansonia Relief Committee, Ansonia, Conn.	100.00	11670	Nell Amter, N. Y. C.	.50	11710	H. Edmeston, Healesville, Vic., Aus.	.15
11628	A. V. Carl, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	25.00	11671	Wm. Koponen, RC, Fort Bragg, Cal.	12.00	11711	Voice of the Worker, RC, N. Y. C.	53.60
11629	T. Baronoff, Coll, Raymond, Wash.	22.00	11672	A. C. Dick, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00	11712	F.S.R. Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	457.00
11630	Sam Mazur, RC, Duqueene, Pa.	16.00	11673	C. J. Carlson, TD, Dagus Mines, Pa.	5.00	11713	Sr. Martinez, Tampico, Tampa, Mexico	222.50
11631	S. Gurin, RC, Fall River, Mass.	16.00	11674	F. J. Dunleavy, TD, Pasadena, Cal.	5.00	11714	South Slav Branch, F.S.R., Cleveland, O.	56.65
11632	Mutual Aid Society, Camdon, N. J.	15.00	11675	Arbeiter Bildungs Verein, RC, Adams, Mass.	5.00	11715	Louis Gruber, (TD 5.00, RC .50), Milwaukee, Wis.	5.50
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A Ural Diary

Fifteen Cents

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From A Ural Diary

(A chapter by A. A. Heller from the author's forthcoming book "Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia" to be published by Thomas Seltzer, Inc.)

ONE of the richest mining and industrial districts of Russia is located in the Ural Mountains. During the month of September, 1921, I accompanied an economic mission on a trip through this region, visiting a number of mines and factories and coming in contact with a cross-section of the industrial life of present day Russia. In this chapter I shall attempt to set down the most salient impressions of this journey, as recorded in my diary.

September 5, 1921. The engineer in charge of the Upper Kyshtym plant is a good example of how the young technicians of Russia had to live and work during the revolutionary period. He is a graduate of the Petrograd Technological Institute, where he worked his way through by singing in concerts and opera. At Kyshtym he is not only the chief engineer of the iron works, but also the manufacturer of matches and soap for the co-operatives. In this way he is able to increase the Soviet "payok" of thirty-six pounds of flour a month to a point where he can get enough to feed himself and his family.

Early in the afternoon we went on to Cheliabinsk, reaching this place late in the evening. We still had time to walk about the station and here in a little park we encountered one of the scenes which are so common in Russia at the present time. Many peasants from the famine districts, on their way to seek new homes, were lodged there, cooking, eating and sleeping in the open. In the midst of the refugees some indomitable young Russians were playing the accordion while a large crowd listened attentively.

September 6. At seven in the morning we reached the Cheliabinsk mines,* which are about twelve versts from the town. Here we found Kiselov, the assistant manager, waiting to accompany us over the mining district. As soon as the manager, Comrade Teterin, appeared, we all marched out in the raw drizzle to inspect the mines. The Cheliabinsk mines cover an area of some twelve square versts and consist of a dozen or more open cuts, with two shafts, about 120 feet in depth. The coal, which is of the brown type, appears in layers about twenty or thirty feet below the surface. There are several known layers, some being fifty feet thick. The coal that is close to the ground is worked by open cuts and carried away by horses or small hand-cars. The mechanical equipment of the mine is very inadequate, as there are only five excavators at work, together with a small number of mechanical elevators. There is not sufficient tracking to transport the coal to the wide-gauge railway which runs through the property. The present production of the mines, with a working force of eight thousand men, is about three

million poods a month. The working force includes only about eight hundred miners. At present the mines are in a desperate situation because of the lack of food. The management could easily dispense with a part of the working force, especially with the fifteen hundred labor army men who are there apparently to work, but are actually producing very little, while being fed at the expense of the mine. Both the manager and his assistant are very able men, and are making a desperate fight to keep up production, in spite of the impossible food situation. They get their provisions from the state food organization, which is completely exhausted at the present moment and does not expect any new supplies until the agricultural tax is collected within the next four or five weeks. While the province of Cheliabinsk has not suffered from drought to such an extent as the provinces along the Volga, it is, nevertheless, in the famine belt; and it is compelled to appeal to the central government for help.

Kiselov, the assistant manager, is a Russian-American immigrant who returned to Russia at the first call of the Revolution and has been participating actively in its work ever since. He was in the Red Army for three years, rising to the command of a regiment, taking part in many battles on almost every front and being wounded six times. Now he has been demobilized in order to take charge of an important industrial enterprise. This is true of most of the men whom we found at the head of government institutions and establishments; they have all gone through the severe military campaigns of the last three years, either as officers in the Red Army or as leaders in partisan bands which operated against Kolchak and Denikin.

These men are inexperienced in the industrial field; and yet they have to cope with the problems of production under conditions which very few captains of industry have to meet. The equipment of many establishments is obsolete; and even when adequate, it is often badly in need of repair and replacement of worn-out parts. There has been a most serious dislocation of the working forces. The active skilled men who were employed in the large modern factories in such big industrial centres as Moscow and Petrograd, Southern Russia and the Urals, have been, to a great extent, killed in the war or the groups have been split into small units and scattered all over Russia and Siberia. The younger men who are still in military service form units of the labor army, which are sent here and there, but which, so far as I could see, show little skill or efficiency in industrial labor. Consequently, most of the work in the mines and factories falls upon the older men and women, who are unskilled and physically weakened by the hard life of the last three years. This accounts for the large number of workmen

*Photographs of these mines were printed in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. VI, pages 225 and 260.

employed in industry and for the very small production obtained. Moreover, the nation's food supplies have been generally insufficient throughout the whole period of the Revolution. The daily ration of the workman has varied from one to two pounds of bread; other foodstuffs have been almost entirely lacking. Even this meagre ration has been reduced since the spring of this year. Considering all these facts, one can imagine how difficult is the task of stimulating production. Furthermore, there are many other elements, such as transport difficulties, lack of co-ordination between governmental departments, etc., which tend to aggravate the present situation.

As we returned to the car from our inspection of the mines we had a very interesting discussion of the situation of the mines in detail and of Russian economic conditions in general with Teterin, Kiselov and one of the mine foremen. These men were all convinced that the so-called State capitalism which the Soviet Government is now introducing is a great forward step, which will unquestionably help to re-establish the industrial life of the nation. They all agreed that the workman, as well as the manager or technical expert, must have a material interest in his work. The bitter Russian experience of the last three years has taught everyone that ideals alone do not suffice to stimulate the workman day in and day out. Work in a mine or factory does not appeal to the imagination; the interest in it wears off in a short time and the spirit of even the most ardent communist is dampened when he does not see any prospect of immediate improvement before him. The new policy of economic reconstruction, offering the worker the inducement of a direct material benefit if his work, or the work of his unit or plant, is well done, is certain to result in greater production.

September 7. We left Cheliabinsk during the night for Zlatoust, stopping at Miasek for a visit to a file factory there. We drove in rain and mud to the factory, which is about six versts from the station. The surrounding country is very beautiful, with high mountains rising in the distance. Our Ural experts assured us that if this place were in western Europe it would become a renowned health resort, because of its climate and because of the mineral springs which abound in the vicinity. The factory is located in the centre of a thriving village, which impressed us by the number of excellent houses, each displaying curtains and flower-pots in the windows. The factory was organized during the war on the premises of an old iron mill and was equipped with machinery transported from Riga. The production of the factory, which operates on a two-shift basis, is some ten thousand dozens files a month. This figure could easily be increased by fifty per cent if more food were supplied to the workers. The manager of the plant, almost with tears in his eyes, explained that it had been necessary to discontinue work during the last few days because no supplies had arrived. The workmen are getting a very small *payok*

(twenty-eight pounds per month); but they are willing to continue working even at this rate in order to keep this very necessary industry going. The plant is well provided with fuel and steel, the machinery is in good order, the factory has all the men it needs; it makes a product very badly needed in Russia, and yet it cannot operate.

We returned from the factory to continue our journey to Zlatoust. We spent the whole afternoon at the car windows, for we were passing through the most beautiful part of the Urals. Several mountain ranges came in view, with deep valleys and lakes, and occasionally a small mountain village; the background of tall pine and light birch now turning golden, with a flash of red here and there, was extremely attractive. We are now approaching Zlatoust, which is spread on the side of a mountain on the shore of a small lake; it resembles an Alpine village from the railroad. However, it has a population of eighty thousand, and there are a number of important factories and mines in the neighborhood.

September 12. This morning we reached Ust Katav. Here we found one of the best organized iron mills that we have visited so far. They turn out freight cars for the most part, with a few passenger cars. The capacity in normal times is two hundred a month. Like all the Ural mills, it was established perhaps a hundred and fifty years ago, near a small river which supplied power, and even now it retains the old, dungeon-like original building. But, most of the plant is housed in a dozen large new modern buildings, which are well equipped and operate with an appearance of modern mechanical system. The engineer in charge, an elderly, dried-up Russo-German from Saratov, has managed the plant for more than ten years, through all the political upheavals, which have taken place since the war, and his organizing ability is clearly shown in the systematic working of the establishment. The machinery is well arranged, the raw material is kept in order, and the finished stock, of which there is a large quantity, is maintained in excellent condition. Since June the plant has been operating at a lower rate; but the management hopes to start up very soon with a working force of eleven hundred men and a production program of a hundred cars a month, together with spare parts for fifty more cars. The establishment is hampered by the lack of timber, which has to come all the way from Siberia, and by the lack of parts which it does not produce itself, such as wheels and axles. For this reason, it expects to do more in repairing old cars than in producing new ones, and this is perhaps more useful at the present time.

The plant seems to have an ideal location in a lovely village on the banks of a river, surrounded by green hills. But even here the lack of bread is evident. Scheffer, the old engineer, shows it plainly, as do most of the working men and women who are employed there. The general poverty also appears in the ragged clothes and torn boots of

the workers. Yet there is plenty of energy here, and a genuine desire for production. The indomitable spirit of these men, of the young Communists at the head of the enterprises, of the engineers who love to see their work carried on, of the regional officials like Krapivin, who neglects food and sleep and is acquainted with the minutest details of the twenty plants under his management, these constructive forces will yet find a way to re-establish industry and to bring about the economic revival which Russia is now striving with all her might to obtain.

We are traveling on, crossing the mountain into gently rolling country, fringed with woods and intersected with swift streams. We see a good deal of freshly plowed black soil, but the Bashkir villages which we pass seem to be very poor. The Bashkirs are not very good farmers at best, and this year they suffered a complete crop failure. Even potatoes and cabbages, which were raised successfully in the rest of the Urals, failed completely in this region. These villages, we are told, are completely stripped of food; they do not even possess the small amount of flour which peasants elsewhere mix with weeds and roots to make bread. The death rate in these villages is extremely high.

September 13. We spent part of the day strolling about the town of Ufa. This was formerly a large trading and shipping centre; and it still retains spacious market places in which peasants and traders can exchange their products. Now most of the trading is in foodstuffs and second-hand articles of all kinds. There are really three or four separate markets, with certain lines of demarcation between them. So one row displays bread, another has dairy products, while a third is devoted to old clothes and household articles. We ran across the flour market and the meat-and-fish market in different parts of the town. Some traders occupied stalls while others displayed their wares in a row right on the ground. We encountered many peddlers of boots, cloth, saccharine, cigarettes, old bottles of perfume and a thousand and one other articles, probably kept in middle-class homes for many years and now offered for sale. We were surprised at the size of the market and the abundance of provisions displayed. We had seen nothing of the kind on our trip so far. We stopped to price some of the articles and found that bread was selling at 3500 rubles a pound, while bread made with *lebeda* cost only 1,000 rubles a pound. This *lebeda*, an unwholesome, bitter weed, which grows abundantly everywhere, was also on sale in the form of black seed. Some stalls displayed honey in home-made wooden cans, beeswax and hops. The meat and fish stalls were mainly presided over by Tartars and probably sold as much horse-meat as beef. Many of the products on sale, such as the crude pottery, tin pails, kettles, etc., were made in peasant homes. There were many pathetic figures among the traders. Middle class women offering some of their old finery—a piece of old lace, an old hat, a couple of silver

spoons or a bright nickel samovar. Old men could be seen holding tightly to a silver watch, or a worn pair of trousers, and mutely appealing to passers-by to give them something in exchange.

September 25. Having reached Alapaievsk, a party of us went out to visit the neighboring asbestos mines. We traveled part of the way by a little narrow gauge railway, and drove the last stage of the journey over a muddy wood road, which brought us to a huge white asbestos mill of modern type, built within the last twenty years. Beyond it were a large number of houses and yards, fenced by open bars, and we drove up to one of the houses, where we found the manager of the asbestos mines. As we stood at the top looking down, the mines presented the appearance of a huge Greek amphitheatre, tier upon tier of grey rock, with a large circle in the centre. A narrow track wound through the mine, and a number of empty iron cars stood idle, as the mines had not been operating since April. Here as elsewhere there was no bread to give the workers.

The asbestos is found in layers from half an inch to several inches in width, which appear between the rocks. A fairly expensive but simple method of mining is employed. Dynamite is used to break up the rock, the asbestos bearing rock is picked out as far as possible by hand, then sent to the mill for further crushing and cleaning. When washed and dried, it has the appearance of soft white cotton. Both in the Urals and in Siberia there is an abundant supply of this mineral. The one mill which we visited prepares 3,500,000 poods a year when it is in operation; and, as all the apparatus, both in the mills and in the mine, is in good condition, a few thousand dollars' worth of food and clothes would be sufficient to inaugurate the development of this industry.

In the evening we had supper at the People's House. The long table with its white linen cloth was nicely set and decorated with several vases of fresh flowers. Most of the leading workers of this region had come to hear the message which Martens, the Chief of the Metallurgical Division of the Supreme Council of National Economy, had brought from Moscow. The meal began with delicious soup, made of vegetables and pork. This was followed by fresh ham, mutton chops, creamed potatoes and cranberries, while for dessert, we had a large dish of pastry with tea. Of course, the pastry was made of dark flour with little sugar, but it was good.

After the meal was finished, Comrade Balakin, a member of the county Communist Party, made a speech of welcome to Martens and his commission. Here at the table sat Russian workers, representatives of the management of the local factories and forestry department, as well as of the Communist Party. There was also a sprinkling of technical men. All wanted to hear the plans of the Soviet Government for starting up the factories before winter. All the mills and factories which were not on part time work were entirely closed in this region, as in other parts of the

Urals. Martens responded to the warm welcome and gave a clear explanation of the economic policy which was to be followed and of the concrete efforts which the government was making. He told of the agreement which the Ural Industrial Bureau had concluded with Dr. Hammer for the delivery of 1,000,000 poods of flour and he assured his audience that the workers in the Urals would have part of the food necessary to set some of the factories going. Then the American comrade, Miss Lucy Branham was called on for a speech and responded with a greeting from American labor to the Russian workers and peasants. She told them of the American campaign for friendship with the Russian people and for recognition. At the end of the evening, the Chairman, Balakin handed her the following note:

"Please transmit to the American comrade-workers warm greetings from the Ural hills of Alapaievsk. Just three years ago the workers here

dropped their tools and stood up to defend the Urals against the Czechs. The mines of Alapaievsk have swallowed up seven hundred corpses of the best workers, who perished at the hands of the Czech executioners and the Kolchak murderers. I thank you for your visit and hope you will come to see us again and again. Signed, BALAKIN."

October 5. We are now well on our way back to Moscow. The crowds at the different stations are no longer so large as on our previous trip; but barter is still going on at every station, meat being offered in exchange for salt or eggs or potatoes. At one station two little girls carrying milk asked for needles, which one of our party quickly produced, receiving a bottle of milk from each girl in exchange for two needles apiece. Other passengers could be seen carrying roasted chickens, stacks of pancakes, etc. Evidently no one who has anything to exchange need starve along the railway.

The Historical Significance of the Trial

By KARL RADEK

I.

THE Social-Democratic press of all shades continues to indulge in the noises which it began when it received the news that its accomplices, the Russian Social Revolutionaries, were being called to account before the tribunal of the Russian working class for all the crimes committed by them against the Russian revolution.

In South Africa, workers are being dispersed, shot down, arrested in hundreds by the mine magnates, and maltreated in prisons, but no fuss is made about this. The American press is full of the white terror which is again raging in West Virginia and other mining regions. This also creates no stir. In Esthonia the leader of the Esthonian Communists, Kingisepp, is executed within 24 hours of his arrest, on the basis of the verdict of a "democratic" court, merely because he is a Communist. In democratic Poland the Communist peasant parliamentary delegate, Dombal, is thrown into prison in spite of his parliamentary immunity, maltreated, and is now being tried on the basis of testimony extorted by the political police, with the use of tortures.* All this does not worry the guardians of democracy and of the interests of the working class who belong to the camp of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International. Their eyes are turned only to Moscow, where the monstrous atrocity is being perpetrated of bringing to trial the leaders of the party which in March, 1917, sold out the revolution to the bourgeoisie and to the Entente, which opened the door to all the White governments, which organized attempts

*Dombal has since been condemned to imprisonment for six years for addressing a public meeting as a member of Parliament.—Ed.

on the lives of the leaders of the Russian working class, who are daily agitating for an armed struggle against the Soviet Government, against the same Government of which the appeal of the Amsterdam International said that its fall would be a severe blow to the international proletariat, a victory for the international counter-revolution.

The newspapers of the Second International have not taken great pains to give evidence as to the causes of their outcries. The party of Noske, which has the murder of 20,000 workers on its conscience, which today still holds hundreds of Communist workers in its prisons, simply declares that it is not permissible to prosecute Socialists. That settles it! The English Labor Party whose leaders had a share in the government which had the Irish union-leader Connolly shot, the English Labor Party whose leader Thomas today still invokes capitalist courts against the Communists, is also opposed to a prosecution of "Socialists".

Somewhat different is the attitude of the Second-and-a-Half International, particularly of its section, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Germany was once the blessed land of the best beer and of Marxism. The war severely impaired the quality both of the beer and of the Marxism in Germany. Both retained only their former appearance. Now, almost four years after the war, the quality of German beer has improved very much, the Marxism of the Social-Democratic Party still remains an *Ersatz*, whether in the form in which it is doled out in Stinnes' newspaper, edited by Lensch, or, in the papers of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, by Herr Levi, a renegade from Communism. The plain meaning of Levi's ingenious constructions is the

following: The Soviet Government was a workers' government; as the peasants are stronger than the workers in Russia, the government was finally obliged to decide that it would become a peasant government. And as the peasants are a petty bourgeois class, the government was obliged not only to abolish the beginnings of a Communist order, but also to make concessions to Entente capital, and since—as Marx teaches—economic concessions always are followed by political concessions, the Bolshevik Government is obliged to proceed to a prosecution of the workers' movement. The Social-Revolutionaries are now the party of the proletariat and the Soviet Government plays the same part toward them that Thiers and his accomplices played toward the defeated Communards. This hash is served with random quotations from Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*, and of course Marx can no longer defend himself against such use of his work.

I shall not try the patience of my readers by making a lengthy refutation of all this learned rubbish. I shall merely ask: what were the Social-Revolutionists in the past and what are they now? When the party of the Social-Revolutionists was formed it protested against the Marxian orthodoxy which considered the working class to be the leading element of revolution. The Social-Revolutionaries do not pretend to be a workers' party, they always declared that the intellectuals, the peasants and workers, were revolutionary forces of equal importance, and that their greatest ambition was to be a peasant party. The Russian Marxists, regardless of what tendency they followed, Martov, Plekhanov, Lenin, Trotsky, already at the time of the founding of the party, characterized the Social-Revolutionaries as a petty-bourgeois revolutionary party. Being such, since the party was a party of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, taking its support chiefly from the peasantry, the Social-Revolutionaries were able to survive the revolution of 1905 and 1906, but the second revolution, which found the party in a condition of complete political decay, has shown that however sharp was the Marxan critique, it was even exceeded by the critique applied by historical reality. In the second revolution millions of peasants rallied to the Social Revolutionaries. They thus became the strongest party of the March revolution, and they suffered shipwreck chiefly because they were exposed in the light and under the fire of the first eight months of the revolution, not only as an anti-proletarian party, but as an anti-peasant party. When in power, they resisted with all their might any solution of the agrarian problem. They fed the peasants on hopes to be realized after the war, although they knew that the demobilized and disarmed peasant would be the victim of the White Guard tyranny organized by the landholders. They threw the peasants into prisons when they dared to stretch out their hands for the landholder's land.

All this was the case because the party of Social Revolutionaries, whose dominating layer consist-

ed of intellectuals, was bound by its petty bourgeois nationalism, to the bourgeoisie, to the landholders, and through them, to world capitalism. The victory in the imperialistic, predatory war, by the side of the Allies, by the side of the Paris, London and New York stock exchanges, this was the only goal pursued by the leaders of the Social-Revolutionaries, and this bound them to world capital and made the former terrorists, the former peasant Socialists, the agents of world capital. At the moment when they were called upon to pay the bill for this exploit, when the mass of the Russian workers and peasants overthrew Kerensky's Government, the party convention of the Social Revolutionists began to form a feeble understanding of the causes of the collapse of this once powerful party. But the fact that a drunkard has a single lucid moment does not make a normal man of him. The party of the Social Revolutionaries did not turn back. The hatred of the dethroned intelligentsia for the proletarian revolution, their democratic illusions, still held them under the thumb of counter-revolution, although they could not fail to understand that, being a party that was summoning foreign intervention, they were trampling their own nationalism under foot and making themselves agents of foreign capital, which intended to transform Russia into a colony. And in making themselves, as the interventionist party, into a party for the national enslavement of Russia, they have repeatedly used their democratic trappings in policy, as a stirrup on which the most outspoken reaction of the monarchist Junker elements could get in the saddle. In the name of democracy they united with the Czecho-Slovaks and the officers of Kolchak. And these forces threw them into history's discard. Arrested by Kolchak, the leaders of the Social Revolutionaries accepted an indemnity from him and disappeared in Paris, where they still continue their conspiracies, as democrats, with French imperialism, as if their democratic innocence had not wallowed a dozen times in the gutters of Siberian cities with Kolchak's chaste Cosacks. In Archangel, with the aid of landing parties from the Allied ships, they overthrew the Soviet Government, in order to be in turn overthrown by Entente and Russian generals. And in spite of all these lessons they again began in the Paris meeting in 1921 to discuss the policy of a coalition with the bourgeoisie. And although the Social Revolutionaries in Russia turned against this policy of their émigré leaders, which compromised them by its unnecessary frankness, the Social Revolutionary coalitionists, the Kerenskys and Avksentiev, remain members and leaders of this party to the present day. All the ignorance of a Levi, and all his impudent calculations on the ignorance of his readers, are necessary to enable him to represent these Girondists of the Russian revolution as its Montagnards, nay even its Enragés.*

*The Left and the Extreme Left of the French Convention of 1792.

II.

The attempt to represent the opponents of the Russian Commune as Communards and the Russian Communards as Thiers is only an additional proof that not only the bourgeoisie but still more the renegades of Socialism are using the press merely in order to stultify the working class. But this fact does not eliminate the specific connections existing between the trial of the Social Revolutionaries and the present phase of the Russian revolution. The Soviet Government would prosecute the leaders of the Social Revolutionaries, be it in 1918, 1919, or 1920, whenever it had such proofs against them as it now has, owing to the fact that a portion of the Social Revolutionaries who once, at the command of their leaders, conspired against the Soviet Government and organized murders, had become disgusted with the policy of their party, the hypocrisy of its leaders, and turned away from it, in order to tell the truth about this party that had become a kept woman of counter-revolution. But the Soviet Government is particularly bound in the year 1922 to inaugurate this trial of the Social Revolutionaries and to bring home to the entire Russian people the truth about this party. It is obliged to do this because of the special circumstances in which the Russian working class and the Soviet Government are now struggling. Herr Levi and the Berlin *Freiheit* declare: "Because the Soviet Government is forced to make economic concessions to capital, as well as political concessions, it is prosecuting the Social Revolutionaries as representatives of the awakening Socialism, of the awakening working class." The truth would be: "Because the Soviet Government has been obliged by the tardy development of world revolution to make concessions to capitalism, and because it wishes to retain the power in the hands of the working class, because it does not want to yield a single atom of that power to Russian capitalism and to world capitalism, it must raise its sword against the counter-revolutionaries who, marching under the banner of petty bourgeois Socialism, seek to open a door to the domination of capitalism in Russia."

World capital fought for three years to secure the downfall of the Soviet Government, by using the slogan of democracy. The leaders of English, German and French capital knew that the condition of Russian transportation routes and transportation material, the predominance of the peasantry, with its illiteracy, its narrow village outlook, would make the establishment of parliamentary rule nothing more nor less than a complete handing over of the central government, without supervision, to a small clique of intellectuals, officers and brokers, unless the officers and landholders and capitalists should prefer to throw away the fig-leaf of a parliament and establish their dictatorship without even that pretext. The arms of the Red Army, which have driven the armies of foreign intervention and of the Whites from

Russian soil, have made it impossible to pursue this goal openly. Further, the agents of foreign governments in Russia have learned that the Russian peasant and worker cling to the Soviet system, as the peasant beholds in it, first and foremost, an organ of his own autonomy. And so we find Milyukov, one of the cleverest leaders of the Russian counter-revolution—when he saw during the Kronstadt insurrection that even the rebellious peasant boys wanted to retain the institution of soviets—launching the slogan of "Soviets without Communists" in place of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly. If the Communist Party should fall, the proletarian and the peasant champions tested in the revolution would also fall. Dispersed, without the spiritual bond of the Communist Party, the masses of the people would fall an easy prey to counter-revolution, and the Soviets without Communism would scatter like sand before the wind, to make way for a democratically disguised domination of foreign capital. The only way to erect this dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and capital in Russia is to strengthen the petty-bourgeois parties by all means that are at hand. And this task of first weakening and then abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia is now the historical function of the petty bourgeois counter-revolutionists, and they are functioning in this sense. Some of them proceed unscrupulously, well aware of whom they are serving, others are full of democratic illusions and know not what they do. For this class of Social Revolutionaries also exists. There is a type of frivolous ladies who, after a life full of pleasures, become exceptionally religious, pious and innocent, and readily forget all the years and decades in which they worshipped at quite different shrines. In politics it does not matter whether a certain act is performed in good or in bad faith; the counter-revolutionists who are governed by democratic illusions are more dangerous than those who have no such illusions, because they embellish their dirty counter-revolutionary work with a certain inner fire. Who would believe that the Social Revolutionaries who fought against strikes as an expression of "anarchy", when the bourgeoisie was in power, are now making use, in good faith, of serious disturbances in the transportation of food-stuffs, produced by their insurrections, in order to call upon the workers to strike, although they know very well that the wretchedness of the workers in Russia, caused by intervention—blockade, sabotage by intellectuals, capitalist speculation—can be diminished only by increasing production and strengthening the order-inspiring power of the proletarian state? Who will believe that the Social Revolutionaries, who considered the expropriation of capitalists and the nationalization of industry to be a piece of idiocy and a crime, are now speaking in good faith when they declare the concessions to capitalists, which is what the introduction of lease-holds means, as a deviation from the path of Socialism? No one can fail to see the crass contradiction in the shouts by the

same persons that: "Concessions to capitalism are a danger," and the simultaneous outcry that demands for the bourgeoisie freedom of the press, of organization, and even advocates bourgeois democracy?"

The bourgeoisie is again passing through its period of original accumulation. The speculator does nothing but plan methods by which he can evade the measures taken by the Soviet Government to hold down the reawakened appetites of capital. The political weapon of the Nep man (the name given in Russia to speculators, from the abbreviation *N. E. P.*: New economic policy) is corruption, bribery of hungry Soviet employees. The petty bourgeois intellectuals, as well as those intellectuals who were closely associated with the bourgeoisie in the capacity of lawyers, engineers, etc., and also the counter-revolutionary elements, are the advance guards of the bourgeoisie. Before the Nep man becomes so strong as to be able, on the basis of his economic strength, to demand political concessions from the Soviet Government, the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks make these demands in the name of democracy, of Socialism, even of the interests of labor, which they had trodden under foot a dozen times, and the engineers, the lawyers, the physicians, the agricultural experts, make these demands in the name of the work they perform. The increasing impudence of the petty bourgeois self-styled Socialists is a phase of the increasing impudence of the liberal advance guard of the bourgeoisie, strengthened by the new economic policy. This

phenomenon is unavoidable until the revolution has been victorious in at least one great industrial country and new energies begin to flow into proletarian Russia. The Soviet Government is fighting with all its might against any attempt by the bourgeoisie to get its head above water politically. Everyone remembers how the Cadets last year, when they were permitted to create an organization to gather bread for the starving, made efforts to gain a foothold as a political power. The Soviet Government came down on them heavily and the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks protested. The bourgeois circles of Russia rightly see in the trial of the Social Revolutionaries an attack on their advance guard, and the *Berlin Rul*, the leading organ of the Cadets, protests against this trial no less vigorously than the Second and Second-and-a-Half International. This is the historical significance of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries, which the foolish dupes of universal counter-revolution, like Levi and Crispin, dress up in costumes taken from the history of the proletarian tragedies—for in such the proletarian insurrections of the past have always ended. It is in order that the Russian revolution may not end as the efforts of the Enragés, the Babeufs, the Communards, have ended, that the Soviet Government has drawn its sword against the petty-bourgeois wing of the counter-revolution, which, being the vanguard of the capitalist and junker wing, would transform the citadel of the world proletariat into the theatre for a new civil war.

Workers and Bourgeois Intellectuals on Trial

(This article appeared in the July 10, issue of the Moscow "Pravda". It is an interesting analysis of the class lines in the membership of the Social Revolutionary Party, with the consequent effects on their actions.)

One of the most characteristic and remarkable features of the trial which reflects with astonishing precision the development of the Russian Revolution as a whole, is the antagonism between the two groups of the accused: that composed of the bourgeois intellectuals, and that composed of workers. While in the "orthodox" group of the Social Revolutionaries, among the members of the Central Committee of the party, the decidedly prevailing elements are the bourgeois intellectuals—the few "peasants" unflinchingly revealing themselves as men "with higher education"—on the other hand, among those who "split off" and in part went over directly to our party, the prevailing element consists of workers. *All the workers who were members of the fighting (terrorist) organizations*, who were so often deceived by the Central Committee of the "Socialist Revolutionary" Party *are siding with the Soviet Government*. This is a basic fact, which has stood out in plain relief during the entire trial. When, at the beginning of the trial, all the members of the Central Committee, headed by the "merchant's son" A. Gotz, "proudly" declared that they did not

recognize the court, that the Soviet Government was a band of crooks, etc., the entire group consisting of workers declared that they fully trust the court, as the court of the proletarian dictatorship, whose duty it is to judge the Social Revolutionaries because of their crimes against the working class. To the obstructionist, pettifogging, Cadettish-Vanderveldian tactics of the members of the Central Committee, the workers' group opposed one single desire: to find out the truth as soon as possible, to tear the masks as soon as possible from the faces of those who sent them—the workers—to death, and who at the same time were secretly receiving money from foreign powers, and were repudiating and betraying them.

Is such a division among the accused a matter of accident?

Of course, the traitor Vandervelde has already conferred the title of traitors upon our new comrades; for a well-to-do gentleman with millions at his command (not millions of workers but millions of coins—for Vandervelde is a very rich man) it is a trifle to insult the "ignorant Russian workers". For has not the well-known Victor

Chernov* many a time called them "ochlos" which is the refined word for "rabble"? But insults prove very little. Why was it precisely the *working men* among the accused who sided with the Soviet Government? Or is there less firmness among the workers than among the bourgeois politicians? Or perhaps it was rotten human material, not really workers, but the scum of the workers? But in that case, why were they Social Revolutionary terrorists? Why did the "honorable" gentlemen "with higher education" charge them with the most responsible and the most terrible work?

We shall not obtain an answer to these questions if we do not interpret the division in the prisoners' dock as a reflection of the general process going on in the country.

It is not an accident that the workers among the accused have come over to our side. After all, this act was due to the same causes that made the entire working class in the whole country come over to our side. Let us go back to the beginning of the war. What a blatant bourgeois patriotism then generally prevailed! Chauvinism, social-patriotism had seized even an important part of the working class, which espoused the cause of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists. And what happened in November? Taught by bitter experience, the tremendous majority of the proletariat abandoned the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists. Sinking step by step, these strange "Socialists" finally landed with Denikin. Like iron batalions the workers rallied to our party, fighting and dying heroically. Only small groups of workers—either less class conscious or bound up with the Social Revolutionary Party by personal ties or by many years of affiliation, remained in the ranks of that party. But now a rotten ulcer was laid bare: with the American dollars of "Babushka", with the French gold of Noulens, with the relations of the party with the foreign missions, all the cynicism of the bourgeois leaders came to the surface—and the last workers who fought against us, arms in hand, *came over to the ranks of the unified proletariat.*

It is clear of course that Messrs. Chernov and Company will not hasten to join the ranks of the proletariat at large. But they are already separated from all living forces. In the consciousness of the working masses they appear simply as the murderers of Volodarsky, as the allies of Kolchak, who are fully worthy of such an attorney as Mr. Emile Vandervelde.

*The most important spokesman of the "Socialist Revolutionists" who at present is publishing a counter-revolutionary daily in Berlin.—Ed.

• INDEX TO VOLUME VI.

Readers who wish to bind their own copies of SOVIET RUSSIA and who wish to have the Title-page and Index to Volume VI (January-June, 1922) should send in a two cent stamp with their address.

The Tax in Kind During 1922

By S. АКТОВ (Moscow)

The decree on the tax in kind provides that in special cases the State, which under no circumstances can renounce the collection of a tax which is absolutely necessary for its existence, can grant certain alleviations in payment, etc., to the peasants in order that the tax may not become a hindrance to agricultural improvement.

The Eleventh Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dealt with this question and decided to grant to certain sections of peasants the following privileges:

Those liable to taxation who punctually fulfil their obligations to pay within the prescribed time will be granted a rebate of 10 per cent from the quantity of grain which they are to deliver.

Under no circumstances will a subsequent tax be levied. The tax will be imposed only on land under cultivation in 1921.

To facilitate the restoration of stocks of cattle, cattle kept for breeding as well as the young cattle born during the year shall if possible be exempted from taxation. In the years 1923 and 1924 they shall be entirely free from taxation.

With a view to encouraging farmers to improve their cultivation, all those who during the last three years have carried out improvement works will be allowed a tax rebate of 10 per cent.

In the future, the implements as well as the cattle of farmers shall not be liable to seizure in case of non-payment of the tax in kind.

The total quantity of the tax in kind to be levied is fixed at 243 million poods (1 pood= 36 lbs.). But it is calculated that the above mentioned privilege granted to the peasants will, together with the grain loan, reduce this quantity by 43 million poods.

The probable yield is estimated at 240 million poods, the minimum requirement of the state being 155 million poods.

The prospects for the new harvest can for the present be regarded as good.

Tractors

and Food are still needed in Russia. We shall send all the agricultural machinery we can, and whenever a shipment of food is required, that will go forward also. Send in your contribution. Also ask for a Tool Drive Collection List.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

Construction and Famine in Russia

By MAX BECK

This interesting account is translated from a recent issue of "Die Rote Fahne", Berlin.

I.

IN order to reach Soviet Russia by land it is necessary to pass through the border states. They present a disconsolate picture. Over rotted ties the train advances but slowly, and the traveler has plenty of time to indulge in his reflections. They are not always edifying. Great tracts of land are absolutely uncultivated. The forests, the sole natural resources of these provinces, have been ruthlessly denuded. Attempts to plant other things have not yet been made. The meadows are swamped, the houses are often in decay, but capitalism and officialdom are in full blossom. There are countless swarms of uniforms, bedecked with dazzling gold braid, like oxen at Whitsuntide, and corruption flourishes and is frequently discussed in the bourgeois papers. Thus the *Rigasche Rundschau* recently made the following statements under the title "Recasting the Ministries":

"The report of the Grievance Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the revision of the Finance and the former Provisions Department reveals that the State has suffered a loss of 97,000,000 Lettish rubles (115,000,000 marks)." Of the "Administration of Military Buildings and Constructions" it is declared: "It has inflicted only losses upon the State." And the fact that there is honor among thieves is shown by the following passage of the report: "Officials continue to be transferred from one department to another after complaints have been made of their activities in the first position." Besides, the course of justice is very dilatory in many matters and it is declared: "Settlements in the affairs of the military court institutions are continuing to proceed with unparalleled slowness, and in the various district courts the preliminary judges are conducting their tasks with great delays. According to the report accused officials are their own preliminary judges. In this connection it is said: "The Minister of the Interior occasionally commissions the defendants themselves to conduct the investigations."

These are only a few random notes from the report, which nevertheless will give quite a good idea of it. But splendid activity is developed by the authorities in the persecution of Communists. During our stay in Riga the trade union officials in that city were arrested and taken away under strong military guard. The above quoted newspaper has the following to say on the causes of this arrest: "In the search conducted in all of the premises of the Central Bureau of the Workers' Organizations, Bolshevik proclamations have been found, likewise a list of contributions in favor of Communists who have been arrested, red flags and other compromising material. The employees

of the Bureau were arrested and the investigation of the matter is to be entrusted to the court authorities. During the search not less than 32 suspicious visitors who had come to the Central Bureau were arrested." But in the Riga movies you may see the German nationalist film: "Fredericus Rex". It is apparent therefore that the border states are beacons of western European culture.

The picture immediately changes when you cross the borders of Soviet Russia. The train moves swiftly, for here the ties have been replaced. The soil is surprisingly well cultivated in this section of Soviet Russia, which has not been hit by the drought; rarely does land lie fallow. The houses too are in good condition, and in all the places we pass through there is construction in progress. Bourgeois foreigners, physicians and capitalists—who are also making the trip to Moscow, repeatedly express their great astonishment at the unexpected picture. At the stations there is an active bustle. Peasants, workers, the vigorous young members of the Red Army, approach the train and talk to us. Again the bourgeois travelers are astonished. Everywhere they miss the "depressing compulsory influence of Bolshevik administration" which they were waiting for. So things continue to look until we reach Moscow. Here also is the same lively activity. To be sure, the wounds of the revolution and of the civil war are still visible. Many buildings are almost shouting for repairs. But work is being done! Everywhere the slogan is: "Repairs!"

Streets and buildings are being repaired. But the monstrous money crisis is a grave difficulty. Everywhere money is lacking, machines are lacking, materials are lacking. The blockade of several years made the country empty and poor, the country that contains so many treasures that need only to be opened up. But in spite of everything Soviet Russia stands firm and will continue to do so, to live, to be! Even the foreign capitalists and agents who are swarming over the Russian lands like vultures seeking their prey, will bring this report home with them. It is tragic to note that the western European proletariat has not acted quickly enough and that the problem of construction in Russia is now being solved for the present at least by foreign speculators, in whose train the native speculators are again venturing to come out into light. But Soviet Russia will live nevertheless! It has the industries, the political power and its great Red Army.

II.

But in Russia's entrails there are the claws of famine, thrust into the midst of the urgent task

of reconstruction, a terrible and uncanny foe. From the Volga, where it began, and where it has not yet been eliminated, it spreads all over the country. Now it has reached Crimea and Ukraine. Everywhere in Russia where famine does not yet prevail, people are denying themselves their wretched morsels in order to preserve others from death, in order to prevent great stretches of land, otherwise fruitful, from dying out, from becoming a desolate waste. Much has been done and yet much too little. Most was done by Soviet Russia herself! The Government handed over great supplies of money to purchase seeds all over the world. This sacrifice had a tremendous effect in depreciating the ruble at home. The peasants in parts of Russia that are not starving gave grain. The Red Army and the workers are giving of their bread. And all give money too. But all this—much as it is—is still far too little. Millions are nevertheless dying, because the conscience of the governments of the nations of the world is dead. The fear of the Soviet star is greater than the human feelings of the governments.

Much is being done by the foreign relief organizations and yet they are doing far too little. According to official statistics, now complete, these organizations are feeding 2,474,622 children and 4,074,660 adults, in other words, a total of 6,549,282. But 30,000,000 people are starving! As distinguished from other relief organizations whose work is purely charitable in its nature the Workers' Aid* combines its famine relief with constructive relief. This is important not only in the reconstruction of Russia, but also in order to extend the famine relief itself. Thus the Workers' Aid first supplied the starving fishermen on the Volga with food and then with nets and salt, whereupon the fisheries could be resumed in this region and further foodstuffs thus be supplied for other persons. Similar work is being done in the provinces, where the distribution is usually made from a Soviet estate. Machines are repaired, seeds supplied and the agricultural work is again taken up.

Thus famine aid is to be reinforced in the near future by economic assistance on the part of the international working class. At present an international delegation of the Foreign Committee of the Workers' Aid for the Starving in Russia is in that country. A portion of this delegation is traveling through the famine regions in order to learn by observation on the spot the facts about the famine catastrophe and the most effective way of combating it. The other portion of the delegation, consisting of mercantile and technical experts, is inspecting and investigating industrial works that are particularly needed in Russia. Some such establishment that offers the prospect of healthy development is then to be taken over by the Workers' Aid and to be financed

by an International Workers' Loan, for which the Soviet Government will offer guarantees.

But these developments should not be permitted to delay or diminish the work of famine relief. On the contrary, more and more must be collected. The crops in Russia are good to be sure, but even if the weather continues to be favorable to the harvest, the danger is not yet past. Not all the area of the famine regions could be cultivated. And besides, there is great danger that the starving peasants may cut down and eat up the grain before it becomes ripe, because they have not enough. This must be prevented at any cost, by sending sufficient cargoes of foodstuffs, for otherwise the famine catastrophe after the harvest will assume monstrous proportions in all Russia.

But in other ways also it is urgently necessary to continue giving aid. The food that is given to the starving children in the children's homes is not sufficient to guarantee the good health of the children. For example, to take a single practical illustration: a Moscow children's home of the average type, in which the children arriving from the famine region spend their first few weeks, has 1500 children in its charge, with only 1000 beds. Many of these beds lack linen and some even mattresses, so that the sick children are at times obliged to lie on the bare, hard wood. All that can be given them is a thin covering. And the food supply here, the need being so great, is but a small part of what really ought to be given to the famine-ridden children to make them well again. The children's doctors and nurses are being consumed in their exhaustive work; their unstinting devotion is pathetic; but they are in despair over the lack of the most necessary materials, for everything is wanting, linen, foodstuffs, medicaments.

Therefore, workers of the world, tire not in your work for Russia! Human beings are in distress and they are your brothers. Help Soviet Russia, which has defeated all its foes, to defeat also this most terrible foe, famine.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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Room 31

*The Friends of Soviet Russia is affiliated with this international organization.—Ed.

The Vice-President

By CHARLES RECHT

The noted attorney, who has just returned from Russia, contributes below an interesting account of a journey taken together with Rykov, Acting Premier of the Soviet Republic.

AT one of the stations I climbed into Rykov's car. He had heard that an American was on the train—that is to say, that there was some "different" kind of an American than a Hoover representative, and he sent for me.

He and his wife and baby sat in the sitting room of what was formerly the car of the Tsarist railroad inspector. On the opposite bench sat

thing about "a mote in one's eye". I pointed to a string of freight cars which we were passing and which loudly bore the legend of "The American Relief Administration".

I emphasized that this money came from the pockets of American people and was not the private charity of Mr. Hoover. Yes, the Russian people appreciate the generosity and good will of the American Congress, but why was the task of distributing this bounty given to a man who publicly proclaims himself to be the enemy of the Russian Government? It was all so confused—about as confused as the policy of the State Department of the American Government. After all, Mr. Hoover, I suggested to Mr. Rykov, was playing "safe"—he was firstly a politician, and only as such was he a humanitarian—but the American Congress and the people were sound enough. And the time was not far off when the two nations will live in the closest bond of friendship.

The giant Shaliapin was listening to the interpreted conversation. He was just returning from America after the greatest operatic triumphs of his career, and he was reported as intending to come back to New York. He smiled in his kind, open way. Yes, he had been singing in Moscow for the Communists and in New York for the capitalists. But in reality he had been singing for human hearts—and they were the same all over. And these same human hearts, if they could be brought together into one enclosure, free from the interference of interested people, would hold the selfsame bonds of unity to each other as they seemed to extend to the great opera star. Rykov agreed; neither the Russian nor the American people bore any malice in spite of the invasion of Siberia or Archangel.

I inquired about his health. He was returning from Berlin, where he had undergone a very serious operation. He said he was almost normal and pointed to the typical travelers' luncheon lying on the table. There, besides ordinary store cheese was bread and common hard sausage. This was the diet of a man who had been operated upon barely a month before. I mentioned to Mme. Rykov that our Western constitution would not withstand such strain. She smiled and said that the Russians had a tonic which went with all these coarse dishes, which made them quite palatable: "Enthusiasm for work".

When the train was stalled because of the snow-drift, Rykov was among the first passengers to volunteer to help shovel snow. Following him, I asked him to pose for several pictures. He consented, but said there was nothing unusual in this work. "Even your President Roosevelt ran a fire engine."

"Yes, Comrade Rykov, but our administration



RYKOV (X) SHOVELING SNOW

Shaliapin. Rykov is a man about forty years of age, middle-sized, with kindly blue eyes and blond Van Dyke beard. He is a mechanical engineer by profession, and his quiet manner and appearance give him the professional aspect. The conversation was typical of the present day attitude of the Russian officials. Why was the American administration so set against the Russian Government? The Russians were the greatest natural friends that America had. They were both democracies, had the same enemies, and while America had an abundance of goods, Russia had the markets and resources to act as a basis for credit. I asked him if he knew anything about the attitude of the "holier than thou". No, but he had when he was a little boy read in the Bible some-

has forgotten all those things, it is worried only about the sacredness of property instead of the commonness of labor. So I am going to take this to Labor in America."

He remained outside the train until one of the engines was freed, and able to go on to secure assistance. Then we started back to our car. In order to reach the train it was necessary to climb down an embankment of snow. Rykov tucked his overcoat under his seat, and holding the spade over his head he slid down like a little schoolboy, laughing and shouting. A friend, an American writer and not a Communist, observed to his surprise that even the most serious of the Commissars was quite entertaining, human and full of fun. They had indeed something in common with the old type of Americans who are to be found in private life, and now unfortunately, very rarely in offices. They know how to laugh because they are unafraid of the future and unashamed of their past.

On the way Rykov picked up his shovel and showed it to me. It was made of a single piece of wood and the concavity of the shovel had apparently been produced with the aid of a primitive awl, for it was uneven and shallow. We walked a few steps over to a peasant house and there he pointed to a sleigh to which a team of horses had been harnessed. The shaft and the runners were held together with hempen thongs. Neither on the shovel nor on the sleigh had a single piece of iron been used.

"We are learning to be contented to struggle against poverty and the elements with these appliances, and with such conveyances as this railroad. In the meantime we have riches of coal the extent of which we ourselves do not yet know. Just you wait: when peace comes, inured against hardships and with a better faith in mankind than you have, we shall yet eclipse all your genius and accomplishments."

An Emigré Vignette

By DAVID OWEN

HE seemed infinitely more like an American undergraduate—clean-cut and buoyant almost to the point of effervescence—than a discredited and exiled colonel of the old regime. The straight features, the distinctive American haircut, and the irrepressible good humor which was displayed as he busied himself laying in the supplies of tinned milk, fruit, and eggs for the trip from Warsaw to the frontier, and reminiscent of the American collegian, were weirdly out of place in a veteran of three wars thrice condemned to death. Of course, in Europe today it is not in the least surprising to discover that a traveling companion has been a political prisoner, is an exiled nobleman, or has had several death sentences passed upon him. One can hardly be classified among the socially acceptable without the prerequisite of a reverse in fortune. True the uniform of the relief organization which he was wearing almost succeeded in making him into a military figure, but he had none of the hardness of feature nor even the precision supposed to belong to members of the profession of arms.

Soon after the wheezing, puffing Polish train got under way it was time for lunch. With the engaging finesse of a French chef he brewed tomato soup over a careening oil stove, and the result of his operations in the part of the car partitioned off for a kitchen—soup, ham omelet, cocoa, and fruit—more than justified Nicolai's advance notice. It was Nicolai who guarded the sanctity of our private car from the swarms of refugees determined to find more comfortable traveling facilities than the crowded fourth class coaches or the narrow ladders at the ends of the cars. While we took a half hour to see Brest-Litovsk he made up our improved bunks under difficulties

that would have spelled failure for an accomplished Pullman porter. It was Nicolai who gave the alarm when a spark from the wood-burning locomotive started a conflagration in the dry timbers of the car roof and it was he who led the impromptu bucket brigade. In short, whatever Nicolai's past, in his present position he was an undoubted success.

Of course, Nicolai was not his real name. It might have been Vladimir or Ivan. At any rate, it would be somewhat presumptuous to disclose the identity of a former student of the Military School, a member of the Order of St. George and of the Order of St. Vladimir, now a porter and cook for American relief workers in eastern Poland. Out of respect for his past as well as his future we must allow Nicolai to remain, at least for the present, an anonymity.

In the evening, through the Polish student who acted as interpreter we asked Nicolai to tell us his story. Reluctantly he came in from the kitchen—or should it be called a galley in deference to the sea-going motion of the Polish train—and seated himself across the table from us. He seemed somewhat abashed when he discovered us to be equipped with the inevitable arms of American investigators, notebooks and fountain pens, but some Russian cigarettes of pre-revolutionary vintage served to assuage his alarm. At first answering our questions in monosyllables or what we imagined to be the Russian equivalent of monosyllables, then gathering momentum, his black eye flashing, he hurled his life story at us. Born into a family of social position, Nicolai was from the first destined for the army of Imperial Russia. His course in the Military School was interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1914, and he went to

the front as an officer in field artillery, ultimately achieving the rank of colonel. After 1917 following the example of those who could not or would not orientate themselves to the new order, Nicolai took service with Kolchak and was again given the rank of colonel. Upon the collapse of the Kolchak offensive he was taken prisoner by the Soviet government and on two different occasions was sentenced for treason. For a time he was held in Moscow under loose surveillance, working on some technical artillery problems. Occasionally he was granted permission to leave for short spaces of time, periods which grew progressively longer until Nicolai finally disappeared from Moscow. Although recaptured twice on his way to the border he finally reached Kiev and then succeeded in crossing the frontier into Poland.

What did he think of the new order in Russia? Child of the old scheme of things that he was, he eschewed any blanket condemnation of the Soviet administration. True, he did break forth in some denunciation of the old Extraordinary Commission, but in the next breath would allude to his own plans of returning to Russia and cooperating with the government. He was warm in his insistence that individual rights did exist and were progressively increasing, conditioned always by the conduct of the other governments whose solicitude for the fate of Russia had in the past resulted in drastic measures against dissenters. "He says that the Bolsheviks will stay in power and that they are restoring individual rights," concluded Theodor, our interpreter. "He remembers that in 1917 there was with him in prison a man whose only offense was that he had spoken in a Menshevik meeting. Now there are Mensheviks in some of the Soviets."

"Discriminating judgment" was our mental commendation of the judgment of the one who had chosen to differ with the existing order in Soviet Russia. What if he had selected less favorable and tolerant ground on which to have sowed his seed of non-conformity? Inexorably there rose before us the gloomy, sinister hulk of Leavenworth, one government's reply to dissenters.

Our question about the Tsar was met with a shrug of the shoulders and a wry smile. Aristocrat though he was, Nicolai felt no lingering regrets for the past regime nor did he blame the Moscow government for the fate of the late Romanov. In fact, he arraigned the Little Father for his own stupidity in not accepting the proffered escape. Nicolai was sent to Yekaterinburg but a few hours after the death of the Tsar, so that he was now speaking with an unmistakable *ex cathedra* quality in his voice. An organization numbering in its ranks some of the high Bolshevik officials offered Nicholas many chances to escape, but with the blindness and stubbornness of a Louis XVI, he spurned every advance. Grand Duke Michael, who had been interned, was given an opportunity quietly to disappear, and, with an astuteness entirely foreign to his royal nephew, he willingly accepted the deliverance. At Yekate-

rinburg, where the royal family was held, the treatment was, on the whole, excellent. Great pilgrimages of peasants came, who still persisted in seeing the Little Father through the old stereotype of semi-deity. The execution of the Tsar was carried out contrary to explicit orders from Moscow. The telegram asking permission to remove the last of the Romanovs from possible participation in future Russian politics was met with a flat refusal. Despite this denial the execution was carried through on local authority. The details of the incident are too commonly known to allow repetition, but they were dispassionately reviewed by this scion of Tsarism.

"Ask him what he is planning to do," we suggested to our English-speaking friend when Nicolai had finished his recital.

"If he shouldn't go back to cooperate, he is thinking of starting a counter-revolution", returned Theodor.

"Heavens," we groaned, "why doesn't the boy do something original?" He seemed too promising to become merely a receiver for the defunct firm of Kolchak, Wrangel and Company.

"He now has a hundred men who will form the nucleus for his movement," continued the interpreter, ignoring our interruption. "There are many émigrés in Poland who would be glad to join such an enterprise. He would overthrow the present government, if he finally concludes that it is possible, but he would spare Lenin and Trotsky and the other leaders because he thinks they are idealists. He believes he can depend on the people and he would establish a liberal government with much individual freedom. 'Kolchak failed', he thinks, 'because he was selfish and was a black reactionary, and also because of foreign intrigues.'"

"But why do you have to have violence whenever you make a change in government? Why not go back and help the present government with its problems and alter its processes, if you like, by other methods?"

For the first time since the interview began Nicolai showed some impatience with the persistent and inquisitive Americans. The idea of changes taking place by peaceful, evolutionary means was too preposterous to elicit reply!

"But you do not know Russia," he threw back over his shoulder as he retreated to the kitchen. And we realized that we did not know Russia—Russia into whom has been ground the philosophy of force with the iron heel of oppression.

"What is his social philosophy, anyway?" we queried.

"Oh, we both believe in communism," replied the young Pole, his accent colored by an indubitable how-stupid-of-you-to-ask inflection.

RADEK ON GORKY

A splendid article will appear in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA (September 1).

Provisions For Fundamental Property Relations

On July 18 "Izvestia" published the following decree of the 3rd Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on fundamental property rights that are recognized by the R.S.F.S.R., protected by its laws and defended by its courts.

In order to regulate the relations between the national organs, and organizations and private individuals aiding in the economic reconstruction of the country, as well as the relations of private individuals and private organizations among themselves, and to give them the necessary legal guarantees for the full exercise of their property rights (both for Russian citizens as well as for foreigners), the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has adopted the following provisions:

1. All citizens whose rights have not been legally restricted are given the privilege to organize trade and industrial enterprises in the territory of the R.S.F.S.R. and the allied Soviet Republics, to practice their callings, permitted by the laws of the R.S.F.S.R., provided they observe all regulations concerning labor protection and the adjustment of activities in trade and industry.

2. All citizens whose rights have not been restricted are granted the following property rights and the protection of those rights:

A. Rights as to Things.

1. The property right to buildings not yet municipalized at the time of publication of this decree, by the local soviets, in cities and villages, together with the right to sell these structures and transfer to the purchasers the right to lease the parcels on which these structures have been erected.

Note. The right to transfer a lease-hold shall not extend to farms.

2. The right to build on lots in city and country, after previous consent from the local governing organs, for a period fixed by law, which shall not exceed 49 years, with all the rights enumerated under point 1 with regard to structures.

3. Property rights to movable property that is situated in factories, shops, trade and industrial enterprises, to means of production of all kinds, agricultural and industrial products, goods whose transfer has not been prohibited by legal regulations, money capital, and articles of domestic utility and articles of personal use.

Note. Requisitions of personal property such as enumerated under points 1, 2 and 3, and confiscations without compensation, are permitted only in cases provided for by law.

4. The right to pledge or mortgage objects enumerated in points 1 and 2.

Note. Exceptions are permitted here only in cases provided by a special law.

B. Laws of Obligations

The right to conclude contracts not forbidden by law, and specifically, contracts concerning lease, purchase and sale, exchange, bond issues, contracts for delivery, communications, insurance, forming of organizations (stock companies, partnerships, etc.), bank and court functions of all kinds. These contracts shall have legal power and shall enjoy legal protection, if the general provisions provided in the following paragraphs shall have been observed:

a. All contracts not forbidden by law that have been concluded:

1. By government organizations or persons within the limits of the legal rights held by them;

2. By competent citizens;

3. By legally recognized legal personages within the limit provided by their bye-laws;

Are binding upon both contracting parties and give them the right to be protected by the courts in their demands that may arise from the contracts.

Note. Any stipulation in the contract providing that the two parties to the contract waive their right to appeal to the courts is not valid.

b. A contract is not valid if it has been concluded:

1. By incompetent persons;

2. With an intention that violates the law or evades legal provisions;

3. A contract concerning change of ownership of properties whose free transfer is not permitted;

4. A contract concluded without observation of the forms provided by law;

5. A contract involving manifest damage to national interests.

c. In the cases enumerated below the court may declare a contract not valid on application of one of the contracting parties:

1. If one of the contracting parties has signed the contract when influenced by fraud, threats, duress, or in consequence of a collusion on the part of one of its representatives, with malicious intent, with the other contracting party;

2. When one of the contracting parties has signed the contract as the result of an essential error.

In cases in which one of the two contracting parties has utilized the distress of the other party in order to secure an excessive exploitation of the other party, the court may then declare the contract as inoperative, or suspend its operation for a time;

3. Rights as to things and obligations enumerated in points 1 to 7 shall also be granted to legally recognized personages, i. e., workers' organizations and cooperatives, and registered societies, state institutions and enterprises to the extent that these may be provided for in the by-laws of these organizations;

Note 1. Foreign stock corporations, etc., may acquire the rights of a legal personage in the R.S.F.S.R. only after a permission has been granted therefor by the organs appointed for the purpose by the Council of People's Commissars.

Note 2. Foreign legal personages who have no authorization to conduct legal operations in the R.S.F.S.R. shall enjoy court protection for their demands only on the basis of reciprocity.

4. Civil law litigations shall be decided by court action.

5. This decree is not retroactive and does not grant former proprietors whose holdings were confiscated by revolutionary law, before the publication of this decree, the right to demand the return of their property.

6. By virtue of this decree, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee commissions the praesidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars to draw up the necessary laws and present to the next session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee the project for a collection of Civil Code Laws.

(Signed) *Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, KALININ.*

Secretary, YENUKIDZE.

Moscow, May 22, 1922.

A TELEGRAM

Los Angeles, Cal., August 5, 1922.

Friends of Soviet Russia,
201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

Whereas we consider the statements made in the editorial of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, July 28, Chicago edition, as untrue, and whereas we consider that these insinuations are aimed to weaken relief work for Russia, and whereas on account of these insinuations thousands will be doomed to a premature death, therefore resolved that we gathered here tonight at a regular meeting of the Los Angeles Local, Friends of Soviet Russia, composed of delegates from labor organizations, protest against the insinuations of the so-called Socialist paper and condemn it.

LOUIS LIST, Secretary.

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Published Semi-Monthly

201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.



Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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A daily newspaper appearing in Yiddish in New York, *The Forward*, has for two weeks been making insinuations in its columns to the effect that moneys received by the Friends of Soviet Russia are expended for other purposes than the relief of famine in Russia. Particular objection is raised to the fact that advertisements are placed in papers which *The Forward* calls communistic, although these papers, according to the Jewish daily, have small circulations. But it should not be difficult to see why the Friends of Soviet Russia advertise in certain papers. Quality, and not quantity, of circulation is what the advertiser aims at. He must reach the audience that is ready to hear him, and the Friends of Soviet Russia are fully justified in having placed advertisements in such papers as are read by persons whose sympathies for the Soviet Government would predispose them to give as much money as possible for the purpose in view. It is certain that the small (if they be small) circulations of the papers in which the Friends of Soviet Russia have advertised have included many generous givers to Soviet Russia in her need, for the total amount obtained from all sources by the National Office is now about \$750,000 (not \$1,000,000, as *The Forward* erroneously states in its article of August 4).

The auditor of the Friends of Soviet Russia is a man with bourgeois business training, and we are convinced that his presentation of the business of our organization, as contained in the monthly statements printed from time to time in SOVIET RUSSIA, are correct and clear.

We have informed Mr. Woods of the attacks made by the *Daily Forward*, and Mr. Woods tells us he is preparing an answer to them, point by point. For the present, while his report is being made ready for publication, let us show how the *Forward* "investigation" of our accounts is being

conducted, so that our readers may form an idea of the spirit at the bottom of the whole thing.

In a new editorial attack by *The Forward* (issue of August 4), advantage is taken of the fact that through an error in proofreading two amounts were transposed in the printed statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia for the month ending May 31 (SOVIET RUSSIA, August 1, page 94). The two lines reading:

Information Service	1497.95
Envelopes and Wrappers	74.36

should have read:

Information Service	74.36
Envelopes and Wrappers	1497.95

as a comparison with former financial reports of this organization would have suggested. Here is what *The Forward* makes of this obvious typographical error:

"Take the patch, which they call *Information Service*. The former report carries an expense for *Information Service* of \$83. In the new report, this \$83 item has increased to \$1500 (\$1497.95). In one month this item expanded eighteen times. Something extraordinary must have taken place with this expense. In nine months, \$83 was spent, and now, in one month alone, \$1414."

Quite the contrary happened to the *Information Service* account. It shrank in May from \$83 to \$74.36, owing to the return of a sum formerly spent on this account. But hear *The Forward* again:

"Something similar occurred in the matter of telephone expense. In the previous nine months, the average monthly telephone bill was less than seven dollars (\$80 in nine months). Now they report for one month an expense of \$120. How this happened is not stated in the report."

We are sorry the telephone bill did not rise more rapidly in former months. Those who know the New York Telephone Company will at once guess what was the matter. The telephone equipment so badly needed by the Friends of Soviet Russia at the time of their rapid expansion in the Fall and Spring was not actually installed by the Telephone Company until May, 1922, with the result that the charges that we should have been glad to pay at an earlier date were not paid until three months ago.

A great fuss is raised about "money in transmission". *The Forward* asks, in effect, "How long is it to be in transmission? Can the starving wait until the transmission is complete?" Our answer is: It remains in transmission until we have obtained duly executed receipts and accounting therefor, and in this particular case, the starving have already had the benefit of this transmission of money, although we have not yet recorded the transmission as completed. *Convention Expenses* worry *The Forward*. These expenses rose over \$9000 in one month. The delegates of the Friends of Soviet Russia to the Berlin Relief Conference have now returned to this country, and we shall soon learn the value of their work at Berlin, and while the famous lawyer who was retained to advise them on floating a loan among workers in America is now in Moscow, we do not think *The Forward* would object to his having undertaken this work for us, at a high fee, if it knew his name.

THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, of July 29, 1922, devotes more than two full pages to the problem of the "Attitude of Europe and America toward the Economic Problems of Russia." It contains articles from the most competent representatives of the various countries involved, such as the noted English economist Maynard Keynes, and Lord Robert Cecil, Paul Painlevé and Orlando, ex-Prime Ministers of France and Italy respectively, Fritjof Nansen, Maxim Gorky, and a number of high officials working in the various People's Commissariats of Soviet Russia. There is also Dr. Alfred L. P. Dennis of the University of Wisconsin, who with an air of seriousness repeats the perennial story of the American troops sent to Archangelsk for the protection of Allied supplies from seizure by the Germans—at a time when those supplies had been long ago removed by the Soviet authorities. And there is of course Samuel Gompers, who once again restates the case of "American Labor", i. e., of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., against the Soviet Government.

Mr. Gompers begins his article with the statement that "American labor feels towards the Bolshevik regime in Russia about the same as it feels towards the regime of the Tsars, and for about the same reasons." We do not know what the attitude of "American Labor" towards Tsarism is or was—we think it was rather favorable when we behold the enthusiasm with which it upholds such despotic crooks as Tsar Brindell et al. But we do remember that the President of the A. F. of L. was a fervent contributor to *Struggling Russia*, Mr. Sack's organ, which wholeheartedly supported the cause of Kolchak and Denikin. And as Mr. Gompers has all his life been anything but a fool, he could hardly fail to understand that the victory of Kolchak meant nothing else than a restoration of Tsarism. He goes on to say that "Europe has no adequate appreciation of the intensity with which American labor feels distrust of and antagonism toward the Bolsheviks". "Europe" being in this case the leaders of the Socialist and Trade Union movement in Europe, who have really deserved this censure from Mr. Gompers. For in spite of their admiration for the skill with which this old reactionary holds sway over the unsophisticated millions of American organized workers, they are forced to make concessions to the revolutionary sentiments and sympathies of the European workers in the matter of Soviet Russia.

To emphasize his point, Mr. Gompers compares the policy of the American Federation of Labor with that of the United States Government, which "in the case of the usurper Huerta put up as a policy the idea that no recognition could be extended to any government which could not establish a legitimate claim to existence by authority of the people of the country over which it held sway." And he adds that "The American Federation of Labor found itself in absolute agreement with that policy, not because it was the policy of the Government of the United States, but because it was a policy which American labor be-

lieved to be just. The policy is today being applied in the case of Russia, and the labor movement of the United States hopes it will continue to be applied. Under such a policy recognition of the 'pretender' Government in Moscow is impossible." A comparison which is rather remarkable. For Mr. Gompers knows that all the various succeeding American administrations recognized the bloody rule of Porfirio Diaz, who for thirty years ruled Mexico according to the same democratic principles which were so dear to Abdul Hamid, and that the governments succeeding him since the Mexican Revolution were not recognized, simply because of the American oil concessions—obtained under Diaz without consulting the Mexican people, and which the various post-revolutionary governments could not recognize without depriving the Mexican population of their greatest national asset. And Mr. Gompers knows that this was also the case with Russia, only on a larger scale: that Tsarist Russia was recognized by all the powers of the world, and that the Soviet Government was outlawed solely because its existence was deemed dangerous to capitalist privileges.

Mr. Gompers is also interesting when he speaks of "the utter absence within their (the Bolsheviks') councils of any ethics or honor in their dealings," and that "it is mainly on ethical grounds that the American labor movement bases its chief contention in relation to Russia." "Honor and ethics" are interesting when proclaimed by a man who never excluded a single Brindell from his organization, but who revokes charters from unions whose membership is suspected of revolutionary sympathies!

* * *

THE extensive campaign conducted by the Socialist enemies of Soviet Russia in favor of the Social Revolutionists on trial has met with a degree of success. They have interested a certain number of personalities whose sympathy for Soviet Russia was hitherto unquestioned, and have induced them to intercede with the Russian Government in their behalf. To obtain this result was not a difficult matter. They are using in behalf of their protégés the same time-honored methods that were used in ancient Greece and Rome, when an indicted man would show in his defense the scars he bore as a result of his heroic struggle for his country. With men who themselves have not risked their lives, this is a strong appeal. The indicted Social Revolutionists had seen years of captivity in the jails and fortresses of the Tsar. They had devoted their whole lives to a heroic struggle full of abnegation. They had been essential in the overthrow of the Tsar... And sensitive souls, when they read these appeals, are touched and cannot understand why the Soviet Government keeps such heroes in jails and threatens their lives.

Heroism has a strong appeal. And jails and executions are nasty things. But let us see. For more than twenty years Joseph Pilsudski conduct-

ed a heroic campaign against the Tsar's tyranny. Leader of the Polish Socialist Party, an honored member of the Second International, he was fighting for Socialism and Polish independence. He printed a secret newspaper in Warsaw, was arrested, condemned to life imprisonment, fled, and became organizer of the terrorist activities of his party. Post Offices and other Tsarist Government establishments were attacked by large groups of fighters, and the money seized was used for the movement. Government officials, from Governors down to policemen, were killed by the scores—Sinn Fein fashion. And the organizer of it all, the soul of it all was Pilsudski. When the Great War breaks out, he offers his services to the Austrian Government, organizes a Polish legion and begins guerilla warfare against the Russians. A man of courage—even his worst enemies cannot deny that. The success of the German arms and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution make his dream come true. Poland becomes an independent republic. And Pilsudski, the champion of her freedom, gets his reward of merit — he is elected President of the Republic. He is still a "Socialist"—and Daszynski and the other leaders of the Polish Socialist Party are still his lieutenants. And at the same time the prisons of Warsaw and other Polish cities are filled to capacity with workers who wanted to make their country a workers' Republic. And the old laws of the Tsar are declared to be inefficient and their stipulations against revolutionary activities are sharpened. It was the same Pilsudski, surrounded by the same Socialists, who started the infamous war against Russia in 1920—and it was this very same Pilsudski who at that time, with the aid of the French, saved capitalist Europe from the proletarian revolution. A hero—no doubt, and a Socialist too, at least in the same measure as Gotz and the other Social Revolutionists now on trial—but the history of the labor movement will speak of him as Greek history speaks of Ephialtes and American history of Benedict Arnold. And this in spite of the fact that personally he is not a scoundrel. He was always an ardent Polish patriot—but as, in an industrial country like Poland, "proletarian" slogans were necessary to win the workers for the patriotic cause (the capitalist bourgeoisie having made peace with Tsardom), Pilsudski and his band of Polish intellectuals effected an amalgamation of socialist and patriotic principles, half-consciously and unconsciously using Socialist phrases as a bait to win the workers' support in their struggle for a new bourgeois state, in which the Polish intellectual would not be the step-child he had been under the Tsar's yoke.

MODERN Russia has another such hero. His name is Boris Savinkov, but not the Boris Savinkov of today, the chief of all White Guard conspiracies, the hireling of France, the ally of the Polish imperialist Pilsudski in his war against his (Savinkov's) own country, the companion of the pogrom-monger Balakhovich. There was a time

—not so long ago—when his name was as resplendent as that of Stepniak or Zheliabov. He was one of the chiefs of the terrorist organization of the Social Revolutionists; he organized a great number of terrorist attempts, was arrested, condemned to death and escaped from prison in an almost miraculous way. He was fighting for a democratic Russia, but to arouse the sympathy of the masses he used the vocabulary of Socialism. But in his heart, like the other leaders of the Social Revolutionists, he was nothing but a "liberal with a bomb", as some one very aptly characterized this brand of Russian Socialism. With the difference that while his comrades more or less believed in their Socialist phraseology, he had no Socialist "illusions", and was quite frank on the subject in his famous novel "The Pale Horse". The role he played during the War and the Revolution of 1917 is not yet forgotten. An ardent Allied patriot during the war, he was Minister of War under Kerensky, conspired with Kornilov against the Petrograd workers, becoming a Russian imperialist pure and simple. His too outspoken attitude brought him in conflict with his party and he left it. If he were now on trial for his life, just as many arguments in his favor, on account of his past devotion and heroism, could be brought forward as in favor of his former party associates now on trial. But the Soviet authorities would proceed with him just as they proceeded with Kolchak and Ungern-Sternberg (a bloodhound, but an honest and courageous fanatic as we are assured by his worst enemies in Siberia), just as they would proceed with all mortal enemies of the Soviet Republic.

Heroism and past devotion are arguments likely to influence sentimental souls who are far from the heat of battle. But the men at the helm of the Russian Revolution cannot afford to be sentimental. They have put up a heroic fight to save the workers' revolution from the combined attack of the whole bourgeois world. In that combined attack the Russian bourgeois revolutionists labeling themselves "Socialists" have played a very conspicuous part, resorting to assassination, robbery, sabotage, mutinies, insurrections. The revolutionary technique they had acquired in their duel with the Tsar was now employed with equal skill against the worker, whom they hated and despised not less than they hated the Tsar. For their heroism and devotion were only for their own class—the bourgeois intelligentsia, whose political and social "ideal" is a republican democracy on the French model. The Russian workers have no love lost for heroism and devotion spent in such a cause. It is the heroism of Pilsudski and Savinkov.

<p>LABOR LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA 25 Cents MARRIAGE LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA 25 Cents SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 W. 13th St., New York.</p>

Two Escapes

By STEPNIAK

A picture of the romantic aspects of the revolutionary struggle in Russia more than a generation ago—as presented in Stepniak's "Underground Russia", first printed in 1881.

I.

ONE evening in the middle of January, 1880—I forget the exact day—some exiles met in Geneva to take a cup of tea at the house of one of their number, M. G.

It was a somewhat numerous party, six or seven persons perhaps, and what is much rarer in the gatherings of the exiles, it was rather a lively one. Our charming hostess was seated at the piano, which she played with much taste and feeling, and she sang to us several Ukrainian songs. We were all somewhat excited by the music. We joked and laughed. The principal subject of our conversation was the escape from Siberia of one of our friends, news of which had reached us that very day.

All the particulars of the escape then known having been related, and all the observations and conjectures with regard to it having been made, a moment of silence followed; of that dead, insupportable silence, when the Russians say, "A fool has been born" or "The angel of silence is hovering over us", according to their respective tastes.

Under the influence of this conversation respecting the escape of our friends, the idea came into my mind to propose to the company, which included Kropotkin and Bokanovski, to relate to the company the particulars of their own escapes, as almost every one present had succeeded in escaping.

It was owing to this proposal, which met with general approval, that I am able to write this sketch.

Kropotkin parried the proposal, saying that he had been compelled to relate the particulars of his escape over and over again, until he was quite sick of the subject. He was obliged, however, to yield to the importunity of the company.

"The firm determination to escape at all hazards," he began, "never left me from the first day of my arrest. But if there is anything impossible in the world, it is to escape from the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. I drew up plans, or rather, indulged in wild fancies, as I could not but perceive that they were only vain dreams."

After this prelude, Kropotkin related how he was transferred to the Nicholas Hospital, how he induced those in charge of him always to believe that he was extremely ill. I will not repeat all this, for I have already spoken of it in his biography. I pass at once to the main facts.

"The doctor ordered me daily exercise, and about one o'clock I was taken into the large courtyard of the Hospital. A sentinel, musket in hand, was always by my side.

"I began to take close note of everything, so as to draw up my plans.

"The courtyard was large. The gate, ordinarily shut, was then open; for at that period of the year (it was July) the Hospital was taking in its supplies of wood for the winter. As this, however, would last only a few weeks, no sentinel had been placed at the gate. It was a great advantage.

"I walked up and down at the bottom of the courtyard, exactly opposite the gate. The sentinel was always near, between me and the gate. As, however, I walked more slowly than a tortoise, which, as is well known, wearies a vigorous man more than he would be wearied by leaps and bounds, the soldier had recourse to the following stratagem: he followed a line parallel to mine, but five paces nearer the gate. He was thus able to make his walk ten paces longer than mine, for at each extremity of his line he was always at the same distance from the gate, as I was at the extremity of my line.

"This calculation, which the sentinel evidently made with his eye, was absolutely correct theoretically. I, however, had thought, that if once we both began to run, the soldier, by a natural instinct, would endeavor to seize me as quickly as possible, and would therefore rush upon me, instead of running directly to the gate to cut off my retreat. He would thus describe two sides of the triangle, of which I should describe the third alone.* Upon this point, thus, I had an advantage. I might hope to reach the gate before the sentinel, running at the same speed. I hoped, however, to run faster, but was not certain of it, being much weakened by illness.

"If a vehicle were waiting at the gate for me, so that I might easily jump into it, I said to myself I should have a good chance of escaping.

"When I was about to send a letter to my friends containing the outlines of my plan, I received another from them on the same subject. I began a correspondence. I need not relate the various plans and projects proposed and abandoned; there were so many. Several questions had to be settled; whether my friends should enter the courtyard as they proposed, and engage in some way or other the attention of the sentinel; whether the vehicle should await me at the gate, or at the corner of the hospital, where it would not be so much in sight; whether one of our party should post himself there, or the driver should remain alone.

"I proposed the most simple and natural plan, which was finally adopted. No one should enter

*I preserve the mode of explanation characteristic of a mathematician, which impressed me when I heard it.

the courtyard. The vehicle should await me at the gate, because I felt too weak to run as far as the corner. An intimate friend proposed to position himself there to assist me, if necessary, in getting in more quickly, and especially in dressing me directly afterwards, as I should be compelled to escape with scarcely anything on except my trousers and shirt.

"All we had to cover us in the hospital was an invalid's dressing-gown. It was so large, so inconvenient, and so long, that in walking I was obliged to carry my train upon my arm. To run in such a garb was absolutely impossible. It must be thrown off at all hazards, before I could take to my heels. But this must be done with the rapidity of lightning, for a single moment lost might ruin all. For many days in succession, I practiced this performance in my cell. I found that to do it with the utmost possible celerity the operation must be divided into three elementary movements, like the musketry exercise of soldiers,—one, two, three.

"The greatest difficulty remained; the selection of the moment. This depended upon the condition of the streets through which we had to pass. A string of wood carts, a detachment of passing soldiers, a mounted Cossack, might upset the attempt, especially as the streets through which we had to pass were very narrow and winding. They must therefore be watched, and I must be informed when they were free from all obstacles. For this purpose sentinels had to be placed at four different points. The fifth sentinel, receiving information from the four others, was to give me the decisive signal at the proper moment. The signal was to be a toy balloon, which would ascend at a given spot behind the high wall of the courtyard in which I took exercise.

"I had also proposed to place a sixth sentinel at the corner of a lane a little beyond, because, according to my calculations, this very narrow lane was so long, that a vehicle being in it at the moment of our departure would infallibly have stopped our progress. It could not reach to the entrance of this lane. As men were few, however, we did without this sixth sentinel.

"On the day fixed I went to take my exercise, full of hope and excitement. I looked again and again towards that part of the wall where the red balloon was to ascend. Nothing was to be seen. My time was drawing to an end; still nothing. It ended, and with it my hopes. With the impressionable imagination of a prisoner, I gave way to the gloomiest conjectures. I felt convinced that everything had broken down.

"Nothing much, however, had happened. By a singular chance, a red balloon could not be found anywhere in the Gostini Dvor, or in any of the toy shops, though a whole morning had been spent in looking for one. Only white and blue balls could be had, which my friends would not take, and with good reason; for no change whatever, however insignificant it may appear, is ever permitted in signals. They hurriedly purchased a red

india-rubber ball in a gutta-percha shop, and filled it with gas of their own manufacture. But the ball turned out so badly, that at the proper moment when the sentinel let go the string, instead of rising high into the air it went up only a few yards and fell to the ground before reaching the top of the courtyard wall. The sentinel frenziedly endeavored to throw it up with his hands, but this was even less successful.

"To this fortuitous circumstance I owed many hours of torture, and, at the same time, my safety; for at the very moment when the ball was sent up into the air, a long string of wood carts entered the lane of which I have spoken, where no sentinel had been placed. They would infallibly have stopped our progress, and all would have been lost.

"Another interval followed for the necessary correspondence in order to arrange the modifications, which were indispensable. Another sentinel was posted, naturally, at the entrance of the lane. But this required a modification of the entire plan, as there were no means of combining the signals of all the five sentinels outside of the wall of the courtyard so as to give me the decisive signal. Either additional sentinels would have to be introduced, for mere transmission of the signals, or the decisive signal would have to be changed.

"The latter expedient was chosen.

"One of our party hired a room on the third story directly opposite the hospital. From the window could be seen not only all the five sentinels, but the courtyard also, where I took exercise. The signal was to be given to me by means of a violin which my friend was to play whenever all the signals were favorable, and the music was to cease when any of them became unfavorable. This mode also presented the great advantage of indicating to me repeatedly the favorable time for flight, leaving to me the selection of the proper moment.

"The first day, when everything was ready and the vehicle already awaited me at the gate, it was I who caused my friends some cruel moments; my illness increased, and I felt so weak that I did not dare to make the attempt. I did not even go down, therefore, into the courtyard, and they thought that the suspicions of the police had been aroused, and that I was no longer to be allowed to take exercise.

"I recovered in two days and resolved to profit by the interval which my illness had given me.

"I prepared everything; the shoes, the dressing-gown, which required a little ripping-up in order to be thrown off more quickly—everything.

"I went to take my exercise. No sooner had I entered the courtyard than I heard the violin. The music lasted for five minutes, but I did not care to profit by it immediately, for at first the surveillance instinctively is always somewhat greater. But lo! the violin stopped. Two minutes afterwards some carts with wood entered the courtyard. The violin recommenced.

"This time I was determined to turn it to ac-

count. I looked at the sentinel; he was walking along his usual line, some five paces distant, between me and the gate. I looked at his musket. It was loaded; I knew it. Would he fire or not? Probably not, because I, being so near, he would rather wish to seize hold of me. His bayonet was more dangerous, in case, during this long run, my strength failed me. I had, however, already made my calculations even upon this point. If I remained in prison I was certain to die. 'Now or never,' I said to myself. I seized my dressing-gown.... One!....

"But lo! the violin ceased.

"I felt as though I should drop.

"A moment afterwards, however, the music recommenced; a patrol at that very moment had passed through one of the lanes.

"Directly the sentinel reached the extremity of his line, without a moment's pause I threw off my dressing-gown with three well-practised movements, and — I was off like an arrow. The sentinel, with a howl, rushed at me to seize me, instead of running straight to the gate to prevent my escape, and thus described his two sides of the triangle, as I foresaw. I was so weak, however, that those who saw our desperate race from above said that the soldier was within three paces of me, and that his bayonet, which he thrust forward, was within an ace of touching me. This, however I did not see. I only heard his howling and that of the carters who were unloading the wood at the bottom of the courtyard.

"On reaching the gate I saw a vehicle; but for a moment I was in doubt whether it was ours, for I could not recognize my friend in the officer who was on the alert in the street. To make him turn round I clapped my hand, to the surprise of the friends who were observing this scene. It was taken by them as a signal of joy. The officer turned round. I recognized him, and in less time than it takes to say these words I was inside the vehicle, which went off like a flash of lightning, and I was wrapped in a military cloak which my friend had in readiness, as well as an officer's cap.

"At the hospital, as we afterwards learnt, an incredible uproar followed. The officer of the guard hastened out with his soldiers, at the shouts of the sentinel. Completely losing his head, he tore his hair, and exclaimed:

"I am ruined! I am ruined! Run after him. Follow him. Follow him!"

"He was incapable, however, of giving any orders. One of our party, the signal man, the very one who played the violin, hastily descending into the street, and approaching the officer, began to exhibit the utmost compassion for the state he was in, actually asking him what had happened, who had escaped, how, when, where, etc. The frenzied officer tried to reply to him, and thus lost precious time.

"An old woman gave a terrible piece of advice.

"'They will go a roundabout way,' she said, 'and then make straight for the Nevski. There can't be a doubt of it. Take out the horses from

these omnibuses (there were some at the hospital gate), and cut off their escape. It is the simplest thing possible.'

"This was exactly the course we were adopting, but the old crone's advice was not followed."

II.

When Kropotkin had finished his narrative, the turn came of John Bokanovski,* surnamed "the Cossack", because, being a native of the Ukraine, he resembled the ancient Cossacks of that country, by his courage, his imperturbable coolness, and his taciturnity.

Everyone turned towards him. He took his little wooden pipe from his mouth, and said: "Why, there's nothing to relate. He came, took us, and we went out; that's all."

"No, no!" exclaimed those present. "Relate it all, from beginning to end."

"Well, then when the day fixed arrived, he came with the keys of our cells—"

"No, no," they broke in again. "Let us have it all. Relate everything from the beginning."

The Cossack, seeing that every way of escape was closed against him, slowly filled his pipe with the air of a man preparing for a long journey, lit it, tried it to see if it drew properly, and began his narrative, which contained more words than the Cossack would ordinarily pronounce in three months at least.

"Michael came to the prison about two months before our flight. It was a very long and difficult business to get him in. At last he succeeded in being received, with a false passport of a rustic named Fomenko, first as a mere odd-man, and afterwards as a warder.

"In a short time, by his diligence in the performance of his duties, and his unexceptionable conduct, he succeeded in gaining the favor of all his superiors. A month afterwards, he was promoted to the rank of the head warder in one of the corridors of the prisoners confined for ordinary offences.

"In order to give the Governor of the prison a splendid proof of his excellent moral qualities, Michael, acting on the advice of Stefanovich, went one day to play the spy upon him, while the latter was writing, expressly for the purpose in his cell, a note of no importance whatever, so as to be taken *in flagrante delicto*.

"The Governor would not, however, take advantage of this denunciation.

"It should be stated that in prison at Kiev, the position of the political prisoners was quite exceptional at that time. The Terrorism which at the commencement struck at the secondary officials, produced such a panic fear at Kiev that every one, from the Procurator† to the Governor of the prison, vied with the rest in paying court, for they all feared they would be killed at our first

*He escaped from the Kiev prison in the summer of 1878, with Leo Deutsch and Jacob Stefanovich. (See the chapter upon the latter in SOVIET RUSSIA for June 15, 1922.

†Prosecuting attorney.—Ed.

signal. When the Governor learned that it was that very Stefanovich, the most feared of all, who was writing, he said, "Let him write," and did nothing more. But in that way Michael had gained his heart.

"In order to make himself agreeable to us, the political prisoners, the Governor had appointed as our head warden, a certain Nikita, an excellent man, as good as gold. It was essential, however, to get rid of him at all hazards, as, on his post becoming vacant, it would most probably be given to Michael.

"This, however, was no easy matter. The worthy man had done nothing whatever for us, so we audaciously invented offences which he had not even thought of committing, in order that we might complain to the Governor, who censured him, reprimanded him, and threatened him, although he was not in the least to blame. But the honest fellow, instead of growing angry with us, and committing, as we hoped, some imprudent act, bore all quite quietly, repeating:

"'Jesus Christ suffered. I also will suffer.'

"We were in despair. At last Valerian Ossinsky, who was organizing our escape outside, luckily thought of going to the tavern which Nikita frequented, and having made his acquaintance there, as though by accident, said he was in want of a bookkeeper for a sugar refinery in the country. The conditions were very advantageous, and Nikita swallowed the bait. Having received his traveling expenses, and a month's pay in advance, Nikita resigned his situation in the prison, as he had to set out immediately. Then came various delays, and then others, until, our escape having been effected, his passport was sent to him, and a note in which he was told that nothing more was wanted of him, and that he would have no difficulty in guessing the reason.

"His post in the prison being vacant, the Governor went to Stefanovich and Deutsch, to speak in a friendly manner with them respecting the appointment of his successor.

"Don't you think that Fomenko (Michael) would be a very good man?"

"Stefanovich made a grimace, and reflected.

"'A spy, it seems.'

"No, no. He is an excellent fellow.' The Governor defended him.

"Michael was appointed head warden in the corridor of the political prisoners.

"The most important move was made; but this was not all. He might open the doors of cells but how were four of us to pass out of the prison under military guard?

"Meanwhile not a minute of time was to be lost. Michael's position was terribly dangerous. The prison was crammed with political offenders of all kinds, from mere lads, confined there on suspicion, to Revolutionists seriously compromised. There were prisoners of every rank, and owing to his past activity, Michael was known and recognized by many. No denunciation was to be feared for Michael, having been for many years "illegal"

kept up no direct intercourse except with those who could be trusted. Who, however, could guarantee him against innocent indiscretions especially in such a ticklish matter as this?

"We were upon tenter-hooks.

"We resolved to take advantage at the earliest possible opportunity, of the favorable position in which we were placed by Michael's appointment. No sooner was he thoroughly established in his new office, than we fixed the night for our escape.

"The most natural mode of passing out was that of disguising ourselves as sentinels who, having finished their turn of duty, were leaving to return to their barracks. Michael prepared soldiers' uniforms for two of us, but two others had to remain in civilian dress. For the whole four of us there was only one sword, but we determined not to wait for more.

"On the evening of the day fixed, Michael brought us the military uniforms. We disguised ourselves and then arranged the counterpanes of our beds in such a manner that in the morning it would appear as though we had slept.

"At midnight Michael came to open the doors of our cells. But here an unforeseen obstacle arose. The warden on duty, who had to watch all night, came into our corridor at that very moment, and showed not the slightest eagerness to leave it.

"Stefanovich thereupon let a book with loose leaves fall, as though by accident, into the garden. There the leaves were scattered about on the ground, and Stefanovich, turning to Michael, begged him to fetch them at once. Michael sent the warden to pick them up, and take them to the office. While the latter was thus occupied, we noiselessly left our cells, and proceeded towards the entrance.

"When we had passed through the corridor, a terrible occurrence happened at the end. The rope of the alarm-bell was dangling there. Groping against the wall in utter darkness, I stumbled against something. I felt myself slipping, instinctively stretched out my hands, felt something touch my fingers, and caught hold of it to avoid falling. On the instant, a loud sound boomed throughout the prison. I had caught hold of the bell-rope. The horror, the shame, the absurdity of our unfortunate accident, flashed upon me like lightning. We thought all was lost. Already the noise and the voices of the soldiers on guard, who were hastily mustering, were heard. Michael, however, did not lose his coolness. He told us to hide ourselves in various corners, and ran to the guard, saying that it was he who had rung the bell by accident. All became quiet again. But then another perplexity arose; having hidden ourselves in various corners, we were within an ace of losing each other in the utter darkness, when we wanted to come forth. Michael had to run hither and thither to get us together again. Once more in order, we started again. The greatest difficulty, however, was yet to come. We had to pass through the gate of the prison before the

doorkeeper and the sentinel. In this, however, we succeeded admirably. On hearing the voice of Michael, the door-keeper gave him the key to open the wicket, and the sentinel in his box paid no attention to our strange attire.

"We had advanced a few steps, when lo! an officer stood before us as though he had sprung from the ground. He, however, paid no attention, and we saw the handsome face of Valerian Ossinsky, who, radiant with joy, grasped our hands. He was awaiting us with a vehicle, so as to hurry us at full speed towards the Dnieper, where a skiff fitted for a long voyage and supplied with provisions of every kind, was ready.

"A moment afterwards we glided into the middle of the river and steered southward. This voyage lasted about a week. By night we hauled our boat up under the thickets on the banks, so as to get some hours' rest. By day we tugged hard at the oars, and whenever we caught sight on the distant horizon of the smoke of some steamer, we hid ourselves in the rushes which line the Dnieper.

"On arriving at Kremenchug we again met Ossinsky, who had reached there by railway, and was waiting for us with passports and everything necessary.

"From him we learnt that the whole city of Kiev had been thrown into commotion, because it was believed we were concealed there.

"At the prison our escape was not discovered until broad daylight. When it was seen that Michael had also disappeared with us, no one divined the truth. He had inspired such confidence, that the Governor and everybody believed we had killed him, and search was made in vain for his body in every direction.

"It was not until the necessary verifications had been made, and it was found that his passport was a false one, that the mystery was explained, which had, until then, been incomprehensible."

Thus finished the Cossack's narrative.

Others spoke afterwards; but their narratives being of little interest, and my space valuable, I will not repeat them.

AN AMERICAN PLAY AT MOSCOW



The above is a picture of a scene in the performance of the dramatization of Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer", as given at a Moscow theatre

Facts and Fancies

A boiled dinner of materials from the American press.

THE trial of the "Socialist Revolutionists" continues to hold the attention of newspaper readers on both sides of the Ocean. The trial began way back in June, but the activities of the "persecuted Socialists" seem to have been so variegated that the trial lasted more than two months. The first cables concerning the trial were rather characteristic. As Walter Duranty says in the *N. Y. Times* of June 10: "The defendants were mostly well groomed and apparently well fed, despite their long imprisonment." Which is certainly in keeping with the refined cruelty of the Bolsheviks, who by feeding and dressing their victims well, make it doubly terrible for them to remain idle and unable to organize insurrections and terrorist attempts. On the same day the *N. Y. Globe's* headliner declares that the "Russian Court Admits Its Partiality for Soviets" obviously an outrageous admission, for a court should be absolutely impartial, even as far as the existence of the Government is concerned—the standard of impartiality being set, of course, by the conceptions of the American advocates of Wrangel and Denikin. But the real objection against the whole trial was as stated on June 17 (*N. Y. Times*:) "The real basis of their objection is the fact, set forth the day the trial opened, that the Judges belong to the same Communist Party — whose rule is rigid obedience to orders—as the prosecutors." It will be readily believed that the accused would have preferred to be judged by judges belonging to another party, namely their own, but, since Communists have as yet in no country been judged by magistrates belonging to their own party, the attorneys must really have had a hard time in persuading the judges to their own point of view.

News connected with the famine was of course not less interesting than that concerning the trial. There is a cable in the *N. Y. World* of June 9, to the effect that "There is a vast forest in the Samara region, where the bark has been stripped from the trees and eaten. The Soviet authorities are alarmed about losing the trees, but they don't seem specially concerned over saving the people." But it appears that this attitude is not at all resented by the population, for in the same correspondence we read that the "Soviet Government, with all its faults, had come to stay." The same report brings also horrifying news to the effect that the Russians have obviously reverted to paganism, for "America is a holy name in Russia, and Americans are regarded as super-beings. People fall on their knees and kiss the earth upon which the relief workers walk. The United States can have a solemn feeling of pride in saving the Russian race from extinction." Which almost suggests that the author of the lines has read the history of the Mexican Indians and the reception they gave (at first) to Cortez and his Spaniards

—but we are not going to push this analogy too far....

Of similar nature is the story, widely printed in all papers on June 30, of the "notorious bandit Sirov, an ex-White officer who is reported to be able to drink a bucket of pure vodka, which the Americans more than once have used as fuel for their autos, successfully," and who recently held up Marshall N. Tuthill, who is a worker in the American Relief Administration, on a recent trip in the Saratov Province.

Sirov advanced—the story goes—on a Cossack pony and with a leveled revolver ordered them to prepare for instant death. Tuthill crouched forward, reaching for a gun in the door panel, but the interpreter shouted "Americansky" at the top of his voice. The bandit lowered the weapon, smiling.

"We have no quarrel with Americans," he said. "We thought you were Communists, which is another matter."

To emphasize his words he took Tuthill to see the bodies of the Communists killed the same morning.

We know that Walter Duranty of the *N. Y. Times*, whose report we quote, is not a paid slanderer of America, but this story offers so many opportunities for malicious comment as to affinities of political sentiment, that we cannot dismiss the idea that the whole story was a bad joke successfully put over on the American journalists.

In spite of the help proffered by the various relief organizations, the misery created by the famine is ever widening. A special cable to the *N. Y. Times* of June 13 reports that owing to "the recent improvement in the value of Soviet paper, many speculators who bought goods at any price with the idea that they would be able to sell at a profit are now badly hit."

We hope the gentlemen of the National Civil Federation will start a new relief society to help out these victims of the inconsistency of Soviet finances.

Meanwhile, in America, Samuel Gompers champion of freedom and enemy of Wall Street tyranny, was denouncing the tyranny and oppression prevailing in Soviet Russia, with its 1,766,118 executions (this number was really given in the Gompers report!), fighting the recognition of the "government of savages", and quoting the telegrams of Messrs. Hughes and Hoover as to the non-existence of any "legal" obstacles to trade with Russia. True, even a capitalist paper like the *Globe*, of June 13, 1922, pointed out that "Mr. Hoover's statement that for two years there has been no bar to trading with Russia is not quite ingenuous. When the Soviet Government may be sued but may not sue in this country, there is an obvious disadvantage", but for Mr. Gompers the *Globe* is obviously a Bolshevik sheet which probably exists

on the advertisements of the Friends of Soviet Russia....

But let us leave Mr. Gompers and pass on to more cheerful subjects. Lenin, according to Associated Press reports of July 18, was "poisoned on a train while journeying to a Caucasian bathing resort, and the premier's body was said to have been thrown from a train while crossing the bridge over the river Don at Rostov.

According to the message, one of Lenin's attendants, a member of the executive committee of the Third International, reported as an accomplice in the assassination, is now impersonating the Soviet premier at a bathing resort.

This at least is thrilling news, which has all the earmarks of authenticity since it does not come from Helsingfors and since what it reports was just what you might have expected from the members of the Communist International.

While the members of the Communist International were thus taking revenge on Lenin for selling out Russia to the Western bourgeoisie, the "non-communist powers", as the *N. Y. Times* of May 28, 1922 shamefacedly calls the capitalist governments,* received generous advice from the Washington correspondent of that paper as to how the Russian Delegation ought to be treated at Hague. "The American idea is not to invite them as plenipotentiaries or delegates to discuss or negotiate, but only to ask them to appear as witnesses from whom the experts of the powers might obtain any desired information bearing on the facts. And that only after the Bolshevik memorandum of May 11, presented at Genoa, is withdrawn. In other words, there prevails with the Washington Government the feeling that the May 11 memorandum is so preposterous and impudent that it is futile and impossible to have any dealings with Moscow until that document is repudiated." Which was decidedly very mild on the Russian Delegation, for a few days before (May 24) there had appeared in the papers a speech of Dr. John Grier Hibben, President of Princeton University, declaring that "if we were represented in these conferences abroad, the United States might take Russia by the throat if necessary, and show her that she has got to have an international mind and an international heart." A proof that there are still he-men in America, and that the youth educated in the State of New Jersey will in due time become thoroughly conversant with the best manner of settling economic disputes.

Speaking of "international minds" and "international hearts" it may not be out of place to mention an interesting resolution taken in this direction by a truly international body. We mean the Congress of the Second International—the organization of such "internationalists" as Scheidemann, Vandervelde and Renaudel. In its final session of June 19, that organization adopted a resolution in which it protested against the "imperialist and

militarist policy of Soviet Russia".... And on the very same day the Rumanian daily *Adeverul* reported a secret military agreement between France and Rumania against Soviet Russia, according to the terms of which the French Government obligated itself to take care of the military equipment of Rumania. And at the same time two hundred French officers arrived in Warsaw, obviously for pacific purposes.

It seems nowadays to be good in France to have been or to pretend successfully to have been in a prison in Soviet Russia. As a special cable to the *N. Y. Times* of July 10, reports, a woman convicted of stealing from her employer 5000 francs, a gold chain, a bracelet and a quantity of furnishings, was released with suspended sentence "in view of her year's incarceration at the hands of the Reds and the lawless atmosphere in which she was detained, which he considered sufficient cause for her moral breakdown." Which certainly will not fail in deeply humiliating those who have created that lawless and immoral atmosphere.

How immoral this atmosphere is may be surmised from a report from Constantinople printed in the *N. Y. Globe* of June 22. According to the correspondent of the *Globe*, "one hundred thousand and old 10-ruble gold coins and 300,000 1-ruble silver pieces, bearing Trotsky's effigies, are being distributed very carefully, mainly among the members of the National Assembly, which rules Anatolia, and controls all the acts of Kemal Pasha." We hope Mr. Constantine Brown, the correspondent in question, succeeds in hunting up one of those 300,000 one-ruble silver pieces with Trotsky's effigies. For they seem to be very rare and as valuable as Roman coins bearing the inscription "44 B. C."

Not satisfied with bribing the members of the Turkish National Assembly, the Bolsheviks have also interfered in the internal affairs of Germany, and, after murdering Rathenau, they entered into a secret agreement with Ludendorff in order to reestablish the Monarchy. This at least is the essence of a report printed in the *N. Y. Globe* of July 10, under the heading "Connect Ludendorff with Royalist Plot", in which we read the following interesting lines: "The plotting between the Monarchists and the Bolsheviks in Moscow is said to have been exposed fully in the papers found on the courier, one Guenther. Acting on clues contained in the papers, the Republican police searched addresses in Berlin, Elberfeld and Munich and obtained confirmation of the plot." Fantastic as these lines seem they were confirmed in a way by Cyril Brown of Berlin (perhaps a relative of the aforementioned Constantine Brown, of Constantinople) in a special cable printed in the *N. Y. Times* of July 16, where we read that "immediately after the assassination of Rathenau evidence was discovered justifying the suspicion that this murder was only the beginning of another Right-Bolshevik "putsch", and, indeed, a number of secret arsenals discovered then and papers found in strongholds of "organization C"

*In its issue of June 18, *The Times*, obviously considering the word "capitalist" an insult—speaks of "communism and so-called capitalism".

seemed to confirm this view." The expression "the Right-Bolshevist revolutionary movement" recurs several times in the same cable, thus leaving the American readers under the impression that some right wing Bolshevik or Communist committed that murder; while as a matter of fact "Right-Bolshevik" is just one of the vituperative terms which the Berlin *Vorwärts* employs against the Monarchists. From which it may be seen that in the matter of decency the Berlin *Vorwärts* is not unlike its Yiddish namesake in New York.

UNRESTRICTED PARCEL POST TO RUSSIA

Postmaster Morgan invites attention to the following announcement by the Post Office Department:

The Russian Council of People's Commissars has issued a decree on the following amendments to the previous regulations in regard to the sending of goods to Russia by parcel post from abroad:

1. The following goods are permitted to be sent by parcel post to private individuals for their personal use without special permission from the Commissariat for Foreign Trade on condition that customs dues thereon are paid according to the tariff in force, in the case of those articles which are not free from duty.

(a) All foodstuffs with the exception of perishable ones (conditions on which such foodstuffs are exempted from customs duties are enumerated in Paragraph 3).

(b) Printed matter, manuscripts, photographs, drawings, illustrations, and all kinds of documents with the exception of those of which the import is prohibited.

(c) All kinds of cloth and fabrics, clothing, garments, underwear, head-dress and other articles of attire, footwear, table and bed linen, watches, eye-glasses, thermometers, kitchen and table utensils, small household implements, articles for household repair (nails, wire, string, paste, etc.), spoons, knives and forks, and other small household utensils.

(d) Musical instruments and accessories thereto.

(e) Instruments for professional use and all the necessary accessories thereto.

(f) Articles of general use such as ordinary and toilet soap, stationery, haberdashery, etc.

(g) Medicaments.

Note: Compound and patent medicines are permitted only on condition that the addressee produces the prescription of a Soviet physician. Ordinary medicines, such as boracic acid, quinine, iodine, potassium permanganate, aspirin, soda, dispensary goods, sodium sulphate, xeroform, liquid soap, sodium salicylate, glycerine, vaseline, etc., are permitted without physicians' prescriptions.

2. In case the customs authorities find that the quantity of parcels sent to private individuals and the nature of goods contained in them are not

for the personal use of the addressee, but for sale, such goods come under the general regulations of the import of consignments from abroad, and for the import of which it is necessary to obtain a special permit from the Narkomvneshtorg and to pay the allotted duties.

3. The following foodstuffs sent in parcels to private individuals for their own use and also to organizations engaged in relief work in the Republic are, until 1st January, 1923, temporarily exempt from customs duties. Such organizations may even receive whole consignments of goods on the condition that excise is collected on such goods as are subject to it, in accordance with the general regulations:

Butter; cheese; chicory; chocolate; cocoa powder; coffee; fish; flour and grain; foodstuffs not enumerated separately; fruits and berries and dried berries and others, other than candied; honey; lemons; macaroni; meats, salted, cured, dried, roasted and cooked; milk, condensed and dried; milk foods, patent; oranges; potato flour; rice; sago; sausages; sugar; tea; vegetables; vegetable oils, and vermicelli.

Notices issued by this office previously concerning the parcel-post service to Russia are modified accordingly.

Order & Instruction Section,
P. O., New York, N. Y.

July 15, 1922.

AMERICAN SOLDIER CONTRIBUTES

Among the contributions recently received by the Friends of Soviet Russia was a one-dollar bill accompanied by the following letter, which speaks for itself (we print the sender's initials only):

August 1, 1922.

Friends:

From one who has served with the A. E. F. in Siberia and Archangel. Let me help in your distress. I will donate as much as I can spare. Let's be real men, for I have been forced to fight them.
G. C. S.

NEW TOOL WAREHOUSE

THE Brooklyn warehouse at which clothing was received by the Friends of Soviet Russia for transmission to Soviet Russia has been given up and additional space has been taken at the national office of the organization for the storing of gifts prior to their forwarding. It is probable that not only money for the purchase of tools will be donated, but that some persons may prefer to send actual tools and machines (which should always be in first rate condition).

All donations in supplies, whether tools or clothing, should therefore be sent to the address of the national office: The Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

ATTACK ON OUR HONESTY

On July 26, the *Jewish Daily Forward* issued a general attack on the financial methods of the Friends of Soviet Russia. On the following day Dr. Jacob W. Hartmann, Treasurer of the Friends of Soviet Russia, sent the following statement to the press. As this statement was not everywhere printed in full, and as some of our readers may not have seen it at all, we are printing all of it below:

"My attention has been called to an editorial in the *Jewish Daily Forward* which is a general attack on the work and the methods of the Friends of Soviet Russia, an organization established nearly a year ago for the purpose of enabling the workers of this country to contribute to the alleviation of the Russian famine.

"The editorial mentioned contains numerous insinuations but no direct accusations of misappropriation of funds. Throughout its text there is the suggestion—never clearly expressed—that funds collected by the Friends of Soviet Russia are used for other purposes than relief and the necessary publicity for raising relief. This suggestion is based on ignorance or misrepresentation of the facts. No moneys received by the Friends of Soviet Russia are spent for any purpose other than the purchasing and forwarding of supplies to Russia and the necessary publicity work for obtaining further relief contributions.

"A representative of the *Jewish Daily Forward* called at my office and was referred by me to the financial reports of this organization, and then when he stated that he did not understand certain passages in these reports he was referred for further information to the auditor who issues them. The auditor assures me that he has not been approached by anyone for this information. I therefore assume that the *Jewish Daily Forward* is more anxious to print insinuations about the Friends of Soviet Russia than to obtain information concerning the actual operations of this organization. All financial statements of the Friends of Soviet Russia are published in its official organ, *SOVIET RUSSIA*, where they are available for inspection by the general public.

"I will not dwell on minor misrepresentations in the *Forward* article, and can only regret that I am not yet certain that the accusations made in it are sufficiently definite to be taken as a ground for legal action."

THE AID FOR THE FAMINE-STRICKEN REGIONS MUST CONTINUE

By A. VINOKUROV (Moscow)

Because of some improvement noticeable on the famine front, in connection with the favorable prospects for a good new harvest, relaxing tendencies have made their appearance in those regions not suffering from the famine. Some people are under the false impression that the famine relief is nearing its end and that it is about time to liquidate the famine relief organizations.

No doubt this relaxation is due to exhaustion on the part of many local forces that have been at work in famine relief for almost a year. The fact alone that about 7,000,000 poods of provisions and more than a trillion roubles have been collected for the relief of the famine sufferers, shows how great were the efforts of the various localities that fought on the famine front.

These liquidating tendencies are very detrimental. It is true that the situation in the famine re-

gions has improved considerably and that the prospects for a good harvest are very promising, but relief work is still far from being superfluous. Aside from the consideration that the new harvest is one month ahead of us, we must keep in mind that even after the harvest the relief apparatus will be confronted with problems that need solution. Due to the famine, the whole population is in need of aid of one sort or another. There are many orphans that must be cared for. The famine drove 1,500,000 people out of the Volga region. Some of these fugitives have already returned; others are now coming back to their domiciles. But a large part of the famine fugitives are in other provinces. Not having found a permanent abode or occupation, this mass remains a carrier of epidemics and the cause of an increased death rate.

Furthermore, the famine-stricken regions are in need of aid in economic reconstruction; they are badly in need of cattle, agricultural implements, etc.

It is self-evident therefore that it is premature to speak of liquidation on the famine front. Enormous work is still before us. The new situation may have changed the form of the relief work before us, but the need for and the importance of relief has not diminished. Remove all signs of exhaustion. It is too early to reduce the relief apparatus. We must retain discipline on the famine front.

SOVIET UKRAINIAN TRADE

Sidney Rich, manager of the New York office of the N. V. *Amsterdamsche Export & Import Maatschappij*, has just returned from a trip to Hamburg, during which he closed two important contracts with the authorized commercial representatives of the Ukrainian Government in Berlin which will bring to the United States orders amounting to *over two million dollars* in food-stuffs and agricultural machinery and implements. A special company to handle the business has been formed with the Ukrainian Delegation as one of the parties and the *Amsterdamsche Export & Import Maatschappij* as the other. Address care N. V. *Amsterdamsche Export & Import Maatschappij*, 100 East 45th St., New York City.—From the July 26, issue of the *Confidential Weekly Bulletin* published by the *American Exporter*, New York.

The

ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA

has just issued a Supplement containing numerous articles on recent events all over the world. In our next issue (September 1) we shall tell you about the articles appearing in this Supplement on the subject of the Russian Revolution as well as on its leaders.

At All Newsstands, Fifteen Cents.

PRIVATE PROPERTY IN RUSSIA

By J. BRANDENBURGSKY (Moscow)

THE eleventh session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, which took place in Moscow at the end of May, laid down the principles of Soviet legislation on private property.

The right to own private property, and the granting thereof by the Soviet State, as provided in the resolution of the Central Executive Committee, are not bestowed indiscriminately on all citizens, but only on those who by their work contribute to the development of the production of the country.

The new law does not provide under any circumstances for the restitution of the expropriated holdings to their former owners. Its application holds also for the territory of all other Soviet republics.

The right of private property is recognized as to all persons, for all parcels which up to the present have not yet been declared communal property, as well as for all newly built houses. But it is limited by law in these cases also. The duration of private ownership of the newly built houses must not exceed 49 years.

The right of private property is further recognized for the industrial establishments which are operated by private initiative. Further, there is recognized the right of mortgage, inheritance and inventions.

The right of inheritance is limited in two directions: first, it is limited to the husband and wife and direct descendants, and secondly, as to the amount of the inheritance, which under no circumstances may exceed ten thousand gold rubles. All amounts exceeding this limit become the property of the state. The right to make a will is admitted. Exceptions from these general rules will be provided for in a special law.

Many rules are concerned with the conditions which are necessary to establish the validity of contracts of all kinds, such as purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc. This legislation aims at the protection of the interests of the state against fraud by private persons. If, in the conclusion of an agreement, one of the contracting parties takes advantage of the precarious position of the other contracting party for the purpose of exploiting him, such contracts may be declared null and void upon the request of the injured party, or even without such a request, by order of the state.

The text drafted by the Central Executive Committee is to serve as the basis of the Civil Code, decision upon which is to be taken in the next session of the legislative organ of the Soviets.

REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE REMAINS IRREVOCABLE!

WITHIN these limitations the recognition of private property, and even the encouragement of a sound future development, does not mean an infringement upon the revolutionary justice which the workers and peasants have obtained.

True, we admit new private owners, we even grant them the right of private ownership, which is limited by the Soviet legislation, but we do not resuscitate Lazarus from the dead. The past is past for good. What revolutionary justice has taken away from the former owners must not be returned to them under any circumstances.

During the years of revolution the revolutionary right was not only the work of the Soviet power, but also, and first of all, the work of the toiling masses, who, out of their own initiative, effected a transformation in the social system.

The revolutionary right which has expropriated the owners, although it has not been specifically sanctioned by any formal decision, is bound to remain under all circumstances an absolute, categorical imperative for our courts.

This is our revolutionary will, which has finally deprived the wealthy of their former property and has transferred it to the labor organizations.

A. GOIKHBART

BACK TO THE BLACK HUNDRED

Novoye Russkoye Slovo, a Russian daily appearing in New York, has recently returned to a reactionary policy and is now attacking the Soviet Government. Mr. I. L. Durmashkin (who sometimes writes under the name "Veruyushchy"), one of the editorial staff of the paper, who discovered this change on returning from a two weeks' vacation, immediately caused the following declaration to be printed in the columns of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* (July 31, 1922):

Declaration.

For reasons of principle I have left the editorial staff of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*.

Signed: I. L. DURMASHKIN.

July 28, 1922.

(Veruyushchy)

ROLL CALL PAGES

Attention is again called to the fact that Roll Call pages, even those on which no money has been collected, should be returned at once to the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

SOVIET RUSSIA

appears on the first and fifteenth of every month. No other periodical in the United States has carried so much authentic news of famine conditions, or so many correct versions of official Soviet Government messages, or such frequent corrections of misrepresentations printed in other papers.

You need this paper if you want to preserve Russia from future famines; you need it if you are a friend of Russia at all.

At all Newsstands, Fifteen Cents.

Subscription Price:

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SOVIET RUSSIA

201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.
Room 31

Books Reviewed

G. LELEWITSCH (L. Mogilewski): Die Konstituante von Samara. Ein Beitrag zur "Humanität" and "Demokratie" der Partei der S. R. Hamburg: 1922, Karl Hoym Nachf. Louis Cahnbley. G. Lelewitsch: The Samara Constituent Assembly. Material to show the "Humanity" and "Democracy" of the Social-Revolutionist Party. Paper, 64 pp.

The Revolutionary Tribunal at Moscow has recently been reviewing the history of the rule of the Social-Revolutionist Party in Samara. This episode is one of the most important points in the indictment against these murderers and traitors. Simultaneously—and just at the right time—a short presentation of the evidence collected in Samara in connection with the Constituent Assembly by grace of the Czechoslovaks has appeared in print. This little pamphlet from the pen of Comrade Lelevich is a valuable contribution to the Moscow trial. Comrade Lelevich's presentation almost totally lacks any expression of his own views; it limits itself to a presentation of documents, newspaper reports, speeches, quotations from books and pamphlets, testimony of witnesses. Communist sources are almost painfully avoided and the author gives the floor chiefly to the Social-Revolutionaries, in other words, to the guilty parties, and also to the Mensheviks, Czechoslovaks and the trade union representatives. All this testimony, particularly the confession of the Social-Revolutionaries, are a unique indictment, a unique travesty on the so-called principles of the Social-Revolutionaries and their friends in the West. The bloody interlude of the Social-Revolutionaries and the Czechoslovaks in Samara lasted from June 8 to October 7, 1918—but it is more instructive than fifty years of Western democracy.

The Social-Revolutionaries proclaimed as their most important principle that of democracy, majority rule; they wished to be considered as a democratic party of the workers and peasants. But the Social-Revolutionary Klimushkin plainly and frankly states that neither the soldiers nor the workers, nor the peasants of Samara and the vicinity wished to have anything to do with the Constituent Assembly or with any insurrection against the Soviet Government. "We turned our attention to the masses of the soldiers, particularly of the officers", relates the bold democrat and pacifist of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International. And whence did salvation come? Neither the Social-Democrats (Mensheviks) nor the Cadets (the bourgeois Constitutional Democratic Party) wanted to cooperate in the *Putsch*. But: "At this moment we learned of the advance of the Czechoslovaks," and with their aid, in fact, almost exclusively with the help of the Czechoslovak legion, the *Putsch* was put through. In other words, against the will of the majority of the population, particularly of the workers and peasants, and with the aid of the foreign mercenaries of the Entente, the Social-Revolutionaries established their democracy in Samara.

Of course the victorious *Putsch* democrats filled the air with democracy. First of all they proclaimed every sort of liberty, and declared all Bolshevik bondages, such as Soviets, the Revolutionary Tribunal, the "Cheka", the Red Army, etc., to be dissolved, and reestablished the local administrations—on paper. As a matter of fact, military tribunals were installed the next day, the local administrative organs were placed under the tutelage of "extraordinary district trustees", and a special "state protective authority" (a sort of political police) was created, a state of siege declared over all railroads, two annual classes mobilized for a "People's Army", all hostile agitation prohibited, and a number of other democratic ordinances in the sense of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International created. The state police was authorized to arrest anyone suspected of being politically in the opposition, and the provisions against political prisoners were made more severe.

A second principle that distinguishes our bold Social-Revolutionaries from the Bolsheviki is of course that of humanity. Accordingly, Lebedev, one of their chief ring-leaders, proclaimed that adherents to the Soviet power would be exterminated like "rats". The well-known Cossack, Dutov, was greeted with stormy applause at the meeting at which Lebedev spoke these words. The Czechoslovaks, in return for their aid, were given the privilege of shooting and hanging all suspected in their eyes of Bolshevism. Hundreds of workers fell as victims to this lynch law. Most of the Red Army men of Simbirsk were shot. Terror was applied most viciously against the workers and peasants, who were massacred in great numbers; for the Social-Revolutionists, as the Social-Democrats of all countries maintain, are a party of workers and peasants. The Samara prison alone, built for 800 prisoners, was crowded with 2300. Things were not better elsewhere. Of course, the prisoners were almost exclusively workers and peasants. Functionaries of workers' organizations and workers' communes were most frequently arrested. The workers of the explosive factory at Ivashchenkovo, who resisted the terror, were punished by the colleagues of the so-called socialists and pacifists. The result was over three hundred corpses of workers, women, and children, mutilated by sabre cuts. These "punitive measures" were proclaimed in the official report of the Social-Revolutionary hangmen and justified with the fact that these workers had evidenced "an intolerable mental attitude." Of the workers who were arrested, 306 were slain later during transportation from prison by the Czechoslovaks. The workers of the Kazan powder factory had resolved to rebel against this rule of terror of the Constituent Assembly of Samara. For this resolution, as the official report states with satisfaction, their village was subjected to artillery fire. "By nightfall the mutiny had been put down finally." Very touching are the extracts from the reports made at the peasant congress at Samara, concerning the razing of the Social-Revolutionary terror in the villages. Arrests, delays of justice, shootings, beatings with clubs and knouts, these were the government methods of these adherents of democracy and humanity. Every opposing, i. e., working class, newspaper was suppressed; the so passionately lauded liberty of the press was entirely eliminated. And the Social-Revolutionary labor leaders expressed the principle of freedom of association by placing the state workers under compulsory measures and molesting the trade unions, while giving aid to the factory owners.

With the assistance of Cossack troops the rich peasants and landed proprietors were allowed to take the land back from the peasants.

All this democracy, humanity and Socialism of the Social-Revolutionary lackeys of the bourgeoisie are a mere humbug. But it is also a humbug for any Social-Democrat to take these traitors and criminals under his protection when the revolutionary proletariat of Russia is sitting in judgment upon them.

Very instructive is the end to which the Samara Constituent Assembly came when it later emigrated to Siberia; it was crushed under the heel of the same Kolchak boot which it had so fervently licked. The Constituent Assembly had paved the way for the White reaction that was not destroyed by the Soviet Government until somewhat later. The iron logic of history: the Constituent Assembly, bourgeois democracy, is the pace-maker of reaction.

KARL KREIBICH (Prague)

BOOK REVIEWS

will continue to be an important feature in future issues of SOVIET RUSSIA. A number of interesting books recently received from Russia will be reviewed in our issue of September 1.

More Pioneers Leave For Siberia

The Holland American liner Rotterdam carried away her third cargo of Kuzbas pioneers on Saturday, July 22. The party numbered 135 of which 84 are workers and the remainder dependents. Thirty-one of the men were miners from Pennsylvania, Illinois and West Virginia. The remaining members were farmers, machinists, electricians, lumbermen, engineers, etc. Jacob Klein, farmer and Leonard White, engineer, came from Alaska to join the party. Van Erickson, a young farmer from Seattle took along with him a dozen Rhode Island Reds with incubator and other poultry breeding requirements. As the Rotterdam left the rooster was crowing defiance to the steamer's siren, and affording much amusement to the departing pioneers.

The party will proceed to Rotterdam where they will tranship into the Warszawa, which is specially chartered by the Kuzbas organization for the trip to Petrograd. The sea journey lasts about fifteen days, calling at Plymouth, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Rotterdam, then passing through the famous Kiel Canal, to the tiny free state of Dantzic and thence via Libau in Latvia to the Red City on the Neva. The parties are lodged in Smolny Institute during their brief stay in Petrograd, after which they travel along the Northern route to their new homes in the Urals and in Siberia.

The nationality of the workers is as follows: United States, 25; Finnish, 15; Russian, 15; Lithuanian 10; German, 5; Croatian, 3; Austrian, 5; Yugo-Slav, 3; and Switzerland, Sweden, Cuba, Poland and Hungary contributed one each. All were thoroughly equipped with tools and clothing, and are well fitted to stand the rigorous Siberian climate. In addition to their own needs they also took with them over two tons of clothing for the use of Russian workers in the districts to which

they are bound, as well as many other gifts, which will be welcome.

Accompanying the party was a well known American mining engineer, Alfred Pearson, Jr., who is to take charge of the mines at Kemerovo. Pearson, who also took his family with him, is a Socialist of many years' standing. He has been in the employment of the Consolidation Coal Co. for many years as chief draughtsman, chief engineer and as assistant manager. He has also been Chief Engineer for the Pennsylvania May Coal Company. The latter mines have an output of 2,000,000 tons annually. Pearson is tremendously interested in the project, and is very enthusiastic about the type of miners who are going across with him. He stated that the minimum amount of coal that could be extracted from the Kemerovo mine would be 1,000,000 tons annually. This will do much to relieve the fuel shortage on the Trans-Siberian railroad.

Another party is leaving for Siberia and Kuzbas on the same ship on August 26. Steel mill men, miners, cement plant operators, high-grade machinists, lumber workers, farmers, electricians, moulders and pattern makers are needed for this shipment. They should apply at Kuzbas, Room 301, 110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y. The Kuzbas Organization operates on the same basis as a Russian State industry and exploits properties covering thousands of square miles in the Urals and in the Kuznets Basin in Siberia. This district alone possesses more coal than the British Isles. The Nadezhdenski steel plant is the largest charcoal steel plant in the world. Vast machine shops, forests, railroads, farms, mines of coal, iron, manganese and copper are waiting for the direct control of intelligent trained engineers and workers.

Relief Contributions, July 15 - 31

The following abbreviations are used: F. S. C., *Famine Scout Clubs*; F. S. R., *Friends of Soviet Russia*; RC, *Roll Call contribution*; TD, *Tool Drive contribution*; W. S. and D. B. F., *Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund*. The total for July appears at the end of page 128.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
11731	F. S. R. Branch, Kansas City, Kana.	39.60	11748	Ohio	5.00	11762	F.S.C. No. 62, CRC, Los Angeles, Cal.	7.20
11732	W. L. Prose, TD, Larned, Kana.	10.00	11749	Mrs. C. Pielmier, Freelandville, Ind.	10.00	11763	H. Rohde, RC, Lemon Grove, Cal.	6.00
11733	A. Parvainen, Cromwell, Minn.	30.00	11750	R.L. TD, Cambridge, Mass.	1.00	11764	C. Martin, RC, Vancouver, B. C.	6.00
11734	J. L. Neill, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00	11751	J. R. Mendes, TD, Fall River, Mass.	1.00	11765	M. Paabytnuk, RC, Sayreville, N. J.	6.00
11735	Olga Klemptner, RC, Seattle Wash.	4.50	11752	Otto Hauri, TD, Paris, Tenn.	1.00	11766	M. Paabytnuk, RC, Sayreville, N. J.	6.00
11736	F.S.C. No. 66, B'klyn	4.96	11753	W. Paicwonsky & J. Schimenak, La Vega, Rep. Dom.	180.00	11767	Hugh Wakefield, TD, Duluth, Minn.	5.00
11737	T. Gouloude, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	11754	F.S.R. Branch, Vancouver, B.C.	150.00	11768	Mrs. Ellen R. Nagle, TD, Weoleyville, Pa.	5.00
11738	Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Herzog, RC, Garfield, N. J.	10.00	11755	H.M. Richter, M. D., TD, Chicago, Ill.	25.00	11769	Conrad Glunts, TD, Natl. Military Home, Kana.	5.00
11739	J.F. Witte, TD, Edwards, Mo.	2.00	11756	Zerlina Reefer, Kansas City, Mo.	25.00	11770	hos. J. Swanson, TD, Radcliffe, Ia.	5.00
11740	E. Shelin, RC, N. Y. C.	15.25	11757	S. T. Goonin, RC, Phil., Pa.	19.00	11771	Henry Bolosch, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
11741	H. H. Thompson, TD, Haverhill, Mass.	1.00	11758	Miss K.Nernoff, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	15.00	11772	H. Krawitz, RC, Hegewisch, Ill.	5.00
11742	Wm. Paschburg, RC, B'klyn	2.00	11759	Dr. S. B. Levy, N. Y. C.	10.00	11773	P. Rabenau, TD, N. Y. C.	5.00
11743	A. Syrtiuk, RC, Waterloo, Ont.	.46	11760	Dr. O. W. Staib, TD, Bartlett, Ill.	10.00			
11744	S. T. A. S. R., Passaic, N. J.	18.40	11761	Ph. Eckes, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00			
11745	L. O'Dell, Los Angeles, Cal.	20.00		Aug. Vogt, Coll., TD, Staten Island, N. Y.	8.00			
11746	Henry Peterson, RC, Jersey City, N. J.	11.00						
11747	Chas. Ludwig, TD, Cincinnati,							

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
11774	Annette Mann, TD, Cincinnati, O.	5.00	11833	E. Yabukil, TD, N. Y. C.	5.00	11892	polla, Ind.	3.00
11775	G. Dreuth, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	11834	B. Benson, RC, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	11893	L. Hoffman, Elyria, O.	5.00
11776	Jan. Hewton, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	11835	Famine Scout Clubs, CRC, Cleveland, O.	11.83	11894	Francis Harden, South Australia	6.05
11777	Olympia Brown, TD, Racine, Wis.	5.00	11836	F.S.R. Branch, Lynn, Mass.	250.00	11895	F. S. R. Branch, Eureka, Cal.	120.00
11778	Womans Division, Everett, Mass.	2.40	11837	Charles Nelson, RC, Cleveland, O.	10.00	11896	Watch 37.00, TD, 83.00	32.00
11779	Elma E. Levinger, RC, N.Y.C.	3.00	11838	R. D. Lindley, TD, Paoli, Ind.	5.00	11897	H. B. Cooper, TD, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone	10.00
11780	C. Haack, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00	11839	C.Hernandez, TD, Tampa, Fla.	6.00	11898	Geo. E. Miller, TD, Hayward, Cal.	10.00
11781	A. Fergin, TD, Detroit, Mich.	2.00	11840	Max Burgholser, TD, Helson, Wash.	1.00	11899	John Hoete, TD, Detroit, Mich.	10.00
11782	Chas. Victor, TD, Ava, Mo.	2.00	11841	Mrs. Ed. Adams, TD, Oakville, Ont., Can.	5.00	11898	I. Serier, RC, Kennewick, Wash.	5.00
11783	W. S. & D. B. F. No. 2, RC, Jersey City, N. J.	25.50	11842	Woman's Division, F. S. R., Butte, Mont.	6.50	11899	N. Wolfram, TD, Cleveland, O.	3.00
11784	Workmens Circle School Club, CRC, St. Paul, Minn.	15.70	11843	Geo. Kessler, TD, Eurpka, Cal.	10.00	11900	Geo. Fitz, Coll. TD, Johnston, City, Ill.	4.50
11785	D. D. Hadland, RC, Weldon, Ssak	11.50	11844	Louis I. Fortin, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	11901	F. S. R. Branch, CRC, Louisville, Ky.	1.20
11786	Jay D. Lester, RC, Highland, N. Y.	12.00	11845	Achilles Vafiadis, Coll, Detroit, Mich.	6.65	11902	U. H. Shafer, TD, Huntingdon, Pa.	1.00
11787	J. Finburd, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00	11846	Samuel Ghinsburg, RC, Oakland, Cal.	3.50	11903	John A. Waldron, TD, Junction City, Cal.	1.00
11788	Geo. W. Stone, TD, Shreveport, La.	5.00	11847	P. Torkel, TD, Jamaica, L.I.	1.00	11904	E. Karstner, TD, Long Island City, N. Y.	1.00
11789	Ellen Hayes, TD, Wellesley, Mass.	100.00	11848	John Gerlicky, TD, Cleveland, O.	1.00	11905	Shozo Muramoto, TD, Oyster Bay, N. Y.	2.00
11790	I. Elson, TD, Phil., Pa.	10.00	11849	J.C. Rodriguez, TD, Fall River, Mass.	1.00	11906	S. King, TD, Falconer, N. Y.	5.00
11791	James Chvojan, Baltimore, Md.	3.00	11850	P. Perrey, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	11907	Mr. & Mrs. D. Woltzer, TD, Patterson, N. J.	3.00
11792	F.S.R. Branch, CRC, Salem, O.	3.00	11851	W. Dutka, RC, Transcona, Man. Can.	4.90	11908	Rev. W. F. Brown, Jr., TD, N. Y. C.	1.00
11793	F.S.R. Branch, Cleveland, O.	89.45	11852	John Malhan, TD, Valley Falls R. I.	53.24	11909	F. S. R. Branch, TD, Picnic, Milwaukee, Wis.	345.51
11794	Fernand Arnac, RC, Charleroi, Pa.	5.70	11853	F. S. C. No. 09, Edgemere, L. I.	34.50	11910	Independent Workmen's Circle of A., Boston, Mass.	1376.65
11795	F.S.R. Branch, RC, St. Louis, Mo.	19.95	11854	Art Bindery Co., N.Y.C.	5.00	11911	S. Marto, TD, N. Y. C.	2.00
11796	F.S.R. Branch, St. Louis, Mo. (Paul Pecheraky)	5.75	11855	H. S. Harper, TD, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	2.50	11912	W. C. No. 373, Phil., Pa.	127.20
11797	Ernest Urchus, RC, Lynn, Mass.	5.25	11856	Mary J. Burrows, TD, N.Y.C.	10.00	11913	Wm. H. McNulty, TD, Somerville, Mass.	12.40
11798	Peter Althaus, RC, Oakland, Cal.	4.50	11857	Sonji Kondo, TD, Flushing, L. I.	10.00	11914	T. Kimura, Coll. TD, Worcester, Mass.	9.09
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11805	W. McFarland, Wellsville, O.	.50	11864	Harry Welty, TD, Wadsworth, Ohio	1.00	11921	Geo Hiral, TD, Bayonne, N.J.	2.00
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11807	E. C. Kersey, TD, Newport Beach, Cal.	5.00	11866	Geo Farnsworth, TD, Wadsworth, O.	1.00	11923	A. Korekin, TD, Hpboken, N. J.	15.00
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The Economic Front

By A. A. HELLER

A chapter from the author's "Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia", to be published shortly by Thomas Seltzer, Inc.

THE adoption of the new economic policy in the spring of 1921 was a political step almost unprecedented in the history of revolutions. Without changing the personnel of the government or giving up the ultimate ideals of the Revolution, it radically altered the methods to be employed in realizing these ideals. The fundamental characteristics of the new policy may be briefly summed up. A definite tax, amounting to approximately 10 per cent of the estimated agricultural produce of the country, was substituted for the old system of requisitioning the peasant's surplus produce, above his personal needs. The peasant was permitted to trade freely in anything which he produced beyond the requirements of the tax. The development of the co-operatives as an instrument for getting out the peasant's surplus products and supplying his needs was encouraged. A number of the smaller industrial establishments were leased to individuals or associations for exploitation on a capitalist basis. The government also introduced more business-like methods into the operation of state enterprises. Free transportation on the railroads and similar uneconomic arrangements were abolished. Where the staffs in government offices were found to be unnecessarily large they were reduced. The principle was laid down that, so far as possible, government undertakings must pay their way.

When it is remembered that free trade has hitherto been a severely punishable offense, it can be imagined how vitally the new policy affected every detail of Russian daily life. Naturally the new regulations caused a good deal of confusion at first. But later, as I was able to observe myself, the development of the new policies proceeded along more regular and orderly lines. Among all classes there was a noticeable renewal of confidence in the possibility of Russia's industrial revival.

The new economic policy has been widely discussed and criticized. Some anti-Socialist observers hail it as a reversion to capitalism and a confession of the bankruptcy of Communism. This viewpoint is shared by extremists of the Left, such as the German syndicalists, who denounced the Third International as too conservative and authoritarian. I do not believe, however, that this interpretation is correct. The Communist faith of the leaders of the Russian Government is quite unshaken. They recognize however that Communism requires for its successful functioning, a development of large scale industry which simply does not exist in impoverished and disorganized Russia. Consequently they are deliberately using capitalism as a means to the attainment of the material conditions under which communism will become a realizable ideal. By permitting free

trade and encouraging the development of the co-operatives, they hope to revive agricultural production and secure an adequate supply of food for the city workers. By leasing out for private exploitation enterprises which the state itself cannot operate efficiently, they expect to hasten the recovery of small industry and to remedy the present crying need for manufactured articles. The essential economic background for their communist state, the rehabilitation and development of the large industries, must, as they recognize, come gradually, partly as an outgrowth of the revival of agriculture and small industry, partly as a result of the agreements which they hope to conclude with foreign concessionaires.

The Communist leaders are quite aware of the fact that the carrying out of this plan involves the danger of a rebirth of capitalism in Russia that may prove lasting. They are attempting to guard against this contingency by retaining in their own hands political power and control of the basic industries. They are quite prepared to face a prolonged duel with capitalism on the field of economic efficiency. Lenin himself on one occasion remarked with characteristic bluntness that Communism, in order to survive, would have to prove its superiority as a system of efficient and economical production in the eyes of the masses.

The contrast between the old and the new economic policies of Soviet Russia is very well expressed in the following extract from an article written by Lenin for the special anniversary number of *Pravda*, November 7, 1921.

"For three years, up to the spring of 1921, our plan was to revive our large-scale industries and to organize a system of exchanging their products with the peasants, while endeavoring to socialize agriculture. In order to revive our large-scale industries, we proposed to take from the peasants a certain amount of foodstuffs and raw materials as a sort of loan, by means of requisitions.

"We are no longer attempting to *break up* the old social economic order, with its trade, its small-scale economy and private initiative, its capitalism, but we are now trying to *revive* trade, private enterprise and capitalism, at the same time gradually and cautiously subjecting them to state regulation just so far as they revive."

The task of the historian of the Russian Revolution is simplified by the fact that Lenin combines in himself the roles of active leader and theorist. It was Lenin who took the lead in urging the adoption of the new policy at the Congress of the Communist Party in March, 1921. And it was also Lenin who furnished the most effective theoretical exposition and defense of the new policy in his famous pamphlet "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax". In any study of Russia's economic

policies, this statement must be considered, both for the intrinsic worth of its analysis and for the light it throws on the attitude of the government.

Lenin recalls the fact that as early as 1918 he expressed the opinion that state capitalism would constitute a distinct step forward, in view of the chaotic and backward condition of Russian industrial life. He frankly declares that socialism has not been realized in Russia. "There is not a Communist, it seems to me," he writes, "who would deny that the expression Socialist Soviet Republic means the determination of the Soviet power to realize the transition to Socialism, and does not by any means signify that the present economic order is regarded as Socialistic."

He enumerates the various forms of economic life, ranging from patriarchal peasant production to socialism, which exists side by side in Russia at the present time. He brings out and emphasizes the point that it is not accurate to speak of a struggle between socialism and capitalism in Russia at a time when the greatest part of Russia has not yet reached the highest stages of capitalist development. The small speculator and private trader are the chief immediate obstacles in the way of Russia's industrial development; large-scale capitalism, on the other hand, must be regarded as a temporary ally of the Socialist state in its struggle against a general relapse into lower forms of production.

Lenin then pauses to defend himself against the attacks of moderate Socialists who criticize the November Revolution as premature, in view of the fact that Russia was economically unprepared for socialism. The November Revolution, he contends, fulfilled a very essential role in wresting political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and making it possible to direct the whole administrative apparatus of the soviet state towards the objective of communism.

He proceeds to a consideration of the practical measures required by the emergency. The peasant, the food producer, is seen as the basis of Russian economy. Immediate steps must be taken to improve the condition of the peasants. The system of requisitions, necessary during the so-called period of military communism, but extremely disastrous in its economic effects, must be abandoned in favor of a specified agricultural tax.

Another change in policy is also indicated. Large-scale factory production demands large reserve stocks of fuel, food and raw material; and such stocks do not exist in devastated, poverty-stricken Russia. Therefore, the revival of the smaller industries, which do not require such large accumulated stores, and which may be relied on to furnish the peasants with badly needed manufactured articles, must be encouraged in every possible way.

The doubts of those who fear the consequences of such a general reintroduction of capitalism are then considered. Lenin stresses the harsh realities of the situation. Socialized production in

Russia affects only a relatively small number of the Russian population; and, with few exceptions, the peasants retain the psychology of small capitalists. Moreover, the country is exhausted and impoverished by years of war and blockade. The cities suffer for want of food; the country districts suffer for want of manufactured goods. The obvious first duty of any government is to revive production and exchange. Under these conditions what policy should the Soviet Government adopt? Lenin answers this question by projecting two alternatives:

"We can either completely prohibit and prevent the development of private non-state exchange, i. e., commerce, i. e., capitalism, which is inevitable with the existence of millions of small producers. Such a policy would be stupid and suicidal for the party which attempted to carry it out. It would be stupid because it is economically impossible. It would be suicidal because the party that attempted to carry it out would inevitably collapse.

"Or (and this is the only *possible* and sensible policy) we can refrain from prohibiting and preventing the development of capitalism and strive to direct it in the path of *state* capitalism."

Lenin cites the policy of granting concessions to foreign or domestic capitalists as a practical example of how the soviet state can work hand-in-hand with large-scale capitalism against the lower and less organized forms of capitalist production. By granting concessions the Soviet Government will strengthen advanced against backward industrial methods, machine production against hand production. It will secure an increased quantity of industrial products for the strengthening of its own industries, and for exchange with the peasants. Of course, these advantages have to be paid for with the large quantities of valuable materials which the concessionaires will take away as the price of their services.

Another aspect of state capitalism is the co-operative movement. Lenin urges that trade and exchange with the peasants be carried on, as far as possible, through co-operative channels. In this manner the waste and duplication of private trade will be eliminated. Moreover, co-operation involves the organization of large masses of people; and this, in itself, is a noteworthy advantage, in view of the projected transition to a highly organized communist state.

Lenin discusses the possibility of using other types of capitalism in bringing about Russia's industrial revival. He reverts to his earlier idea that capitalism is an intermediate stage through which Russia must pass before socialism can be achieved. So he writes:

"We are still too fond of saying, 'Capitalism is an evil, Socialism is a blessing', but such an argument is incorrect, because it leaves out of consideration all the existing social economic strata, and takes in only two of them.

"Capitalism is an evil in comparison with socialism, but capitalism is a blessing in comparison

with medievalism, with small industry, with fettered small producers thrown to the mercy of bureaucracy."

The pamphlet closes on a note of optimism. "There is nothing really dangerous in this policy for a proletarian government, so long as the proletariat fully retains the administrative power, the means of transport and large-scale industry."

The new law legalizing free trade came just in time to save the situation. "Bagging,"† referred to in Chapter 1,* was not abolished at once, in fact, as it was no longer a crime, it assumed larger proportions. Peasants came to town with carts of foodstuffs, and city people rushed into the country to engage in "tovarobmen"—exchange of commodities with the peasants. During May, June and July there was a wild rush into the country districts to get food. This period was humorously called the period of "tovarobman",** the Russian word "obman", trickery, being jocularly substituted for "obmen", exchange. One of the new laws, following the March decree, permitted factories, in fact all industrial establishments, to use a certain part of their products—from 5 to 10 per cent—in direct exchange for foodstuffs. This law produced "bagging" on a scale hitherto unknown. Every plant, every institution sent commissions wherever it thought bread was available. This went on to such an extent that the transportation system became literally clogged; and the peasants commenced to raise their prices as each new commission arrived with new demands. However, this was only a passing phase, the first flush of free trade; and more normal and orderly relations soon began to appear.

But this crude law permitting industries to use part of their product for purposes of direct exchange served as a basis for a whole series of new decrees and regulations, giving industrial units freedom to trade and finally placing many enterprises on a basis of self-supply. Under this arrangement a state industrial enterprise is no longer supplied with food or raw materials by the government. If the plant is capable of producing articles which it can exchange for the things it needs, it may continue operating; otherwise it must shut down. The plant remains government property; and whatever surplus it may produce goes to the government. Such an arrangement gives the workmen and the operating staff an opportunity to run the plant on independent lines, to apply commercial principles, to develop individual initiative, and to profit, so far as the laws permit, from successful operation.

To energetic, ambitious men, engineers, technicians, administrators, this new policy opens wide the door of opportunity, and is very attractive. They have every incentive to productive work. And it is this spirit of energetic creation that I

†From the bags in which the peasants surreptitiously brought their produce to the cities.

*Of the book of which this article is Chapter VI.—Ed.

**"Tovar" means merchandise.

found throughout the industrial districts of Russia in the late summer and early fall of 1921. The new economic policy was the one subject of conversation. It is a subject of constant discussion, not only with the leaders and the newspapers, but with the entire population. Russia is a country of great distances. Its means of communication were always notoriously slow; and they were never slower than at the present time. Few trains are running; the mail and telegraph services are far from prompt, so it takes considerable time before an occurrence in the capital becomes known throughout the country. Moreover, a new law of such a radical nature must have time to penetrate into the psychology of the people. Under these circumstances it is surprising how quickly the general trend of the new policy was caught and applied.

The external effects of the new policy are visible in the cities, where stores are opened, theatres are full, buildings are being repaired and market-places are thronged with buyers and sellers. Handicrafts are reviving in villages and towns; and there is increased production in small factories and mines. Large industry is also responding, but more slowly. Plans are drawn up, conferences take place, many committees visit the provinces, projects are set on foot. Many enterprises were supposed to open in October, after the summer shut-downs, when many laborers went to work in the fields. Others are already beginning to exchange their products for those of neighboring communities. So the Ural factories are co-operating with Siberia; the Moscow factories are serving the South, etc. The most valuable result of the new policy up to the present time is the new spirit of confidence, of enterprise, of determination to overcome the economic wreckage.

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Room 31

New York, N. Y.

A Way-Station

By CHARLES RECHT

We are printing another one of Mr. Recht's articles on Russia, and at the same time suggest that our readers should read those that are appearing from the same pen in the current issues of "The Freeman".

I WOKE up at dawn. Our train was standing in the station of a fair-sized Russian town. The warmth inside the cars had died down long ago, for in Russia today the cars are heated by boilers attached to each individual car, and the logs are used sparingly. Although the air seemed damp and chilly outside, the musty smell of the unventilated carriage was not to be vanquished by the early morning frost. The single candle which



CHARLES RECHT AND L. C. MARTENS

the *provodnik* allots to each compartment every night had gone out hours ago; it was dark except for the grey dim light which pressed again the uncurtained, moisture-filmed windows.

I rubbed off some of the steam and peered into the grey. Fantastic silhouettes moved back and forth along the ill-defined station platform. Gradually one could distinguish the round sheepskin and conical astrachan hats of the plodding peas-

ants, their nondescript wadded coats, the laden handsleights, or the numerous burdens the men were carrying on their backs. A brakeman with a solitary lantern passed our car. His lamp threw a momentary light into the compartment. My eye fell on a dull blotch near the ceiling. The sudden flash made the spot quite impressive. Only yesterday my fellow-passengers had been discussing this greyish spot. It was an old blood stain. Our car had been used as an ambulance-car during the war. This silent witness spoke loudly of the tragic past, spoke in a language which those who wish cannot fail to understand. It said the same things as the still unremoved barbed wire entanglements about Petrograd, the unrepaired wry fences along the uneven railroad track, the broken waterpipes of our unsanitary train—this spectre chorus of inevitable witnesses followed surely and quietly the logfed engine on its way into the interior of Russia.

In the compartment next to mine was a member of the Commissariat of Labor. He had been sent to recuperate at Riga, to recuperate after starvation, misery and typhus; but after having been away only two weeks he was returning—to try to save for the world the revolution and to contribute to Russia an early grave. I heard him sigh, cough and move about. I wondered if he felt the force of this situation as I was feeling it; for in Berlin a decadent pet was discussing the collapse and the dissolution of our civilization, and here in this land of Russia was perhaps the laboratory where the process was now manifesting itself. Or perhaps, on the contrary, these big-eyed sincere naive men and women were the rescue corps of mankind, who were to stave off the seemingly inevitable collapse of our modern world. These huddled rough men and women, were they to be the guardians of the heritage of Shakespeare, Murillo and Goethe? Through what vales of sorrow must we then go before these analphabets can teach us Westerners, who have been teaching nothing but greed and destruction? Is it here amid this age-old dirt and ignorance that the new culture is to be born? I shuddered at the vastness of the problem. Out there in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and everywhere, men either sat silent or tried to piece together a patch-work renaissance out of the shreds of a culture blown apart during the world's madness. I lay quietly in bed and through my half-shut eyes they all appeared like some Lilliputians in *Gulliver's Travels*. And here?

Suddenly out of the greyness of the approaching day rang out a peal of woman's laughter. Through the moist cold air it rippled like the

promise of an April bird. A young laughter—unaffected; it seemed to rise from the platform and covered the entire landscape with a human music. Yes, it was young Russia laughing—laughing out of its rags and disorder—laughing away the Western decadence—laughing away the

values which it will no longer recognize. I pulled the cover over my head—I wanted to treasure that brief sound—the cheer and the music of the naive young female laughter—springing out of the gloom of an early dawn at a waystation in the heart of Russia.

Soviet Russia and the Hague Conference

(Report of the Russian Delegation to the Soviet Government)

THE Hague Conference was summoned on the initiative of the Russian Government (Memorandum of May 11) to deal with the problems which had been left unsolved by the Genoa Conference. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government was at one with foreign governments in considering that the principles adopted at the Genoa Conference should not be subjected to further examination at the Hague, and, that, on the contrary, the Hague experts should begin at the point at which Genoa left off. With this premise, the Russian Delegation on its arrival at the Hague considered as firmly established the following propositions:

On the condition that Russia would be granted the credits necessary to rebuild her economic life, disorganized by intervention and the blockade, and that the claims on her for war debts would be abandoned, Russia would consent (1) to renounce her counter-claims for the damage caused by intervention and the blockade; (2) to recognize pre-war debts of the Russian State, not including arrears of interest; (3) to compensate former foreign owners of confiscated or nationalized properties by granting them preferential rights to concessions of their former properties.

Three questions, therefore, had to be decided at the Hague. The first was the size and the conditions of the credit to be granted to the Russian Government. The second was the concrete form in which pre-war debts were to be recognized. The third was the method of compensation of foreign former owners of private property.

The scheme of work for the Hague conference adopted at Genoa insisted, in spite of the objections of the Russian Delegation, in uniting the delegations of all non-Russian States in a single non-Russian Commission, thus presenting a kind of united front to the Russian Delegation.

At the Hague, the non-Russian Commission, going further along the same path, broke up into three sub-Commissions—private property, debts and credits—inviting the Russian Delegation to do the same, in order that the sub-Commissions might arrange joint sessions. At its very first interview with the President of the non-Russian Commission, the Russian Delegation refused to break up into sub-Commissions, and declared that it would participate in its entirety in the sessions of all the sub-Commissions of the non-Russian Commission, hoping in this way to ensure a permanent liaison and sequence between the labors of the various sub-Commissions.

As the success of the labors of the private property and debts sub-Commissions depended, in our opinion, upon the results obtained by the credits sub-Commission, we requested that the latter sub-Commission should be the first to meet. At this session the representatives of the non-Russian Commission asked the Russian Delegation to present a detailed plan for the economic restoration of Russia which would permit them to judge what credits were necessary. Desiring to facilitate the work of the non-Russian Commission as much as possible, and to contribute to results which would be advantageous for both parties, the Russian Delegation presented a detailed memorandum enumerating a first group of necessary expenses, which would involve foreign credits to the amount of at least 3,284,000,000 gold rubles, preferably in the form of

goods. Following upon this, in the course of two sessions, we furnished detailed verbal replies to questions put by the sub-Commission, and explained why it was indispensable that these credits should be furnished to the Soviet Government itself. No serious objection was raised against the figures we indicated.

In this way the Russian Delegation did all that lay in its power to facilitate and accelerate the work of the credits sub-Commission. Unfortunately the latter, after repeatedly evading the direct questions of the Russian Delegation, waited until the last session before declaring that no Government credits and no Government guarantees for private credits would be granted to the Russian Government. By this decision the sub-Commission rendered quite impossible any favorable outcome of the conference.

In the private property sub-Commission, the Russian Delegation declared from the outset that it stood by the proposal it made at Genoa with reference to the priority rights of former property owners to take concessions for their former enterprises. The Delegation even declared itself ready to go further, and to examine other forms of compensation for those amongst the foreign former property owners who would not be satisfied with concessions; always providing, however, that the Soviet Government would receive a firm assurance that credits would be granted to it. In point of fact, only under such circumstances could the Soviet Government have the certainty of being able to restore national economic life, and immediately thereafter commence the execution of the engagements into which it had entered.

But the sub-Commission of private property refused to examine the question of credits, as falling within the competence of another sub-Commission, and demanded of the Russian Delegation the absolute and unconditional recognition of the principle of restitution of nationalized foreign property, or of compensation therefor; and its President explained that, in the view of the sub-Commission, the sole effective compensation which the Soviet Government was in a position to make was restitution. It is evident that such a method of tackling the question could not presage any favorable issue to the labors of the sub-Commission; although the Russian Delegation, responding to its express desire, immediately furnished the sub-Commission with a list of possible concessions (not quite complete), together with the most detailed information as to the general conditions attending the grant of concessions and as to labor conditions prevailing in Russia.

The unyielding policy of the private property sub-Commission, influencing the decisions of the other sub-Commissions of the non-Russian Commission, was the principal cause of the failure of the conference as a whole. In this way the interests of the overwhelming majority of small bondholders and the economic development of Russia and Europe were sacrificed for the sake of the advantage of a relatively infinitesimal group who formerly owned property on a large scale.

The debts sub-Commission questioned us at great length on the financial situation and the budget of the Russian State. The Russian Delegation presented a detailed verbal and written report on the budget. Comrade Sokolnikov, at three successive sessions, supplied the most circumstantial explanations to the sub-Commission. Nevertheless this sub-Commission also decided to conclude its

work without having considered the concrete proposals brought forward by both parties on the questions of a moratorium and modes of payment.

An essential characteristic of the Hague Conference was that, while demanding all kinds of information of us, which we always supplied with the least delay possible and with all the details at our disposal, the non-Russian Commission never once, in any of the sub-Commissions, vouchsafed a reply to the questions formulated by us. It even rejected our proposal to collect, by means of a system of questionnaires (of which we supplied a specimen), information concerning former debts, and confiscated or nationalized goods in respect of which claims are made against the Russian Government.

On July 14 we found the three sub-Commissions of the non-Russian Commission deciding that for the future any joint session with the Russian Delegation was useless; which was equivalent to breaking up the conference. Seeing the explanation of this outcome not only in the general attitude of ill-will, founded on political considerations, of most of the experts towards the Russian Government, but also in the artificial division of the conference labors amongst three sub-Commissions, and wishing to make a last attempt to bring the conference to a satisfactory conclusion, the Russian Delegation on July 16 sent a letter to M. Patijn, President of the non-Russian Commission. In this letter we declared once again that we were ready to examine concrete methods of compensation for former property owners, provided the non-Russian Commission simultaneously considered concrete proposals for credits in our favor; and we requested a joint session of the Bureau of the non-Russian Commission with the Russian Delegation in order to arrive at a method of continuing and making a success of the conference.

In reply to this letter, M. Patijn, after declining our proposal on formal grounds, invited the Russian Delegation to attend a meeting of the private property sub-Commission for the purpose of making new proposals concerning compensation for losses suffered by former property owners. In this way the non-Russian Commission rejected our attempt to examine the problems laid before the conference in all their amplitude, refused us the possibility of raising anew the question of credits, and requested us merely to make new concessions in favor of private property without the least allusion to the credits necessary for that purpose.

We protested against this attitude of the non-Russian Commission, and demanded the summoning of a plenary session of the two Commissions, Russian and non-Russian. This session was summoned for July 19, and, in the letter announcing his consent, M. Patijn warned us once again that its sole object was to hear new proposals on our part.

Thus the non-Russian Commission, itself refusing to make any concession whatsoever, agreed only to listen to any we had to make.

In such conditions there could naturally be no question for the Russian Delegation of going further along the path of concession. We resolved to make use of this last—and only—joint session to define the real intentions of the Governments represented in the non-Russian Commission, and, if possible, to arrive at an agreement. In the person of Comrade Litvinov, the Russian Delegation drew attention to the fact that the non-Russian Commission had rejected our formulation of the various questions and our proposals, without making the least attempt clearly to formulate its own counter-proposals, i. e., the conditions on which it would consider it possible to recommend the Governments to resume relations with Russia.

Comrade Litvinov, taking as his basis declarations made in the sub-Commissions by various members of the non-Russian Commission, then attempted to formulate the probable requirements of the latter. The expression which, it seemed to him, could be given to those requirements,

was as follows: the Soviet Government recognizes in principle its obligation to pay pre-war debts and to give effective compensation to foreign former property owners who were not satisfied by concessions, offers of participation, etc. The Soviet Government binds itself to conclude an arrangement within the next two years with the interested parties on the method of debt repayment and on compensation.

If we had hit upon the correct interpretation of the demands of the non-Russian Commission, and if that Commission, not enjoying sufficient power to enunciate its demands, were to ask for the guidance of the Governments concerned on the proposal thus formulated, the Russian Delegation on its part was ready, Comrade Litvinov declared, to take the opinion of the Russian Government on the same question.

Thus the Russian Delegation consented under certain conditions to ask the Russian Government whether it agreed to continue negotiations after a radical change in their basis, that is, whether it was ready to renounce the question of credits to be granted or guaranteed to the Russian Government as a result of the conference, and to be content with the situation which logically followed from Comrade Litvinov's formula (the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government), and which would facilitate the obtaining of the necessary credits, not from Governments, but from individuals and private groups.

The non-Russian Commission did not accept in principle the proposal formulated by Comrade Litvinov, and did not consider it useful to ask the opinion of the Governments. It replied clearly and unmistakably that even concessions on the part of Russia as important as the recognition of pre-war debts and the undertaking to compensate former property owners, while at the same time agreeing not to raise further at the conference the question of governmental or Government-guaranteed credits, as well as the abandonment of the question of the Russian counterclaims, did not constitute a sufficient basis for the conclusion of a general agreement with Russia.

The Russian Delegation considers that, after a decision of this nature, there can remain no doubt, even in minds most prejudiced against the Soviet Government, as to where the responsibility really lies for the failure of the conference and of the attempts to arrive at an understanding between Russia and the other States.

After the reply of the non-Russian Commission, any necessity of specially consulting the Russian Government naturally disappeared, and the Delegation can confine itself to communicating the present report and the contents of the resolution adopted by the non-Russian Commission. The Delegation is persuaded that, if the Hague negotiations had taken place under normal circumstances, an agreement might have been reached even at this point with all the Governments concerned, or at least with the majority.

The Russian Delegation desires to draw attention to the two distinct stages through which the negotiations passed. The first is characterized by the information supplied by the Russian Delegation in reply to the requests of the non-Russian Commission. During this period the work of the conference continued in a normal and energetic way, without complications of any sort or external shocks. During the second period, when the examination of proposals and concrete requirements began, there manifested itself the divergence of interests existing amongst the participants of the non-Russian Commission. There then made itself felt a determination at all costs to force the labors of the conference in the hope of bringing about a rupture. It became clear that certain members of the non-Russian Commission—those who at Genoa raised the greatest objections to the summoning of the Hague Conference, who in the interval between Genoa and the Hague attempted to make the latter impossible, who are the most interested parties in the continuation of the financial and economic blockade of Russia, and who appear as the principal obstacle in the way of the economic restoration

of Europe—desired to wind up the conference as rapidly as possible in the fear that, were it to continue, their anti-Russian front would be broken up.

They were successful; and the conference has been prematurely broken up, without completing its labors or playing the part which had been assigned to it. But the Russian Delegation is firmly convinced that the prob-

lems discussed will soon find their solution in a form as favorable, if not more so, for Soviet Russia.

The Russian Delegation:

M. LITVINOV, *Chairman.*

L. KRASSIN.

N. KRESTINSKY.

July 21, 1922.

Cattle and Farm Stock

AMONG the many problems confronting the Russian Government in its plans for reconstruction, the replenishing and improvement of the live stock of the country holds an important place.

Little can be done as yet to increase directly the number of cattle in the country, for apart from certain very sparsely populated areas their number depends very largely upon the general agricultural position of the country, the abundance of suitable forage and fodder, and the internal and foreign demand for animal products. Consequently the commission set up by the Government to deal with this question has, up to the present, directed its attention mainly to the improvement of the breeds of cattle.

The Commission is, of course, hampered by the same difficulty that besets every enterprise in Russia—the shortage of necessary materials and equipment. Skilled workers were also lacking, as well as supplies for the personnel of the staffs, fodder for the animals, and credits. The Commission is divided into three main departments, one for the general supervision of cattle rearing, one for breeding centres and instruction, and one for all forms of live stock other than cattle.

The most serious danger threatening the Russian herds is an increasing sterility owing to the shortage of bulls. Too many of the latter have been killed for food, or because of the lack of fodder. A considerable amount of money has been spent in buying up bulls from the peasants and feeding them at various centres near good supplies of fodder. Experiments have also been made in artificial fertilization.

Courses have been organized by the second department, lasting from three to six weeks, in which peasants are taught, as far as possible by practical demonstration, the elements of scientific cattle breeding. More technical courses of from three to six months in duration have been instituted at a centre where various experiments in feeding, etc., are carried out, and where specialists are turned out, one for each county or so. Other members of the department have been investigating the breeding conditions in districts where specially valuable breeds are to be found. Agricultural co-operatives and other organizations which are endeavoring to improve the local strains of cattle are given assistance.

There are at present 1,380 breeding centres under the control of this department, and it is hoped that this number may be increased to well over 2,000. This includes tuition and experimental

centres. Travelling "exhibitions" are also being organized. Recently a certain number of breeding centres and "nurseries" have been transferred to agricultural *artels* and co-operatives, but the department will retain a general supervision over them. It will also, of course, continue to give them special facilities and material assistance.

The department for cattle rearing was able to expend some of its income on buying up from the peasants a few small valuable herds, of particularly fine stock, to prevent their being killed off. This department is also largely interested in the question of the supply of milk, and the feeding and treatment in general of cows for this purpose. It works, in this matter, mainly through the provincial departments of the Commissariat for Agriculture, but has also organized a series of courses of three, six, or thirteen weeks' duration for general instruction as to the production and handling of milk. Small laboratories dealing with the quality, etc., of the milk received have been set up in seven Russian and six Siberian provinces.

The third department has been paying special attention to the breeding of reindeer. These animals are of extreme importance throughout all northern Russia, but until the Commission took up the work of investigating their conditions and likelihood of survival no attention had been paid to them by either the central or local authorities. A specialist, who knew the capabilities of the reindeer and their possibilities for the future, was appointed to work in the provinces of Archangel, Murmansk, and the Northern Dvina, and in the Karelian Commune. He has been given a free hand, subject to supervision by the Commission. The same department deals with the breeding of sheep, and during 1921 had to take drastic action to stop the killing off of the few flocks of merino sheep in Russia. It also began investigations into the conditions in districts where the best breeds for coarser wools are found. Young rams that the peasants would otherwise have killed and eaten were bought and distributed to breeding centres in the most favorable districts. Demonstrations and courses for instruction were also organized, and an exhibition train, with lecturers, a cinematograph, etc., was sent round through Voronezh, Tsaritsin, Rostov, Krasnodar, Borisgolebsk, and Saratov—a circular route ending up at Voronezh. At some centres this train stopped for a fortnight in order to permit of short courses being given. At almost every village within reach of the railway line lectures were given and placards and

pamphlets distributed. The department is also interested in the breeding of goats and pigs. There are 206 breeding centres for the former, of which fifty are in industrial villages.

On July 21, 1921, soon after the formation of this Commission, the breeding establishments in the country covered 39,150 acres, but they contained only the following number of cattle:

Horses	1,068
Bulls	114
Cows	1,718
Pigs	264
Rams	38
Sheep	252
Goats	74

By April of this year the numbers of cattle, calves, and pigs in these centres had risen enormously. The following table gives also the number included in the plans or program worked out by the Commission:

Breeding Centres Administered by Commission

	Planned	Actual Number	%
Cattle	800	500	62.5
Calves	200	123	61.1

Breeding Centres under Local Authorities

Cattle	9,000	7,500	83.3
Calves	4,000	3,450	86.2
Pigs	15,000	10,500	70.0

The Commission has also been conducting investigations, and has published reports, on bee-keeping, silk production, and the fisheries of the Russian seas and rivers.

Work in the famine area was necessarily carried on apart from, and in addition to, the Commission's other interests. From Samara province 70,000 beasts were sent into good pasture land, from Simbirsk 40,000, and from Saratov 60,000. Other provinces show similar figures; the total is not available as the "evacuation" was still proceeding during the spring. Most of this work has been done by the Central Famine Relief Commission.

The re-stocking of the south-east with cattle will almost certainly prove to be a very profitable commercial enterprise, upon which private capital might well enter. There are large refrigerating centres at Tsaritsin, Saratov, in Samara province, and in the Urals. In 1913 about 200,000 head of cattle and 12,600 tons of meat were sent by rail from the Volga provinces to Moscow. Many more were driven on foot into neighboring provinces. In 1916, when the Government needed enormous quantities of meat, the Volga provinces provided 570,000 head of cattle and 1,450,000 head of sheep.

Each of the four large refrigerators needs repairs, the total cost of which would be about \$750,000. There are forty-five large cattle ranches in these provinces, each of which could be put in

order for \$200 or so. Live stock and supplementary equipment would cost anything up to \$7,000,000, and the working expenses per year would come out at rather under \$5 per acre, on about a million acres. On a total capitalization of well under \$23,000,000, the yearly profit is estimated by the Russian economists as being in the neighborhood of \$3,500,000.

WHERE THE TRAITORS GOT THEIR MONEY

A recent article in *Pravda* by Radek, announces the fact that documentary material found in the archives of a Paris secret organization of Social-Revolutionists has found its way into the hands of the Soviet Government. Radek also communicates the results of a preliminary examination of this material. The archives in question are those of the so-called "Administration Center", whose chief members are Kerensky, Avksentiev, Zenzinov, Brushvid, Chernov, Makhin, and other well-known Social-Revolutionaries. The preliminary investigation of the material has shown that it deals with the party activities of the Social-Revolutionaries during the year 1921. The latest documents bear the date of December 21, 1921.

Zenzinov, a member of the foreign delegation of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, writes in a letter of December 3 to Rogovsky, a member of the Administration Center, concerning a conversation with the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, Benesh:

"I discussed our possibilities, our present situation. Benesh answered: 'We consider your work to be useful and necessary both for Russia and for us. We shall not permit any condition under which you would be obliged to stop working. Beginning in January you shall have 50,000 Czech crowns every week, and I (Benesh) will make personal efforts to raise this sum to 60,000 or 65,000 crowns.'"

On December 21, Zenzinov writes to Rogovsky: "Three or four days ago I received 80,000 Czech crowns without our having made any request at all."

In a session of April 27 the Administration Center decided to limit the labors of one of its subdivisions for lack of funds, "unless the French answer", which may be taken as a proof that the organization previously received money from the French Government.

The third source of money was the former Russian Ambassador, Bakhmetiev, in whose hands considerable sums of money have been retained to the present day. On April 12 Kerensky sends cipher dispatches to Bakhmetiev through the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris:

"Received from Russia request utmost exertion forces. Your contribution was real help. It is necessary speedily to continue giving help."

The fourth source of money was the White Guard General, Bicherakhov. In the years 1918-1919 the Social-Revolutionaries received from him

20,000 francs, and in 1920 several hundred pounds sterling. A letter gives information concerning the sources of these moneys:

Bicherakhov's funds are from two sources: After the evacuation of the Persian front by the Bolsheviks, Bicherakhov organized guerilla detachments. For this activity he received a certain sum every month from the English. In addition, he had moneys that fell into his hands after the insurrection and the overthrow of the Soviet power in Baku and Petrovsk.

The Russian capitalists were the fifth source. At the time of the Kronstadt insurrection, Zeninov writes to the Administration Center:

"In order to provide foodstuffs for Kronstadt it is necessary to secure about six million Czechic crowns. It will be easier to learn in Paris where these guarantees may be obtained. It is possible that they may be given by the Russian banks and industrial leaders, or by Donissov, for they seem inclined, according to *Posledneye Novosti* and *Obshcheye Dyelo*, to support Kronstadt."

The Bread Loan

By TOM BELL

Soviet Government Prepares for The Hague

IN a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian* the radical economist Keynes, in discussing the problem of the currency, made the assertion that Soviet Russia would probably be the first country among the broken nations to reach stability in its monetary system. No doubt such a suggestion was treated in many quarters as a first-class joke.

In face of the astronomical figures that are being paid at present in Moscow for the most elementary necessities, the suggestion certainly appeared ridiculous.

But what the bourgeois minds of Europe, including the heroes of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals will not realize, or refuse to recognize, is the plain fact that Soviet Russia is not a mere "utopian experiment". They don't seem to understand the fact that the Russian revolution is the unfolding of a new social system to which the canons of the old bourgeois order do not apply. It is not that they haven't been treated to some sharp lessons. Freed from the restraints of private greed and aggrandizement, the Soviet Government has time and time again solved apparently the most intricate problems in a plain, matter-of-fact, common sense way that is baffling to the minds of the bourgeois politicians and diplomats.

Thus, while the bourgeois publicists and statesmen chant the phrases of self-determination of subject nations, the Soviet Government blandly renounces all claims to territory, as in the case of Persia, and backs that up by a cancellation of indebtedness, as in the Rapallo Treaty:

Its diplomats go to Genoa and put the pacifist humbugs to shame by proposing a universal disarmament. To the arguments of the bourgeois economists who assure a poverty stricken world that there can be no stability until Europe returns to a gold basis, the common sense method is proposed of pooling the gold resources and so solving the problem. For these and other sane views the Soviet delegation is laughed out of court.

In the meantime, if the imperialists think that by prolonging the agony for another four months they can still further weaken the proletarian power, they are very much mistaken.

Denied credit or financial assistance, despite the fact that Europe is in as much need of the market in Russia as the Soviet Government is in need of economic assistance, the proletarian power has once again proven its resourcefulness.

Just as the imperialists during the war raised money and stimulated patriotism by means of their "Victory Bonds" and "Liberty Bonds", so the Soviet Government is characteristically issuing its Bread Loan.

The Bread Loan

This Bread Loan in contrast to a gold loan is very significant. It marks vividly the difference between the proletarian government and a capitalist power.

In Soviet Russia to-day, on account of the reduced economic life of the country, bread means more than gold. Besides, even if a gold loan were floated, in a short time the obligations of the Government would have to be met and they would get short of funds. And so the project of the People's Commissariat for a "Short Term Internal State Bread Loan" was enthusiastically endorsed at the last Session of the All-Russian Executive Committee of the Soviets. The terms of the loan, having regard to the present position of the country and the general economic life of the poorer peasants are, to use the language of the bourgeois financiers, certainly very attractive. Since it is a Bread Loan, grain is taken as the standard of value. The average price of grain throughout Russia has been estimated at 400 rubles (new style)* per pood. Bonds for this value are issued at a discount of 5 per cent, redeemable between December 21, 1922, and January 31, 1923, and the whole scheme backed up by a Government fund of 10,000,000 rubles.* The advantages of this Loan are incalculable, while its purpose is explained with that frankness that marks every move of the Soviet Government.

It is freely acknowledged, for example, that without credits the economic re-building of Russia is bound to be seriously retarded. That is admitted to be the big problem before the Revolution.

*One new style ruble equals 10,000 paper rubles.

But allied to the economic disabilities of the moment is the financial crisis. It says much for the vitality of the proletarian system that it has not collapsed before this. Certainly in no bourgeois country could the financial system have lasted so long, and here there are valuable lessons to be learned in the experience of the Russian Revolution. But in proportion as the Soviet Government has been obliged to make concessions to the petty industry, and permitted speculation, the rapidity with which the ruble has declined has been accelerated. These two problems had to be met. The Bread Loan is intended, and certainly will do a great deal, to meet both difficulties.

To begin with, the project is launched at a most suitable time. In anticipation of the coming good harvest, the peasants are presently responding to the markets with their saved up supplies. This has been noticeable in the arrest, and in a few cases the decline, of the prices of some of the more elementary necessities. At the same time it is no secret that the continuous variation in the paper ruble has had a disastrous effect on the Soviet Trusts, cooperatives and other enterprises. These bodies, in order to escape the effects of the depreciating ruble, often invested in goods of no particular urgency for the moment, thus jumping out of the frying pan into the fire, since their purchases only stimulated the very speculation evils they were trying to avoid.

As a matter of fact, the feverish buying and selling at the moment resembles a game of tossing the ball to each other.

A Blow at Speculation

The Bread Loan will deal a heavy blow to all this speculation. Those peasants, for example, who invest their surplus grain in the Bread Bonds, will guarantee themselves from the depreciation of the ruble. In this way the peasant is stabilizing the price of his grain for at least the period of six months. And since bread is in reality the standard of value in Soviet Russia, the impetus given to yielding supplies to the Government on account of this stabilization and the other advantages accruing from the success of the Loan, a reaction on prices all along the line is sure to take place.

A further inducement to the peasant to take up the Bread Loan with enthusiasm is the offer of the Government to accept these Bonds in lieu of the tax in kind, and as in cases where these Bonds are purchased by grain (one pood to the value of 400 rubles,* less 5 per cent) the Government will itself collect them. This saving in the time and cost of transport is obviously of tremendous help to the peasants.

Success of the Measure

What effect the success of the Bread Loan will have on the town population, particularly the workers, is incalculable. Certainly it will have the most far reaching consequences.

Anyone who has visited the factories and workshops in Russia knows that the "Elixir of Life" for industry is a plentiful supply of bread. I have been assured of this times out of number in the many factories I have visited. Responsible managers have explained to me, in cases where the plant is obviously understaffed so far as its capacity for output is concerned, that it is impossible to employ workmen because of the difficulties in finding bread supplies, and further, on account of the low rations, even those workers employed were unable to give of their best. But if the Soviet Stores, Co-operatives and Workers' Trusts are assured of plentiful supplies of bread on account of the success of this Loan, not only will fuller rations be available, but the stabilization, and in many cases actual reduction of prices, will enhance the value of money wages.

Side by side with this stabilization in prices and its effects on wages, a more normal situation will be created for the development and stimulation of industrial enterprise generally, including the rebuilding of the means of transportation upon which so much depends in Russia, by the slackening of the money printing press, evidence of which is already noticeable.

A Warning to Shylock

Of course, it is understood that gambling and trading will go on with these Bonds just as in Europe; the financial Cheat is always ready to play the part of the "Kind Man" to the poor Bondholder who must realize his Bond for immediate cash. We can be assured all this has been anticipated and measures will be taken to meet such a situation.

The great thing is the fact that the "money bags" of Europe are going to receive a sharp lesson in the character and self-sufficiency of the proletarian system in yet another direction. Already they have had it brought home to them that the first Workers' and Peasants' Government is not the government of a nation of helots.

The Imperialists have been beaten in war, thanks to the glorious Red Army. They have been put to shame in diplomacy at Genoa. When their experts assemble at the Hague they would do well to remember the fate of Shylock.

Lloyd George attributed much of the strength of the Soviet diplomats at Genoa to the inspiration of the May Day celebration. That inspiration will be maintained in the certain success of the Bread Loan.

Volume VI of Soviet Russia

includes all the issues that appeared from the beginning of January to the end of June this year, (344 pages, with many illustrations, maps, and charts). Also, you will find in these pages a full account of the F. S. R. activities, together with a list of all contributions received from January 1 to May 31, 1922. Bound in durable cloth, \$3.

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IN one of our former issues (July 1, 1922), in writing about the Moscow trial, we remarked that "the worst that can happen to them (the accused) is to be detained in prison until the safety of the Soviet Republic is completely assured, i. e., as long as the party whose leaders they are persists in its armed struggle against the Soviet institutions, and as long as the country is menaced by foreign foes." Our prediction has virtually been confirmed by the sentence pronounced. For what else does the death sentence, commuted on condition that the party cease "all underground and conspirative acts of terrorism, espionage and insurrection" mean? True, this practically amounts to taking hostages—a procedure which some may declare to be barbarous. It would have been more "generous" to deport them, or better still, give them complete freedom. The Soviet Government did such things once—in the beginning of 1918, when it had Generals Krasnov, Denikin, and practically all the later leaders of the Whites, in its hands. It freed them and they promised not to fight against the Soviet Government. All the world knows how their word was kept, and how dear the Workers' Republic had to pay for its beautiful and generous gesture. The Social Revolutionists would show exactly the same "gratitude" as did the monarchist reactionaries. They do not recognize the Soviet Government and are frankly determined not to rest until Lenin, Trotsky, Lunacharsky, and all the rest, have gone the way of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Landauer and Leviné, until the Soviets may have yielded to a capitalist "democratic" republic of the German type, with the "Socialist" Chernov or Avksentiev—Russian versions of Ebert and Noske—as ornamental figureheads, and France and England as real masters of the country. Beautiful as this prospect may be, the Russian Communists are not

very enthusiastic about it. They have not yet seen fit to rise to the heights of a Gandhi, who a few weeks ago, when asked by a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* what he would do if attacked by a crocodile, answered: "I should say, or rather, I ought to say: 'Thy need is greater than mine—devour me.'" Having the choice between the saintly and not very wise Indian Tolstoyan and the cynical French wit Alphonse Karr, they would probably, in matters of revolution, give the preference to the latter, who, concerning a proposed abolishment of capital punishment, remarked: "Que messieurs les assassins commencent!" (Let our friends the assassins make the start!)

* * *

BUT so far our friends the assassins have not begun to let the Russian Revolution alone. Only a few weeks ago the Soviet authorities succeeded in getting hold of the archives of the foreign representation of the accused party—stored in Kerensky's house in Paris. The gentlemen who organized armed robberies of money deposited in Soviet institutions will probably be indignant about the methods employed in obtaining these archives. Their indignation is quite comprehensible, for the papers seized prove that this party, parading under the mask of "Socialism", lived on subsidies from the French Government, the Czecho-Slovak Government, and—Bakhmetiev. Some of these extracts—documents of 1921—are reprinted in the present issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

As far as we know, the governments prevailing at present in the three countries involved—for it need not be pointed out that Bakhmetiev did not use his own money—are not exactly interested in spreading Socialist propaganda and supporting Socialist agitators—Russian or otherwise. And they are just as little interested in principles of any kind—"democratic" or otherwise. Their colonial policy (the Czechs too have their colonies—the German and Slovak dependencies) gives ample proof of this. They are interested only in very prosaic matters—their profits, threatened by the shattering of capitalist domination in Russia—and the bad example given thereby to "their" workers. To reestablish capitalist supremacy and give the Russian workers as well as the working class at large a "lesson", was the only purpose for which they subsidized the activities of these "Socialists". And as the Chernovs, Avksentiev and Kerenskys are intelligent enough to know what is going on in this prosaic world, they cannot help being perfectly aware that a Russia "reconstructed" with the help of French and other foreign money was to be nothing but a vast colony in which the Russian peasants and workers were to slave for French, Belgian, English financiers—under the supervision of the "democratically" elected "Social Revolutionist" and Menshevik intellectuals and other outright bourgeois elements. Thus they committed a double treason: to Russian independence and to the working class alike. The men on trial in Moscow were the more courageous

wing of these foreign-paid "Socialists"; and as far as they are determined to use all means to carry out their beautiful "ideal"—the Soviet Government owes it to the Russian as well as to the international working class not to desist from its "barbarous" methods of self-defense.

THE American press, capitalist and "Socialist" alike, is unanimous in its harsh condemnation of the sentence passed upon the counter-revolutionists on trial in Moscow. The *New York Call* calls it "one of the greatest tragedies in history", adding that "the tragedy lies in the shattering of the ideals of the millions of workers who have looked towards Soviet Russia with hope and joy as the one ray of light in a black and a hate-crazed world". There is no doubt that a great tragedy is involved in this affair. But the tragic element is to be sought in quite another quarter. The tragedy lies in the fact that the last and most effective standard-bearers of capitalist counter-revolution, against the Workers' Republic, call themselves "Socialists". And that they are upheld as "proletarian" martyrs by the Socialist parties of the world. And that there are honest sentimentalists, even in the camp of the sympathizers with Soviet Russia, who take their "Socialist" protestations at face value. It is only a part of the great tragedy of the working class—that it is not only exploited and oppressed by the capitalist owners of the industries and the soil—but that it is also cheated and hypnotized by its alleged friends. For the role of modern Socialism, as represented by all the Socialist parties all over the world, was not the real struggle for working class emancipation. It was a struggle for "more democracy", for a more modern capitalism, in a word, for bourgeois progress. The masses were to be won for this struggle by occasional assistance in their peaceful trade union conflicts, and by enlightening propaganda. But the real beneficiaries were the intellectuals and former workers who thus gained a decent bourgeois livelihood as politicians, job-holders, preachers. The struggle for democracy, political job-hunting, and the preaching of a beautiful Socialist "beyond"—for it was not to be obtained by the living generation—is the essence of the "proletarian" gospel of the old-time Socialists who never were revolutionary enemies but only discontented critics of the bourgeois system. But under the cover of phrases of revolutionary sound, which sometimes they themselves believed, they acquired a reputation which made them feared by the bourgeoisie and gave them the sympathy of the workers. But the bourgeoisie soon enough found them out; it saw that whenever the hungry masses asked for bread, the Socialist preachers fed them with dreams, with their Socialist "beyond" that would come in due time—after capitalism should have attained a greater degree of concentration—say, after a few generations. The attitude of the Socialist parties during the war and afterwards, when they saved Western Europe from the Bolshevik "contagion", the ex-

ploits of Noske, Scheidemann, Pilsudski, Thomas, fully proved that they were flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of the bourgeoisie. But while the bourgeoisie is now fully aware of this fact—the workers, or at least large sections of the workers—more gullible and credulous—still believe in their old leaders who "gave them hope".

Those Socialist leaders are very prompt with quotations from Karl Marx. But they have very prudently forgotten that the pioneer said, of political parties, that they "are not to be judged by their programs, by what they say about themselves, but by their actions". According to this criterion, which is the only true criterion, the Russian "Socialist" Revolutionists and their defenders among the Socialist parties have as much in common with the aspirations of the working class, as have the Czecho-Slovak, French and American money interests, which through their governmental subsidies are backing their "Socialist" activities against the Soviet Government.

MR. Vandervelde, lawyer, millionaire, patriot, Cabinet Minister for the King of Belgium during the War and signatory of the Allied edition of the Peace of Brest Litovsk, at the same time undisputed leader of the Belgian labor movement—with the effect, as Gompers once maliciously pointed out, that the wages of the Belgian workers are the lowest in the world—has returned from Moscow. He had gone there to defend the "Socialist Revolutionists" on trial for their lives for having attempted to destroy the Soviet Republic and its leaders. He has given his impressions of his journey to many papers and many audiences. One of his accounts was published in the August issue of *Our World*.

It would be an exaggeration to assert that the gentleman was exceedingly enthusiastic over what he found in Moscow after having been there before, in 1914 and 1917, at a time when Russia had not yet "betrayed" her Allies, and was still fighting under the Tsar as well as under Milyukov and Kerensky, for freedom and democracy as it prevails at present in Western Europe and elsewhere. He speaks of the broken water pipes, of the woodwork that has had to be used as fuel, of the dirt prevailing in the Soviet establishments and in the apartments. But he has nice words also for his hosts. "The theatres are crowded. There is excellent music in the Conservatory. The museums are notably enriched, thanks to judicious expropriations." Some of his compliments seem a little dubious, as when he says: "Alcohol being prohibited, one never meets a drunken person," which does not sound very plausible to the law-abiding inhabitants of a prohibition country like America, but seems to prove that Comrade Vandervelde is a theoretical believer in prohibition and that, like the great men of other great countries, having probably himself a large cellar of exquisite wines, he wishes to increase his enjoyment of them by denying them to other persons. Moreover, there

is no general prohibition in Russia, beer and wine being freely sold, and advertised in Russian papers.

Being a good observer, Vandervelde was quick to find out that there is no communism in Russia at present, that neither beggars nor the rich have been eliminated, and that the New Economic Policy is facilitating the development of a new bourgeoisie. He was not so quick to find out, when he was a Royal Minister of Belgium, that the War was not waged for democracy and freedom but for other purposes, and at that time he even became famous by his speeches delivered to Senegalese Negro soldiers, praising them for their admirable fight for Civilization. He was not disturbed at that time by the fact that the Allied champions of freedom were using as cannon-fodder their disfranchised colonial subjects, but he is now disturbed by the fact that "a whole group of professional soldiers surrounds Trotsky" (which no doubt should give concern to the French bondholders and Belgian creditors); and he is also displeased by the curious "return to ancient customs" displayed by the great diversity of uniforms—as if he did not know that in most cases these uniforms are remainders of old stock, used only because of a lack of the opportunities to provide all the soldiers with the same uniforms....

Speaking of the "real net results of the Revolution", he credits it with three achievements: First, the complete uprooting of Tsarism (which the Allied governments, whose policy he supported until recently, did their best to reestablish); second, the expropriation of the landed estates by the peasants who are now holding the land (and which, if the Western "democracies" so beloved of Vandervelde should have had their way, would be now an empty gesture, as all the produce would have to go to pay the Russian pre-war and war "obligations"); and third, the nationalization of industry, which turned out to be a failure....

Vandervelde does not attempt to analyze the causes which for the time being rendered the establishment of Communism in Russia, accompanied by a complete abolishment of class lines, impossible. He states the fact and—is obviously pleased. So much so that at the end of his article he energetically advocates the recognition of the Soviet Government. We will not discuss the sincerity of this proposal. But it is certainly characteristic for the "Socialism" of this respectable champion of the working class, that—as the Minister of one of the belligerent countries in 1917 and 1918—he was an open enemy of the Revolution at the time when it had an obviously communist character and was a menace to world capitalism; and that he began to advocate its recognition when he became convinced that after all capitalism had not completely disappeared under the blows of the Revolution.

THE cover design of this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA is a woodcut by J. J. Lankes. That of the last preceding issue was by Käthe Kollwitz, a famous German artist.

RAW MATERIALS FOR SALE

Russian Information and Review, published in London as the official organ of the Russian Trade Delegation, prints an important advertisement in its issue of August 1, which we reprint in full below, as it may be of interest to American purchasers of the materials in question:

"RUSSIA'S RAW MATERIAL: Arcos Limited, 49 Moorgate, London, E. C. 2, Sole Purchasing Agency in England for the Russian Government, acting on behalf of the Russian Trade Delegation in Great Britain, imports from Russia:

"Timber from Northern Russia, Western Russia, Dnieper Region, Upper Volga. Tar, pitch, turpentine, from Archangel District.

"Minerals: Asbestos, Graphite, Mica, Platinum, Precious Stones, Manganese Ore, High-grade Iron Ore, Zinc, Lead, and Copper Ores, Glauber Salt, etc.

"Oil Products: Kerosene, Petrol, Lubricating Oils, Fuel Oils.

"Cement.

"Fibres: Flax, Hemp, Jute.

"Animal Products: Hides, Skins, Furs, Bristles, Casings, Horsehair, Bones, Wool, Feathers, Down, Horns, Hoofs, etc.

"Chemicals, Drugs: Calamus Root, Aniseed Oil, Aniseed, Elder Flowers, Coriander Seed, Juniper Oil, Juniper Berries, Soap Root, Oil of Peppermint, Oil of Siberian Fir, Santonine, Wormseed, Lycopodium, Carbonate of Potash, Acetate of Lime, Hops, Linseed, etc.

"Eggs, Poultry, Game, etc.

"Peasant Hand-made Goods, Carpets, etc."

All persons interested in acquiring such materials should communicate with Arcos at the address given above.

ARRIVAL OF TANK CARS

Kharkov, July 29.—In the harbor of Novorossiisk there arrived fifty tank cars which had been ordered by the Soviet Government from English and German firms. This is the first instalment of the thousand tank cars which the Soviet Government has ordered in England and Germany. In a few days a further shipment is expected.

PEASANTS OF THE FAMINE REGION PROTECTED

Moscow, July 28.—News comes from Tsaritsin that the peasants of the famine regions have often sold their crops before the harvest to the rich peasants in order to get the necessary agricultural implements and foodstuffs. The Executive Committee of the provinces involved has declared all these contracts void, and has granted credit for loans to the peasants.

RUSSO-GERMAN RELATIONS

Moscow, July 28.—In the course of one year Russia has ordered goods in Germany to the value of three billion marks, and at the same time has exported to Germany goods valued at seven hundred million marks. Compared with the pre-war trade figures this is not much, but it is significant that trade between these two countries is continually increasing. The trade balance of May, 1922 is, for instance, fifteen times larger than that of May, 1921.

Enver Pasha's Adventure Ending

This interesting item, by Jacob Peters, on the activities of Enver Pasha in Russian Central Asia was printed in the Moscow "Izvestya" of July 18.

THE *Izvestya* recently published telegrams announcing the defeat of the forces of Enver Pasha, and the progress made by the Red Army in the east, beyond Dyushambe-Hissar. This movement took place without serious struggles or unusual difficulties, beyond those of the climate which was killing those fighters who were unaccustomed to the heat of the southeast. But the advance of the Red forces has a remendous moral significance.

The circumstance that the authorities of Bukhara, together with the Bukharian and Russian Red army, were prudent in the conduct of their military and political operations, sparing the misguided population, was interpreted by the adherents of Enver's adventure as a sign of weakness on the part of the revolutionary forces of Bukhara, and Enver's advance from Dyushambe to Baisun was claimed in Afghanistan, Turkey, and other countries bordering on Eastern Bukhara as a victory of Enver. But the revolutionary forces needed only to begin their activities, and the adventure of the "Ameer" began to break down completely.

To illustrate his situation I shall quote extracts from his intercepted letters.

First extract, from a letter of Enver to the former Ameer of Bukhara of June 19, 1922: "Dear Brother Gazi: Yesterday, early in the morning, the Russians began to advance from Budjan-Shirabad and Vandikhan. After a long struggle we ran short of cartridges, for which reason I was forced to discontinue the fight and to retreat. The cause of all this is Ibrahim Bek, on whom I can utter only curses."

The second letter deals with similar difficulties encountered by Enver Pasha, and it becomes obvious from these how small was the number of those willing to follow him in the task of reestablishing the tyranny of the Ameer. His slogan "Liberation of the Mahommedans" more and more assumes in the eyes of the masses the aspect of a mere gamble. The interference of Afghanistan in this affair shows that all this has nothing to do with an international fraternal union of Mohammedan countries, and that the Mohammedan countries, like those of the West, are thinking only of converting their weaker neighbors into colonies.

As far back as 1921 the Afghan Government submitted an ultimatum to Bukhara, which demanded that practically two-thirds of the population of Bukhara become Afghan subjects. The intervention of Afghanistan in Enver's adventure proves that it has aggressive intentions. The fact that Afghanistan gave asylum to the former Ameer of Bukhara as well as the fact that he was given a considerable armed body guard, shows that like the "saviors" of Russia he is ready to yield anything to Afghanistan and to Enver as long as he is given an opportunity to return to power.

I repeat, the sound element in Bukhara has al-

ready grasped the nature of Enver's "liberation" of the Mohammedans, and Enver has remained isolated. The latest attempts of his agents to organize a conspiracy in Bukhara proper, and to make a terrorist attempt on the life of the leader of the Revolution in Bukhara, Comrade Feisyl-Khodyayev, was just as unsuccessful as all of his adventure.

This report, dated as far back as July 18, lends color to the newspaper reports according to which Enver Pasha was killed in Eastern Bukhara on August 5, in a battle against Russian Soviet forces.

The death of Enver brings to an end the typical career of a "national" revolutionary hero who, being one of the fearless tribe of the Pilsudskis, the Savinkovs, the Carranzas and Sun Yat Sens, has like them repeatedly risked his life for "freedom"—i. e., for the liberation of his country from its inefficient and corrupt feudal masters—in order to substitute for them a modern "democratic" brand of capitalism and imperialism.

It was he who in 1908—then an army major—at the head of a little band of mutineers started the revolt against the rotten regime of the bloody Abdul Hamid, a revolt that finally led to the disestablishment of that despot. The "Party of Union and Progress", as the Young Turks called themselves—once at the helm of the government, brought its pioneer to the highest honors.

He had opportunity to display his principles of "Unity and Progress" when as Germany's Ally during the world war he demanded and obtained in the Brest-Litovsk peace practically all of the Caucasus, with its rich oil fields—on the principle of "self-determination".

After the German defeat he had to flee his country, and as Soviet Russia remained the only force opposing the world domination of the French and British, he quite naturally tried to connect his cause, the cause of the Mohammedan nationalities, with the cause of Russia. Knowing that his attitude at Brest-Litovsk was not forgotten, he tried to exculpate himself at the Conference of the Eastern populations called to Baku in the Fall of 1920. But his anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist tirades he pronounced in his Baku statement did not delude our Russian comrades, and he was fully aware of their distrust.

He finally started an intrigue with the Ameer of Afghanistan who although willingly accepting Russian help against British encroachments, on the other hand was aware of the Red spirit coming from Turkestan, Khiva and Bokhara, and feared for his throne. And so he supported Enver's ambitious aspirations to become the ruler of Russian Central Asia, so as to make this part of the world safe for Mohammedan feudal rulers. But the romantic days of Tamerlane seem to be irrevocably past.—*Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.*

Books Reviewed

KARL RADEK: *Wege der russischen Revolution.* 1922. Verlag der Kommunistischen Internationale, Carl Hoym Nachf. Louis Cahnbley, Hamburg.—*Ways of the Russian Revolution.* 1922. Paper, 71 pp.

The Russian revolution of the year 1917 can be understood only as a consistent and inevitable continuation of the revolution of 1905-1906. Radek proves that the social roots of the drama of 1905 were the same as those of the drama of 1917. "The revolution of 1905 was the prelude of the revolution of 1917. In the former all those classes were lined up in battle which twelve years later were found locking horns under entirely different circumstances, and therefore the former encounter brought about the formulation of all the questions that are now being answered in practice by the acts and destinies of the Russian revolution." Two circumstances necessarily influenced in a decisive manner the Russian workers' movement and the tactics of the Russian workers' parties as early as 1905. First, the retarded development of Russian industry and the resulting comparatively subordinate situation of Russian capitalism as opposed to feudalism and Tsarism. Second, the fact that there was only a numerically insignificant proletariat as compared with the many millions of the peasantry. The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were already agreed in 1905 that the Russian revolution would first afford a free opportunity for the development of capitalism. But while the Mensheviks drew the inference that the bourgeoisie should be entrusted with the conduct of the revolution, the Bolsheviks defended the view that the working class together with the peasantry must seize power, if the Russian revolution was to carry out thoroughly even so much as its bourgeois, democratic aims. The Bolsheviks therefore wanted to draw the peasantry, not only the working class, into the struggle. Their conception of the function of the working class in the revolution was the first fundamental difference between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks.

As the revolution of 1905 was a failure, it had no opportunity to answer all the questions that were already at that epoch put up with absolute distinctness. But it has clearly shown the way to the only possible answers; it was a move in the present direction. If in their severe struggles against the bourgeoisie, for their immediate demands, before and after the 1905 revolution, the workers were not sufficiently enlightened as to their relation to the bourgeoisie—the course of that revolution itself showed that the bourgeoisie in spite of Tsarist oppression, could be considered only as a component part of the counter-revolution. In spite of its feigned opposition, it was an obedient and grateful slave of Tsarism; and as it was precisely the bourgeois capitalist policy that was largely responsible for the war, and as the bourgeoisie became after the overthrow of the Tsar the principal obstacle to an immediate conclusion of the war, the revolution of 1917 automatically became a revolution against the Russian bourgeoisie. It was this bourgeoisie—supported by the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—which was opposed to the distribution of the soil, to the improvement of the situation of the proletariat, because this "disorder" would impede the conduct of the war. Thus the struggle of the workers and the peasants simultaneously becomes a struggle against the war and against the bourgeoisie, which become two indissolubly connected conceptions. The question of whether the bourgeoisie or the proletariat and peasantry should assume leadership in the revolution became the question of continuing or ending the war. Lenin and the Bolsheviks had understood this, while the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks had not. But here was the decisive factor in the further course of events which—as Radek splendidly shows—necessarily moved toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, constantly producing new forces out of its own circumstances.

The formation of soldiers', workers' and peasants' soviets (Radek calls them "the new factor not foreseen by Marxian analysis") was only the consistent continuation of the

revolution of 1905, the bridge passing from this revolution to that of 1917. It is interesting to read that the Russian revolutionists did not see in the workers' soviets of the revolution of 1905 the germs of the future organized form of proletarian power, but only organizations of the struggle against the bourgeois government. And one acquires a profound belief in the inevitability of historic evolution when one reads that the Russian workers originally had no revolutionary purposes when they undertook to control production, but desired only an immediate improvement of their own condition materially. But, "in revolution the masses mature very quickly"—and the Russian workers who had placed the control of production in the hands of the factory committees, and the peasant masses, who in spite of the warnings of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, drove the landed proprietors by force of arms from their estates—were inevitably pushed into a position where they had to break up the bourgeois republic and its bourgeois-Tsarist oppression apparatus, and to set up their own dictatorship.

But Lenin and the Bolsheviks were not for a moment in doubt that Russia would not be capable alone of introducing Socialism. In 1917 Lenin already wrote, literally:

"The party of the proletariat can by no means undertake to introduce Socialism in the country of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, before the great majority of the population has come to understand the necessity of the Socialist revolution."

The Russian revolution never pretended to be anything more than the "first beat of the European revolution", and it therefore had a right to assume that it would not remain isolated and be exposed alone to the onslaughts of the capitalist world. The Russian revolution was not "made by poor Marxists"; "it was an historic result" that could be denied only by the blindness of doctrinaires or the folly of émigrés blinded by class hatred. But the more it became clear that the revolution in other parts of Europe would not become victorious for some time, the more it was necessary for the victorious Russian revolution to undertake to solve its most burning problems alone for the moment.

Radek then comes to the New Policy, which, as he points out, is new only in so far as its application has been impossible before this. As one of his proofs that the Bolsheviks, long before what the Mensheviks of the various shades are in the habit of calling "the bankruptcy of Communism", were quite clear as to the fact that in an isolated Russia it was not possible to introduce Communism, and that a compromise policy would have to be pursued, Radek adduces an article written by him in jail in Berlin in December 1919, and printed in the Berlin edition of the *Communist International* under the pseudonym of "Struthahn". In this article it is already pointed out that the world revolution is conquering capitalism not in the form of an "explosion" but in that of a "disintegration"; in other words, as a long process, and that Soviet Russia can therefore not evade the task of seeking and finding a *modus vivendi* with those states which remain capitalistic. "Already in the spring of 1918 the Soviet Government was faced with the question of economic compromises", and it is well known that it left no stone unturned to arrive at a practical solution of this question. The Bolsheviks negotiated with the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries after the downfall of Kerensky, in order to arrive at a compromise, but in vain! The Bolsheviks knew from the start that socialization in agriculture, as in all other fields, would be a long process, lasting generations in Russia, and from the very outset of their rule they therefore worked for a compromise with the peasantry. Likewise, they continually sought to find contact with world capital. "None who follows the history of the Russian revolution as a historian, not as a moralizing preacher, can help recognizing in the policy of the Bolsheviks a consistent line of conduct adapted to necessity."

Already in the above mentioned article of December,

1919, Radek tried to give an answer to the "final question": Whether the proletarian dictatorship can be maintained simultaneously with a compromise with world capital. "What are the limits of the economic concessions that Soviet Russia may make?" he asks in this article. "The limits that are set to the economic concessions that may be made by Soviet Russia to Entente capital are social in their nature. It is a matter in the first place of labor conditions, which must not be lower than the conditions of the rest of the proletariat, and it is also a matter of the ratio between the production of the concessioned enterprises to the general economic plan of the Soviet Republic. The contracts must determine the proportion of production that is to go to the organized Russian economy", etc., etc. The Bolsheviki were fully aware of the dangers of this policy, but they could not do otherwise; moreover, they did not for a moment lose faith in world revolution. "But while the world revolution is being slowly but surely accomplished, as we may assume, consideration for the interests of foreign capitalism must not attain a compass or a duration that would threaten the actual power of the proletariat.—We have decided to make concessions because we know that we shall be ultimately victorious."

Radek set down these views in December, 1919, at a moment of decisive victories of the Red Army, which is perhaps the best proof that the Bolsheviki did not permit their eyes to be beclouded, by victories of any kind, to the real possibilities. They understood clearly that the greater portion of Russian industrial life would for a long time assume the form of a petty bourgeois production of commodities, and that in view of the tardy course of the world revolution compromises with world capitalism would be inevitable. But the question forces itself upon us: why did the Soviet Government attempt to pursue a contrary policy until the spring of 1921? Radek cites the well known events of this period, showing that the Soviet Government had been forced by an uninterrupted struggle, with internal as well as foreign counter-revolution, to deviate from its original plan. While the battle for the mere existence of the Soviet order was raging, there was no possibility of any compromise. It was impossible to yield to the bourgeoisie, with whom the life and death struggle was going on, the means of production that were the basis of its economic power. It was impossible—owing to the fact that the necessary apparatus had not been perfected—to obtain from the peasantry the foodstuffs necessary for a prosecution of the war, in the form of a natural tax. "It was a policy of war and victory. And as it was not possible for us to be victorious otherwise, and as we were victorious by this course, we may see that history has pronounced its verdict on our methods. And this verdict says: *This course was not an error; it was the course of victory!* Is it maintained that in the course of years of severe struggle errors were committed? Lenin and the Bolsheviki are the last to deny or embellish this fact. "Just as it would be ridiculous to deny that in battle we made many errors, so it would be ridiculous to deny that our ideology, isolated from life, very often transformed the temporary and transitory measures of our policy into a system that began to influence the measures and prolong them further, beyond the necessary period."

The introduction of the new economic policy coincided with the signing of the Russo-English Trade Agreement, and with the putting down of the Kronstadt insurrection—two events that are connected not only in date but in their cause. The Kronstadt event—which Radek calls "an echo of a profound fermentation in the masses of the peasantry"—was a warning signal that the new course might not longer be delayed. But again the economic plans of the Bolsheviki were to a great extent frustrated by the Polish war and the simultaneous attack of Wrangel. "At the beginning of 1921 it became clear that economic reconstruction would be a slow matter at best."

Radek then gives a short description of the difference between the former policy of requisition and the new policy of natural tax, which led to concessions to the urban bourgeoisie and to the revival of middle and petty

industry. The petty and middle enterprises are leased to workers' cooperatives, as well as to private persons. In addition, in order to attract foreign machinery, concessions are granted. By this policy of course, a petty bourgeois class is formed, which is joined by the resuscitating petty and middle bourgeoisie of the cities. "The foreign concession capital is the great capitalist class." These new class formations of course conceal many dangers. They are counterbalanced by the fact that state power is in the hands of the proletariat. The peasant to be sure will work the land "freely", but the soil remains nationalized, which will prevent the formation of great landed estates. The industrial enterprises will be only leased and will remain therefore under state control. The fact that the proletariat also controls the means of transportation is of great importance in its rule over the entire economic life of the country.

No doubt Russia, independent of the outcome of the Genoa and Hague Conferences, will encounter new difficulties. The paths of the Russian revolution will pass through many danger zones as yet unexplored by any Marxian, in which the Bolsheviki will have to depend alone on their revolutionary instincts, and on their tactical skill, of which they have so often given brilliant indications. But precisely the conduct of the Russian delegations at Genoa and The Hague has again proved to us that these paths—uneven and winding though they may be under the pressure of circumstances—always remain the paths of the Russian revolution and never deviate from the interests of the Russian and the world proletariat. Radek shows in his pamphlet not only why the paths of the Russian revolution even after Genoa had to lead to the table around which the greatest enemies to the world proletariat were seated, but also that this path will ultimately lead to the victory of the world proletariat.

EUGENE PAUL (Prague)

H. G. WELLS: *Washington and the Riddle of Peace*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 312 pp. Cloth. 1922.

Although for Mr. Wells the existence of bourgeois and non-bourgeois writers must be just as much a *phantom unreality* as that of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat themselves, Mr. Wells is nevertheless a bourgeois writer.

He is a bourgeois writer because he is capable of disposing of all the revolutionists by asking them to tell him *just exactly what people constitute the proletariat*, and of the entire socialist economics by satirically applying the doctrine that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common "to a works foreman who is being taken in a train by an engine driver to see how the house he is having built for him by a building society is getting on", in order to prove that there is no such thing as employer and employed, and to declare that "the stuff (not his own writing but the doctrine) is sheer nonsense".* But the members of Mr. Wells' class were in great consternation and amazement when he proposed that the Russian Soviets should be left alone to develop freely. Mr. Wells was utterly incapable of understanding the Russian Revolution. With the mind of the average bourgeois he could do nothing better in Russia than be among the dead shops of Petrograd, so unlike those of Bond Street and Piccadilly in London, on a Sunday, "with the blinds neatly drawn down in a decorous sleep and ready to wake up and begin again on Monday", and the pleasant audience and the warm, brightly-lit places of some great city *full of life and abundance*. Mr. Wells expresses himself and feels like a bourgeois. He has no economic interest in sustaining the communist government of Russia. How could he then propose that such a course be taken by the capitalist governments toward their common enemy, the bolsheviks?

The answer to that question we shall find in this later book of Mr. Wells, *Washington and the Riddle of Peace*. Russia is often referred to, and one thing is made plain: that there is nothing at the bottom of this attitude of

*In his *Russia in the Shadows*.

Mr. Wells in favor of letting Russia alone, except his desire to be original. Cheap cleverness is at the foundation of his career, as it is at the bottom of the vogue of all bourgeois writers, and since he cannot be fundamentally different from them he wants at least to save appearances.

The book deals with the disarmament conference held at Washington, which has already been roundly denounced by the Soviet Government, and contains chiefly the opinions, political and general, of Mr. Wells, which are considerably less valuable than those, published recently, of Anatole France. It is full of petty bourgeois solicitude for the way the world is going, and pious, worn-out wishes. Here is a good sample: "Think of a morning when the newspaper has mainly good news, of things discovered, of fine things done; think of the common day of a common citizen in a world where debt is no longer a universal burthen, where there is constant progress and no retrogression, where it is the normal thing to walk out of a beautiful house into a clean and splendid street, to pass and meet happy and interesting adults instead of aged children obsessed by neglected spites and jealousies and mean anxieties, to go to some honorable occupation that helps the world forward to a still greater and finer life."**

It is not Art Young's poor fish who is speaking, but the prophet H. G. Wells, the bourgeois demi-god, who had just previously discovered, while in Russia, that the crude Marxist philosophy which divides all men into bourgeoisie and proletariat (not into gods and ordinary mortals) and which sees all social life as a stupidly simple *class war* (not as a *sour dream*), had no knowledge of the conditions necessary for the collective mental life, and that the Russian Soviet Government is an *amatuerish* sort of government, profoundly ignorant and amazingly incompetent, while the bolsheviks are extremely unexperienced men. Another phantom unreality Mr. Wells may learn to appreciate is that there are also two kinds of experience, bourgeois and revolutionary, and that, in the latter field, intellectual exiles and comparatively illiterate manual workers from the United States have a lot of experience.

It must be comparatively easy to become a god in bourgeois society. Bourgeois society enjoys the production of these writers, artists and savants, they never fail to take the exercise of applauding them; is it not a pitiful sight to behold our poor creative artists so much stimulated by such cheer that they are afraid, as of death itself, to dispense with it? All the bourgeoisie requires, in exchange for gross remuneration and the title to immortality, is the art of comfortably petting its distended but complacent belly. That takes a little skill, which one may acquire by practice, as is indicated by the increasingly numerous ads that one sees in most of the magazines issued in this country, which, contrary to what some maintain (that it is artistically undeveloped), produces the highest expression of a fully developed bourgeois art and literature in the western world (any other nation attaining same stage of capitalistic development will produce the same sort of literature).

Therefore, being the product of a full belly and of nothing else, bourgeois art is strictly contemplative. Only then is the artist appreciated when he contemplates or sings of that which *exists*. When he tries to use his art for the transformation of reality, he fails miserably, because society is not interested in his efforts. Art and literature, and even science to a great extent, in bourgeois society, are a sort of amusement. Consequently, their most striking characteristic is superfluity, a mellifluous coupling of words and nothing else. That is the standard by which bourgeois critics measure the works they examine—the degree of amusement those works are capable of producing.

J. BASILE.

NOTE ON "BOOKS REVIEWED"

The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will have reviews of recent books received from Russia.

**Italics are the Reviewer's.—Ed.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

We have received the communication, which is printed below. We give the writer's initials only:

Dear Sirs:

In view of the fact that fourteen Revolutionists have been condemned to death, and in view of the fact that the Soviet Government upholds capital punishment, I feel in duty bound to withdraw my sympathy with a movement which has failed to carry out in practice the principles of human brotherhood. Please erase my name from your list of subscribers and oblige

Yours truly,

L. L.

Our correspondent forgets that the "principles of human brotherhood" are quite inapplicable in periods of civil war—or else they would spell the doom of the party applying them. We wonder whether he would object to the use of Red soldiers in battle against the invading enemies of the last few years? And does he think that those who planned the assassinations of responsible leaders in the battle with imperialism were less reprehensible than the invading imperialists? Think it over, reader, and also, remember that these sentences will be carried out only if the Social-Revolutionaries persist in their counter-revolutionary work.

UKRAINIAN AND POLISH GOODS

Moscow, July 28.—The "Merkantil Company" in Warsaw has offered to deliver to the Kiev department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade a large order of Upper Silesian coal. This would solve the problem of the fuel supply for the Sdolbunovo-Berdichev-Proskurov-Zhmerinka railroad line. The firm has declared its readiness to accept manganese and iron ores in payment.

TRAINING WORKERS FOR COOPERATIVES

Moscow, July 27.—An institute for the training of organizers and instructors for cooperatives has been founded in Moscow. In order to be admitted to the Institute the applicant must have completed secondary school or a course in a workers' university.

The Next Issue of

Soviet Russia

will again have 32 pages. In the present issue, which has only 24 pages, we have been obliged to omit several things that would have been of great interest to our readers, and that will be printed instead in the next number dated September 15. Among these new items are: "The Encyclopedia Britannica on the Russian Revolution"—"Peter Kropotkin"—an instalment from *Underground Russia*, by Stepniak.

At All Newsstands, Fifteen Cents.

Friends of Soviet Russia

National office:
201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Statement "A"

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to June 30, 1922.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from Local F. S. R. Conferences and Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received. Receipt Nos. 1 to 10560 for income received to May 31, have been previously reported in detail, a total of\$672,265.10
 Receipt Nos. 10561 to 11436 for income received during April are reported in detail in our official organ, "Soviet Russia", dated July 1 and 15, 1922, a total of General \$32,279.57
 Tool Drive 1,113.50 33,393.07

Total received and acknowledged\$705,658.17

The above income was deposited in a bank account, and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to..... 878.96

Making a TOTAL INCOME of.....\$706,537.13

From which must be DEDUCTED the following items:

- (1) Remittances received as contributions which the bank refused to honor (Receipt Nos. 1, 214, 2820, 3732, 3959, 4070, 4293, 4450, 5956, 6139, 6877, 8534, 6394, 8956, 8872, 9826, 10717, 10507, 10619, 11251,4327).....\$1,241.25
- (2) Remittance addressed "Soviet Russia" received by us in error (Receipt Nos. 1900 and 5000) 42.94
- (3) Exchange and discount on checks received..... 9.13
- (4) Expenses incurred and charged to National Office by Locals 270.93
- (5) Lawyer's fees and bail premium for Local workers arrested for making appeals .. 1,225.00 2,789.25

Leaving the INCOME RECEIVED BY NATIONAL OFFICE\$703,747.88

HOW THE FUNDS AND CLOTHES WERE COLLECTED:

In order to assist Locals and Workers' Organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and supplied buttons for sale and contribution lists for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for this purpose is explained in Statement "B" below. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more book-keeping. It is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred those expenses themselves. But because this money was spent to help Locals and Workers' Organizations raise the money which they sent to the National Office it is deducted from the amount which they sent in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after deducting all expenses paid by Locals and all publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office, Thus: Publicity and appeal Expenses paid by National Office 81,800.79

Leaving INCOME received by National Office LESS COST OF COLLECTING FUNDS AND CLOTHES\$621,947.09

EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent \$4.23 for each \$100 of funds remaining after deducting the cost of appealing for funds and clothes. They amount to 26,322.10

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of Soviet Russia of\$595,624.99

Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:

- Food Shipments, direct\$ 2,185.73
- **American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for F. S. R. for food and equipment 455,140.12
- Tool Drive Purchases: Tractor 1000.00
- Remitted to Arbeiter Hilfe—Auslands Komite, Berlin (The Workers Aid—Foreign Committee) 54,787.50
- Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I. L. G. W. U. 2,288.94
- Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage and shipping charges on old clothes contributed 8,052.75
- Federated, International and Russian Conference Expenses 14,682.83 538,137.87

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of\$ 57,487.12

**From the date of organization to May 31, 1922, each \$100 of relief funds received by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee from the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations was expended for the following purposes:

- Office Expense\$ 1.00
- Extending its affiliations 2.00
- Relief 97.00

\$100.00

Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF but is also represented partly by other ASSETS to be used for raising funds or FOR EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank	\$ 50,267.30
Petty Cash on Hand	1,001.68
Advances to Publications — for advertising, translation and publishing	1,354.65
Advances to Speakers	544.57
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost)	1,960.60
Deposits for Electricity, Gas and Lease.....	145.00
Books, purchased for sale, less sales.....	3,213.32
Reserve for Traveling Expenses	1,000.00
	\$57,487.12

Statement "B"

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES
From Date of Organization, August 9, 1921 to June 30, 1922.

*Wages:	
Speakers and Organizers	\$ 8,885.70
Addressers	4,457.92
Publicity: Writers, Translator, Movie Director.....	1,400.00
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers	12,516.49
Postages	8,667.34
Information Service	74.36
Envelopes and Wrappers	1,556.95
Official Organ "Soviet Russia"—Subsidy	6,400.00
Bulletins and financial Reports printed and distributed.....	1,480.18
Advertisements	15,764.98
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed.....	5,612.48
Posters, window cards, etc.	948.00
Motion Picture and Stereopticon Equipment	5,247.70
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc.	1,637.73
Racial and Language Sections preliminary expenses.....	1,375.00
Organizations supplies, lists, buttons, etc.	5,679.28
Printing pamphlets and cards for sale.....	1,784.90
	83,489.01
Less Sale of Pamphlets and Cards.....	1,688.22
TOTAL	\$ 81,800.79

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES
From Date of Organization, August 9, 1921 to June 30, 1922.

*Wages:	
Secretary	\$ 2,000.00
Office Staff	16,200.00
Office Rent	1,295.00
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat	1,145.43
Office Furniture Rent	20.00
Office Supplies, etc.	1,838.23
Printing and Stationery	1,605.75
Telegrams	598.86
Telephone	219.18
Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc.	253.73
Auditor's charges	1,145.10
TOTAL	\$ 26,322.10

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Certificate

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the period from the date of organization, August 9, 1921 to June 30, 1922, a period of nearly eleven months.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements, "A", "B" and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B" and "C" are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

20 Nassau Street,
New York, N. Y.
August 8, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

From American Workers to Russian Workers

Up to July 31, 1922, seventeen (17) ships, containing relief food, machinery and other supplies from American workers for Russian workers, have left New York, bound for Soviet Russia. The following is a report of the shipments made by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee on these 17 vessels.

It must be noted that the Friends of Soviet Russia furnished nearly ninety-seven and one half per cent (97 1/2%) of the funds for the purchase and forwarding of these goods through the Federated Committee.

Besides the 17 shipments from New York, ten (10) shipments have been made separately by F. S. R. branches along the Pacific coast. These are listed below at the end, but, due to the fact that shipping papers have been sent abroad for handling, details are not available at the moment of making up this report.

This report does not include relief material forwarded through the Federated Committee by various other organizations as distinct consignments in their own respective names.

The clothing and shoes were almost all obtained by house to house collection, so that the given value does not represent an expenditure by the Federated Committee. The articles were all put into first-class condition and repaired and the assigned value represents a very conservative estimate.

Shipments prefixed with an asterisk (*) have been listed as received in Soviet Russia in the officially printed Bulletin issued under date of July 5, 1922, at Berlin, Germany, by the Central Office of the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee, with which the Friends of Soviet is affiliated.

* * *

540 sacks Beans	122,377	"	—	3,059
3,200 " Corn Grits	448,000	"	—	6,272
				910,838 lbs.— 38,642
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				3,914
				\$42,556
*4. SS. "GASCONIER"—Sailed Nov. 30, 1921, from New York for Reval:				
5 boxes Ford Bodies	14,450	lbs.—	\$	
5 " Truck Chassis	21,250	"	—	
5 " Ford Sedans	14,900	"	—	
				50,600 lbs.—\$15,400
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				2,148
				\$17,548
*5. SS. "EASTERN COAST"—Sailed Dec. 24, 1921, from New York for Reval:				
4,800 sacks Corn Grits	672,000	lbs.—	\$	9,475
3,200 " Rolled Oats	353,280	"	—	9,504
2,500 " Lima Beans	208,108	"	—	4,943
1,091 barrels Cocoa	225,750	"	—	5,941
4,210 cases Condensed Milk	235,760	"	—	19,998
210 " Fat Backs	140,213	"	—	10,377
1 case Drugs	107	"	—	115
21 cases Motion Picture Films and Projectors	3,268	"	—	7,203
57 " Clothing & Shoes ..	19,128	"	—	19,150
				1,857,614 lbs.—\$86,706
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				9,029
				\$95,735
*6. SS. "GASCONIER"—Sailed Jan. 25, 1922, from New York for Reval:				
94 cases Clothing	30,974	lbs.—	\$	37,910
32 packages Zwiebach	2,860	"	—	828
				33,834 lbs.—\$38,738
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				817
				\$39,555
*7. SS. "EASTERN CROSS"—Sailed Jan. 25, 1921, from New York for Reval:				
22 cases Clothing & Shoes ..	7,655	lbs.—	\$	8,400
1 case Drugs	70	"	—	50
				7,725 lbs.—\$ 8,450
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				198
				\$8,648
*8. SS. "EASTERN STAR"—Sailed Feb. 2, 1922, from New York for Reval:				
14 cases Clothing & Food ..	4,560	lbs.—	\$	4,460
319 " Fat BaBcks	213,406	"	—	14,531
				217,966 lbs.—\$18,991
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				1,153
				\$20,044
*9. SS. "ELZASIER"—Sailed Feb. 17, 1922, from New York for Reval:				
2,700 cases Evaporated Milk ..	172,800	lbs.—	\$	9,990
5,176 sacks Corn Grits	724,640	"	—	10,000
12 cases Clothing & Food ..	5,160	"	—	3,450
				902,600 lbs.—\$23,440
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				3,245
				\$26,685
*10. SS. "ROCKAWAY PARK"—Sailed Mar. 8, 1922, from New York for Reval:				
190 bales Clothing & Shoes ..	77,840	lbs.—	\$	47,900
*1. SS. "MARGUS"—Sailed Oct. 15, 1921, from New York for Petrograd:				
2,040 cases Milk	116,280	lbs.—	\$	10,000
60 " Chocolate	7,800	"	—	1,277
244 " Cocoa	59,110	"	—	2,291
8,056 sacks Wheat Flour	1,127,840	"	—	34,286
6,200 " Corn Flour	868,000	"	—	14,582
				2,179,030 lbs.— 62,436
Freight, Insurance & Brockerage.....				10,966
				\$73,402
*2. SS. "ELSAZIER"—Sailed Oct. 27, 1921, from New York for Petrograd.				
1,800 sacks Corn Flour	252,000	lbs.—	\$	4,234
20 cases Narcoosan	3,900	"	—	7,200
1,020 " Condensed Milk	56,100	"	—	5,000
150 tubs Lard	64,589	"	—	6,167
107 cases Fat Backs	71,639	"	—	5,600
30 tubs Oleomargarine	13,235	"	—	1,708
112 barrels Corned Beef	40,880	"	—	1,344
550 " Cocoa	134,206	"	—	5,414
1,600 sacks Corn Grits	224,000	"	—	3,707
2,036 " Rolled Oats	223,960	"	—	6,327
2,400 " Corn Meal	235,200	"	—	3,881
470 cases Bacon	47,000	"	—	4,728
2,802 sacks Beans	226,668	"	—	6,233
8 cases Drugs & Clothing ..	1,108	"	—	2,000
				1,594,485 lbs.—\$63,543
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				8,907
				\$72,450
3. SS. "WESTPORT"—Sailed Nov. 22, 1921, from New York for Reval:				
243 tubs Lard	109,680	lbs.—	\$	10,518
85 cases Smoked Butts	51,019	"	—	4,480
65 " Pork Sides	52,562	"	—	2,688
2,450 " Condensed Milk	137,200	"	—	1,625

10 bags Cereals	945	"	—	60
6 cases Croceries	2,710	"	—	475
	<hr/>			
	81,495	lbs.	—	\$48,435
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				1,305
	<hr/>			
				\$49,740

11. SS. "REDONO"—Sailed Apr. 11, 1922, from New York for Reval:

2,500 cases Condensed Milk ...	140,000	lbs.	—	\$10,000
90 " Fat Backs	50,079	"	—	4,827
343 bags Farina	48,020	"	—	1,985
190 cases Fat Backs	122,465	"	—	10,371
260 bales Clothing & Shoes ..	100,315	"	—	30,300
1 barrel Salted Pork	350	"	—	75
1 " Soap	110	"	—	10
13 bags Cereals	1,225	"	—	130
9 cases Canned Goods	3,150	"	—	473
1,225 bags Wheat Flour	171,500	"	—	4,628
	<hr/>			
	637,464	lbs.	—	\$32,899
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				4,627
	<hr/>			
				\$87,526

*12. SS. "WESTPORT"—Sailed Apr. 16, 1922, from New York for Reval:

63 bales Clothing & Shoes ..	25,000	lbs.	—	\$12,460
12 bags Cereals	1,200	"	—	120
4 cases Canned Goods	1,550	"	—	130
1 case Drugs	235	"	—	200
	<hr/>			
	27,985	lbs.	—	\$12,910
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				406
	<hr/>			
				\$13,316

*13. SS. "BELVEDERE"—Sailed May 8, 1922, from New York for Reval:

137 bales Clothing & Shoes ..	60,305	lbs.	—	\$30,250
9 cases Dried Bread	2,420	"	—	245
3 bags Cereals	300	"	—	30
9 bags Flour	1,260	"	—	120
2 cases Drugs	415	"	—	350
32 cases Canned Goods	11,330	"	—	1,725
10,166 bags Wheat Flour	1,500,000	"	—	31,600
	<hr/>			
	1,576,030	lbs.	—	\$64,320
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				5,545
	<hr/>			
				\$69,865

14. SS. "LATVIA"—Sailed May 10, 1922, from New York for Libau:

Equipment for F. S. R. Agricultural Unit, as follows:

- 20 Large Tractors pulling sixty 14-inch Plows,
- 1 Small Tractor,
- 2 Ford Automobiles,
- 10 ten-foot Double Disc Harrows,
- 10 Smoothing Harrows,
- 10 Soil Packers,
- 14 Eleven-foot Disc Seed Drills,
- Complete Machine Shop for repair of tractors, including large lathe, acetylene welding outfit, drills, forge, etc.
- Food, medical supplies, tents, beds, camp furnishings, etc., for 11 workers.
- Electric Generator with service wire and lights for camp.

12,000 feet of Educational Film,	
4,000 feet of Raw Film,	
1 Motion Picture Camera.	
Total gross weight of shipment	377,279 lbs.
Total cost, including crew expenses	\$58,575
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage	1,875
	<hr/>
	\$60,450

*15. SS. "POLONIA"—Sailed May 17, 1922, from New York for Libau:

Note: The following material is part of equipment for Agricultural Unit and was to go on the "Latvia", but reached New York too late. Value, etc. included in figures for "Latvia".

4 cases Electric Light Materials ..	832	lbs.
1 box Tractor Parts .....	) 965	"
2 boxes Auto Parts		

Note: Expenditures for Agricultural Unit are itemized in report of Federated Committee published in the August 1st issue of "Soviet Russia".

16. SS. "ROCKAWAY PARK"—Sailed June 27, 1922, from New York for Reval:

32 bales Clothing & Shoes....	13,325	lbs.	—	\$ 7,510
5 bags Corn & Beans	445	"	—	50
1 case Canned Goods	435	"	—	60
1 " Tools	200	"	—	100
	<hr/>			
	14,405	lbs.	—	\$ 7,720
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage				244
	<hr/>			
				\$ 7,964

17. SS. "EASTERN STAR"—Sailed July 31, 1922, from New York for Petrograd:

9,599 bags Seed Rye (for Agricultural Unit) —	\$27,140
2 Oliver Plows .. " " " —	140
2 Fordson Tractors " " " —	910
1 Threshing Mach. " " " —	1,130
27 bales Clothing	11,750 lbs. — 5,400
3 cases Tools	425 " — 300
1 bag Cereals	70 " — 10
1 case Groceries	510 " — 140
	<hr/>
	\$35,170
Freight, Insurance & Brokerage	4,779

TOTAL GROSS VALUE OF 17 Shipments.....\$725,433

SHIPMENTS BY F. S. R. BRANCHES ON PACIFIC COAST

From San Francisco, Cal.:

*SS. "MINNESOTA"—Sailed Dec. 31, 1921.	
93 cases Clothing & Food ..	11,780 lbs. \$2,000
SS. "VIRGINIA"—Sailed Mar. 17, 1922.	

Clothing & Food
 SS. "TEXAN"—Sailed Apr. 7, 1922.
 Clothing & Food

*SS. "KENTUCKIAN"—Sailed May 19, 1922.	
25 cases Clothing	5,640 lbs.
1 barrel Shoes	55 "
8 sacks Wheat	815 "

From Los Angeles, Cal.:

SS. "MINNESOTA"—Sailed Feb. 5, 1922.	
1 case Shoes .....	) 1,785 lbs. \$1,000
8 cases Clothing ..	
SS. "FLORIDA"—Sailed Mar. 15, 1922.	

Clothing
 SS. "ALASKAN"—
 Clothing

From Portland, Ore.:

*SS. "KENTUCKIAN"—Sailed May 10, 1922.	
Clothing & Food	

From Vancouver, B. C., Canada:

SS. "MOERDLIK"—Sailed June 13, 1922.	
4 bales Clothing	
1 case Soap	
5 cases Canned Goods	

A complete report of shipments from the Pacific coast will be made in the near future. Pacific coast branches remit funds to national office. The Pacific shipments consist of material collected locally, not purchased.

Relief Contributions, August 1-15

The following abbreviations are used: *F. S. C.*, *Famine Scout Clubs*; *F. S. R.*, *Friends of Soviet Russia*; *RC*, *Roll Call contribution*; *TD*, *Tool Drive contribution*; *W. S. and D. B. F.*, *Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund*. The total for August will appear in the September 15 issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
12116	J. Kaplan, RC, Athabasca, Canada	5.00	12175	Finnish Socialist Local, Owen, Wis.	15.00	12238	F. J. Abhol, TD, Fall River Mills, Cal.	10.00
12117	P. Kaplan, RC, Athabasca, Canada	5.00	12176	J. Matauch, RC, N. Y. C.	1.00	12239	M. Jacobs, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
12118	T. Rabakon, RC, Athabasca, Canada	5.00	12177	M. Savastenk, TD, Pittsburgh, Pa.	3.00	12240	John Crawford, Coll. TD, Phoenix, Ariz.	14.50
12119	Mat Akautheca, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	10.00	12178	Cancelled.		12241	M. Gasparic, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
12120	D. Solobay, TD, Timmins, Ont.	5.00	12179	O. Ahola, Daisytown, Pa.	1.00	12242	P. Jankow, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	16.00
12121	J. Loboda, RC, Schumacher, Ont.	5.00	12180	H. Murphy, Daisytown, Pa.	1.00	12243	Mrs. F. Zawlocks, Toledo, O.	1.00
12122	I. Sidoroff, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00	12181	J. Piltz, TD, Westerly, R. I.	1.00	12244	R. McGraw, TD, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
12123	D. Didocka, TD, Westville, Ill.	1.00	12182	G.C.Schlichter, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	12245	L. Kallianiconi, TD, Creskill, N. J.	2.00
12124	W. Monton, RC, Sydney, NS	1.00	12183	FSR Branch, TD, RC, Chicago, Ill.	1,503.96	12246	J. Michnowetski, RC, Akron, Ohio	20.50
12125	W. Yonko, RC, Washington, Okla.	1.00	12184	FSR Branch, Erie, Pa.	50.00	12247	Gorman Comrades, Central Falls, R. I.	7.50
12126	Russian Branch, WP, Lieta & RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	22.25	12185	W. E. Robert, TD, Harvey, La.	5.00	12248	J & M Lettich, TD, Royal Oak, Mich.	3.00
12127	J. Wolkon, RC, Timmins, Ont.	16.44	12186	A. Peakman, TD, Sheldon, Ia.	5.00	12249	FSR Branch, Farrell, Pa.	50.00
12128	Th. Talley, RC, Utica, N.Y.	15.29	12187	L. Frederich, TD, Sheldon, Ia.	5.00	12250	E. Humanuk, RC, Lawrence, Mass.	28.00
12129	D. Shumovich, RC, Pittsburgh, Pa.	6.50	12188	R. Frederich, TD, Sheldon, Ia.	2.50	12251	K. Satsuk, RC, Lawrence, Mass.	14.50
12130	J. Leonenia, RC, Galveston, Tex.	1.50	12189	F. Fischer, RC, N. Y. C.	1.50	12252	V. Nabeshko, RC, Lawrence, Mass.	11.00
12131	H. Collins, TD, Phila., Pa.	5.00	12190	Mrs. W.A. Davison, Port Stanley, Wash.	2.00	12253	Russian Technical Soc., Lawrence, Mass.	16.50
12132	T. P. Huff, TD, San Antonio, Tex.	5.00	12191	Karl Talent, Coll. TD, West Keene, N. H.	27.00	12254	William Haddad, TD, Twete, Mont.	2.00
12133	Workmen's Circle, 150, NYC	54.00	12192	M. Kusik, Coll. TD, San Pedro, Cal.	11.00	12255	Japanese Ind. Cong. Church, Oakland, Cal.	11.60
12134	Picnic, Utica, N. Y.	25.35	12193	B. Wagner, TD, Buffalo, N. Y.	1.00	12256	Mrs. A. H. Nelson, RC, Minburn, Ia.	5.50
12135	FSR Branch, Mt. Vernon, Wash.	10.80	12194	P. Lenaky, TD, Buffalo, N.Y.	6.50	12257	Cancelled.	
12136	FSC No. 4, CRC, Coll., Wilmington, Del.	6.37	12195	S. Smigelsky, TD, Buffalo, NY	2.00	12258	FSC No. 52, Pledge & Coll., Chelsea, Mass.	1.52
12137	Max Straus, N. Y. C.	100.00	12196	P. Wozmal, TD, Buffalo, NY	.50	12259	J. Kena, TD, Woodhaven, L.I.	1.00
12138	T. P. Merry, TD, Beckaleys, Cal.	50.00	12197	M. A. Leahuk, Hurleyville, NY	1.50	12260	T. Orlecki, TD, River Rouge, Mich.	1.00
12139	Max Kantor, Coll., TD, Mohegan Lake, N. Y.	35.00	12198	FSR Branch, Buffalo, N. Y.	50.00	12261	W. Schlossberg, TD, Kings Park, L. I.	1.00
12140	J. C. Bendrick, TD, Tacoma, Wash.	25.00	12199	E. Baum, Buffalo, N. Y. (thru F. S. R.)	25.00	12262	Kametaro Yanagi, TD, Oakland, Cal.	1.00
12141	Cob-tree Finnish Farmers, TD, Ladysmith, B. C.	25.00	12200	M. A. Kempf, TD, Edgewater Chas. Bowie, Victoria, B. C.	5.00	12263	Felix Sakora, TD, Dedham, Mass.	1.00
12142	FSC No. 69, Edgemere, L. I.	17.00	12201	J. Credenberg, N. Y. C.	3.00	12264	F.S.R. Branch, Detroit, Mich.	200.00
12143	V. Bruno, Coll. TD, Sharpeburg, Pa.	10.00	12202	W. W. Cornas, RC, Sacramento, Cal.	2.00	12265	FSR Branch, St. Louis, Mo.	50.00
12144	Mrs. A. Little, TD, Dover, NJ	5.00	12203	J. T. Stewart & P. R. Davis, TD, Veterans Home, Cal.	2.00	12266	A. M. Cavan, Coll. ED, N. Y. C.	30.00
12145	E. M. Standish, TD, Oakland, Cal.	5.00	12204	A. Larson, TD, Port Arthur, Tex.	2.00	12267	J. A. Van Canteron, Los Angeles, Cal.	20.00
12146	Y. Damjanac, TD, Seattle, Wash.	3.00	12205	Chas. Eisenberg, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	1.25	12268	S T A S R, TD, Zeigler, Ill.	10.00
12147	T. V. Kuzakovich, TD, Seattle, Wash.	3.00	12206	R. Boecker, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	12269	Alice F. Roberts, RC, So. Pasadena, Cal.	5.00
12148	T. R. Paresania, TD, Seattle, Wash.	1.00	12207	Wm. Gustke, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	12270	J. Earning, TD, Rockville, Conn.	5.00
12149	Chris Eies, TD, Seattle, Wash.	1.00	12208	M. A. Rothmund, TD, in memory of B. M. R., Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	12271	Lorraine M. Pawlan, TD, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
12150	A. Chase, RC, Washington, DC	5.00	12209	R. V. Warner, TD, St. Paul, Minn.	1.05	12272	Louis Brouer, TD, Ft. Worth, Tex.	5.00
12151	P. Eckes, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00	12210	Ben Levinson, TD, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	12273	R. Paulick, Coll., TD, Gonzales, Cal.	15.00
12152	C. H. Becker, TD, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	2.00	12211	Sam Croft, TD, Houston, Tex.	2.00	12274	Otto Olson, TD, Kallapelt, Mont.	5.00
12153	J. Soos, Canton, O.	1.00	12212	A. & E. Heikkila, TD, Florenton, Minn.	.50	12275	A. Munkens, Coll., TD, Newark, N. J.	3.00
12154	J. G. Miller, Coll., TD, NYC	21.25	12213	L. O'Dell, Los Angeles, Cal.	30.00	12276	B. Miller, Coll., TD, Ashland, Ore.	1.00
12155	FSR Branch, Gary, Ind.	77.30	12214	W S & D B F No. 239, TD, Oakland, Cal.	10.00	12277	FSR Branch, St. Paul, Minn.	53.00
12156	Wm. Bender, RC, Brooklyn	2.50	12215	M. H. Benda, TD, Beres, O.	5.00	12278	Finnish Branch, Minneapolis, Minn.	65.00
12157	H. Nelson, Bay City, Wash.	2.00	12216	A & E Heikkila, TD, Florenton, Minn.	.50	12279	Workmen's Circle, 358, TD, San Diego, Cal.	35.00
12158	Anonymous, TD, Dixon, Ill.	1.00	12217	C. Briggs, N. Y. C.	2.75	12280	Hoboken Branch, W. P., TD, Hoboken, N. J.	10.00
12159	S. Rosa, Coll., Brooklyn, N.Y.	2.00	12218	S. P. Finnish Branch, RC, Buffalo, N. Y.	13.00	12281	H. Krause, Coll., TD, East Everett, Mass.	4.00
12160	Karl Erd, Coll., TD, Harvey, Ill.	3.25	12219	Ida Shelnbaum, TD, N. Y. C.	5.00	12282	O. W. Evans, TD, Dumphy, Nev.	2.00
12161	FSR Branch, RC, Washington, D. C.	150.00	12220	Wm. Julander, TD, Brooklyn Anonymous, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00	12283	W. J. Patton, Dumphy, Nev. TD.	1.00
12162	E. A. Starbuck, TD, Wallingford, Conn.	10.00	12221	2223	21.60	12284	FSR Branch, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	32.30
12163	J. Kamanis, RC, Detroit, Mich.	7.00	12222	12224	15.40	12285	L. Miller, Coll., TD, Paterson, N. J.	9.25
12164	Kana. Beyer, TD, N. Y. C.	1.00	12223	12225	6.84	12286	M. E. Sunday School Offering, TD, Palo Alto, Cal.	1.90
12165	Cancelled.		12224	12226	60.00	12287	M. E. Mission, TD, Palo Alto, Cal.	2.00
12166	FSC No. 121, N. Y. C.	30.65	12225	12227	1.00			
12167	FSR Branch, Lithuanian Section, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,371.19	12226	12228	1.00			
12168	H. G. Graham, TD, Illiopolis, Ill.	5.80	12227	12229	1.00			
12169	C. Weingarten, Coll. TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	7.80	12228	12230	2.00			
12170	Chas. Palmter, TD, Stoneboro, Pa.	1.00	12229	12231	2.50			
12171	FSR Branch, RC, Milwaukee, Wis.	50.09	12230	12232	2.10			
12172	M. Kaiser, RC, N. Y. C.	6.25	12231	12233	13.00			
12173	Garzia Bros., Coll. Paolo Ficarrotta, Peretto, Tampa, Fla.	12.30	12232	12234	9.00			
12174	S. Zura, Port Arthur, Ont.	.95	12233	12235	3.00			
			12234	12236	125.00			
			12235	12237	10.00			

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
12288	J. Masurek, Coll. TD, Swisvale, Pa.	10.00	12336	Anna Hakulinen, TD, Moriches, L. I.	3.00	12382	Joe Kript, Coll. TD, Chicago, Ill.	4.50
12289	Ralph de Canto, TD, East Boston, Mass.	10.00	12337	FSR Branch, TD, N. Y. C.	100.00	12383	Joseph Whittle & Wm. Markham, TD, New Bedford, Mass.	1.50
12290	Kathleen Hamilton, TD, Coll. Glengarry, Mont.	3.85	12338	Otto Maine, TD, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	12384	Finnish Workingsmen's Ass'n, Norwood, Mass.	79.24
12291	M. Athanasoff, Gary, Ind.	2.75	12339	Solomon Druker, TD, Bklyn	1.00	12385	T. D. Conger, Coll. TD, Burns Lake, B. C.	23.50
12292	C. Chigrunaki, TD, Salt Lake City, Utah	1.50	12340	Evelyn & Ernest Slack, TD, Redford, Mich.	10.00	12386	Yugoslav Br. FSR, Milwaukee, Wis.	13.65
12293	H. W. Bonin, TD, Springdale, Pa.	1.05	12342	Cigar Makers Inter. Union No. 179, TD, Bangor, Me.	2.00	12387	Joe Bilandzija, Coll. TD, Youngtown, O.	12.05
12294	R. S. Novoselich, N. Y. C. TD	5.00	12343	FSR Branch, Muskegon, Mich.	53.55	12388	Antonio A. Pereira, Coll. TD, Fall River, Mass.	8.23
12295	J. Plasha, Prusse, Ore.	.50	12344	FSR Branch, Hungarian Section, N. Y. C.	2.75	12389	John W. Tkoch, Coll. TD, Manville, N. J.	7.75
12296	F. J. Stronolchi, Coll., TD, Castle Rock, Wash.	12.00	12345	Bruno Coepfert, TD, N. Y. C.	5.00	12390	Chas. Heine, TD, Phila., Pa.	2.50
12297	V. E. Eriksen, TD, Tacoma, Wash.	2.00	12346	FSR Branch, Russian & Ukrainian Section, Pittsburg, Pa.	93.70	12391	Joe Kanofsky, RC, N. Y. C.	.50
12298	Oskar Strom, Vashon, Wash.	1.00	12347	Hugh Wakefield, TD, Duluth, Minn.	5.00	12392	B. A. Bernfeld, RC, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
12299	W. P. Altman, Butler, Pa.	1.25	12348	E. J. Olesky, TD, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00	12393	Sharpe Bro., RC, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
12300	E. R. Hungerford, W. Australia	.60	12349	Aaron Spivak, TD, Jacksonville, Fla.	5.00	12394	Sampson Abrahams, RC, Chicago, Ill.	50.00
12301	C. O. Nelson & J. Masternak, Fort Strong, Mass.	10.00	12350	Leo Heller, TD, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	12395	FSC No. 62, CRC, Los Angeles, Cal.	30.50
12302	Chas. Schwartz, TD, N. Y. C.	3.00	12351	Gust Phillips, TD, Beloit, Wis.	5.00	12396	FSR Branch, Denver, Col.	25.00
12303	W S & D B F No. 303, Elizabeth, N. J.	25.00	12352	Laura P. Brown, TD, Warren, O.	3.00	12397	Lapple Family, TD, Pasadena, Cal.	25.00
12304	N. Ulaky, RC, Kusbas, Russia	18.00	12353	Morris, Sarah & Rose Mittelberg, TD, Claris Harbor, NS	3.00	12398	B. Lagutshik, Coll. TD, San Antonio, Texas	17.00
12305	R. W. Schmidt, TD, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00	12354	M. Weisman, N. Y. C.	4.00	12399	Coll. B. Bielowotoky, Samana, Dominican Republic	25.00
12306	FSR Branch, Lynn, Mass.	125.00	12355	A. Pitt, TD, Cleveland, O.	2.00	12400	D. Gottlieb, Coll. Brooklyn	8.00
12307	A. W. Block, Coll. TD, Joliet, Ill.	45.00	12356	A. N. Penser, TD, Montreal, Canada	4.90	12401	Frank Frandon, RC, Keeneydale, Wash.	14.00
12308	C & L Brannin, TD, Dallas, Tex.	10.00	12357	Sara & Rose Mittelberg, Claris Harbor, Canada	.50	12402	Alexander McKan, Coll. TD, Cary, Ind.	3.00
12309	Geo. Vital, TD, Beloit, Wis.	5.00	12358	Herbert Frances, Greensburg, Ind.	1.00	12403	C. Greuth, Coll. TD, San Francisco, Cal.	7.00
12310	Folketsvang, RC, N. Y. C.	4.35	12359	John Sobocky, RC, Linden, N. J.	11.00	12404	Mr. & Mrs. I. Serles, Kennewick, Wash. TD	6.00
12311	FSR Branch, RC, Toledo, O.	26.00	12360	August Korhonen, Coll. TD, Scarsdale, N. Y.	3.00	12405	James Lapin, Coll. TD, Edmonton, Alberta	6.00
12312	E. Jinushi, TD, N. Y. C.	25.00	12362	J. J. Smith, TD, Tacoma, Wash.	2.00	12406	H. M., Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
12313	L. I. Forton, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	12363	Ida Karha, Coll. TD, Great Neck, L. I.	11.00	12407	John Olsen, TD, Brule, Wis.	5.00
12314	FSC No. 115, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.55	12364	Veneta Bradford, TD, Peach Orchard, Ark.	.50	12408	Frank Broeka, TD, Seabeck, Wash.	5.00
12315	Misc Deitch, Summit, N. J.	5.00	12365	S T A S R Nets, TD, Tacoma, Wash.	35.50	12409	W S & D B F No. 28, RC, Astoria, L. I.	12.00
12316	FSC No. 11, Medford, Mass.	6.00	12366	Workers Party, Russian Br., So. Brooklyn	25.60	12410	Roland Prentice, TD, Wheeling, W. Va.	5.00
12317	M. Diaz Sanchez, TD, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00	12367	Mandel, N. Y. C.	1.00	12411	E. Israelite, TD, Bklyn, N.Y.	3.00
12318	H. Laukueet, TD, N. Y. C.	.25	12368	J. Meyer, TD, Bklyn, N. Y.	1.00	12412	J. S. House, TD, Fort Wayne, Ind.	5.00
12319	H. Gordon, TD, N. Y. C.	5.00	12369	Makar Tychemoc, RC, Bangor, Me.	1.00	12413	J. G. Hay, TD, Winter, Saak., Canada	3.00
12320	J. Meyer, RC, Cleveland, O.	8.25	12370	A. Baginsky, Coll. TD, Bridgewater, Mass.	23.00	12414	C. Tedick, TD, Cleveland, O.	3.00
12321	FSR Branch, List, TD, Milwaukee, Wis.	80.79	12371	Peter Sokol, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	10.00	12415	S. Tanigaki, Coll. TD, Berkeley, Cal.	3.00
12322	Bloomville Lethiah Educational Society, List, Cleason, Wis.	57.50	12372	S. Vogel, TD, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	12416	B. F. Mixon, TD, Elkhart, Tex.	2.00
12323	Roselyn Garfinkel, Brooklyn	.70	12373	Joseph Nawoychek, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	9.00	12417	FSR Branch, Astoria, Ore.	79.04
12324	FSC No. 75, Detroit, Mich.	35.00	12374	FSC No. 90, CRC, Bklyn, NY	1.18	12418	A. Mencke, Coll. TD, Cleveland, Ohio	37.50
12325	Herman E. Cosch, TD, Washington, D. C.	10.00	12375	John Zenchenko, Coll. TD, E. Hammond, Ind.	7.00	12419	Dr. A. K. Schuster, RC, New Haven, Conn.	6.50
12326	R. Sims, RC, N. Y. C.	8.00	12376	V. Torgovitzky, TD, Brooklyn	2.00	12420	Sam Nelson, TD, N. Y. C.	1.00
12327	Marianna Gay, RC, Peterham, Mass.	5.00	12377	D. M. Wodlawsky, Sydney, Canada	1.00			
12328	Geo. Zakutney, TD, San Rafael, Cal.	5.00	12378	Philip Mostovoy, Coll. TD, Eureka, Cal.	34.50			
12329	Geo. W. Stone, TD, Shreveport, La.	5.00	12379	Peter Wene, RC, Chardon, O.	11.25			
12330	Wm. Kastler, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00	12380	Boris Lisai, RC, Claremont, N. H.	5.50			
12331	Andrew, Isabel & Harriet Paynton, TD, Newport, Wash.	3.00	12381	Albert Moller, RC, Inwo d, L. I.	1.00			
12332	W S & D B F No. 3, TD, Yonkers, N. Y.	2.00						
12333	Martha A. Lewis, TD, Bakarsfeld, Cal.	2.00						
12334	Oscar Johnson, TD, Daly City, Cal.	1.00						
12335	L. C. Valere, TD, Akron, O.	1.00						

CORRECTION

Receipt No. 12031 should read:
 Michael Robach, Ferrer Colony, Stel-
 tan, N. J., Coll. TD\$4.65
 Receipt No. 11681 is cancelled.

FOOD AND MACHINERY

are still needed in Russia. We are about to forward a consignment of Threshing Machines, as most of the members of the Agricultural Unit sent in the Spring, now stationed at Vereshchaginsk, near Perm, have announced their willingness to remain for the harvest season. Should food be called for, we shall send food in addition to machinery. Send your money contributions to

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street

Room 22

New York, N. Y.

September 15, 1922

Fifteen Cents

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The Russian Famine

By PIERRE PASCAL

ALL Russia is awaiting with the greatest anxiety the result of the new harvest. The results already known indicate that cereal production shows a marked increase over the preceding years.

Although the North West and Central provinces report a slight decrease, those of the West and South, including the Ukraine, the most cultivated regions, show considerable progress. Even the famine-stricken regions, thanks to the aid given them, have succeeded in sowing a great part of their lands and expect an abundant harvest.

The general picture of the agricultural situation is as follows: the cultivated area has increased, the Spring rains have rendered fertile once more the parched soil of last summer; in short, the crop, taken as a whole, will be sufficient. The powerful decisive influence wielded by the harvest, even in times of peace, on all branches of Russian economy, is well-known. The harvest determined the prosperity or depression of industry, the extension or reduction of foreign trade, the state of finance and transportation; the harvest determined everything even to foreign policy. How great must therefore be the effect of a good harvest today, when in the general crisis, the whole economic system is in a state of extreme sensitiveness? We can say that these favorable agricultural prospects promise the Soviet Republic great possibilities of reconstruction and progress.

Unfortunately, although the picture as a whole is so favorable, it would be wrong to conclude that the famine and its consequences are at an end. On the contrary, the Russian press unceasingly points out the terrible, far-reaching effects, the irreparable losses to be suffered for many years to come, that the last terrible year has left behind it. The Russian Government, after having directed the collection, transportation and distribution of grain, whilst giving every possible relief to the afflicted, is now engaged in fighting the terrible effects of the scourge. The Commissariat for Agriculture is holding regional conferences

to which it sends its delegates. Kalinin is just finishing a tour of the stricken provinces of the Ukraine and Crimea. From information and reports thus collected, it is found that the effects of the famine are far from being at an end and that the famine regions are still in imperative need of outside aid. The calamity was too great, the difficulties too enormous, to be overcome immediately.

A conference was lately held at Samara, the center of the famine area. It was attended by Moscow workers and representatives of the Crimea, the Kalmuk and Mari territories, the Tartar, Kirghiz and Bashkir Republics, and the provinces of Tiumen, Viatka and Perm. A member of this conference, who himself visited several of the stricken areas, reported in the *Izvestya* of July 20, the conclusions he and his colleagues had arrived at.

An extraordinary story which has already been told, but is worthy of further repetition, is the heroism of the cultivators. The starving peasants did not eat the seed given them. They preferred to suffer hunger, to see their families suffering; but they saved the grain necessary for the sacred duty of sowing the crop. It is estimated that altogether only 6 to 7 per cent of the seed provided was eaten. Even in the most stricken areas, where the peasants were at times driven to eat the dead, this proportion was not higher than 10 to 12 per cent. Those evil prophets who predicted a complete catastrophe and the impossibility of such foresight on the part of the starving peasantry must now acknowledge their error and bow in homage before the Russian peasant, who sacrificed himself for the future of his country and his race.

Better still, the peasant knew that in the Spring he would not have the strength nor the animals for heavy labor in the fields. So the greater part of the land was worked in the Autumn, which fact constitutes at the same time an enormous agricultural progress. The Soviet Government,

through the medium of its paper, *The Bednota*, its agricultural experts and its Communist propaganda, has spared no efforts in the popularizing of this method. Today, there remains but a third or a fourth of the former total number of horses. "On the road to Simbirsk, files of 5 or 6 men can be seen pulling wagons laden with provisions and grain.....Plowing with human draught force is very common and in the Simbirsk Province the peasants have even adopted their ploughs to this end." The consequences of the famine have shown more eloquently than ever before the inadequacy of Russia's technical equipment. This is an evil that will take a long time to remedy and which unfortunately renders the heroism of the peasants ineffective.

It is known at what an enormous cost the collection and transportation of seed grain was effected. The question of quantity was of vital importance, and the program formulated was brilliantly put through. What the state could not provide, was bought by the peasants and the Co-operative Societies, or was imported from abroad. But what immense fertile tracts of land remained uncultivated, thus diminishing production! The pre-war area under cultivation is far from being realized. How many ploughs and how much agricultural machinery, how many horses and tractors are needed to plant the whole cultivable area! Besides, in the 12 to 15 stricken provinces, there is a great diversity of soils, each one of which can only give a maximum yield through a definite quality of seed. Moreover, not only was it impossible to provide each district with the precise quality of grain desired, but it would have been quite impossible to procure it either in Russia or abroad. As a result, the seed which was unsuited to local conditions and to the climate has not given the normal yield. For the same reason the areas under cultivation present a very unequal aspect. Thus, the Samara province received from the Ukraine autumn seed instead of spring seed; varieties of corn have been sown which will not ripen in these regions. Many kinds of spring seed are not suitable to the Volga climate. All this was of course inevitable in this year, and thus it contributes to the prolongation of the effects of the famine.

All this shows that there is no ground for exaggerated statements. The stricken provinces are on the way to recovery; but their convalescence still needs help, and in this field much can be done by the working-class of Western Europe. But this help must change its character. During the crisis it consisted mostly in providing food, and bore a more or less humanitarian character. Today, in general, relief work is not concerned in feeding the starving peasants condemned to a terrible death, or in saving abandoned children dying of hunger in the streets. The work which remains to be done is greater, of a vaster extent and more fruitful. Its task is to prevent the recurrence of a similar catastrophe, and to aid the Russian Government in its efforts to develop agricultural production.

To merely restore agriculture, that is to say,

raise it to its pre-war standard, is today a very difficult task, as production has fallen to nearly half of what it was before the war. But even this would be insufficient, for under the Tsar, Russia suffered from a partial shortage every five years and from a famine every ten years. Therefore the Soviet Government has worked out a scheme, through a commission of experts, for the irrigation of the parched lands of the South-East (by means of canals, artificial lakes, etc.), for the drainage of the marshy lands of the North, reforestation, mechanical tillage, etc.

A large part of the credits asked for at the Hague were intended for use in this work, by which not only Russia, but the whole world would profit. The capitalist states have refused these credits. It remains for the workers of all countries to find the means of coming to the aid of those who are the sole obstacle to capitalist and militarist reaction. The American workers are going to raise a million dollars to reconstruct the clothing industry in Russia. Why should not the workers of all countries collect millions of pounds, francs, lire and marks, to supply ploughs, tractors, selected seed grain, and breeding stock for Russian agriculture? It is in this direction that the various relief committees should conduct their work. Russia has today less need than ever of mere charity; what she desires is a fruitful co-operation for the benefit of all. She is working hard, she never lost courage even during the horrors of the famine; and today she is filled with the hope of a favorable harvest and she is convinced that even though she may be weak for a time, she can work with those who wish to help her and will recompense them for their pains.

From a peasantry which was literally reduced to cannibalism, and yet refrained from eating the grain destined for sowing, we may expect anything. Kalinin said that in the Crimea 14,500 people died in February, 20,000 in March, 12,700 in May. Hardly a fifth of the arable area has been sown and the harvest prospects are none too bright. And yet, facing the most unfavorable conditions, practically isolated, the population has not lost courage. Political life is not dead, they are interested in the international conferences at the Hague and in Genoa, they struggle energetically, and with the greatest ingeniousness, against the famine and the locusts. Kalinin was astounded to see people whose every thought was concentrated on how to get their daily bread, which they often went without, putting forth such energy. And he is perfectly right in explaining that this hope and bravery is the result of the confidence inspired by the Soviet Government in the efficacy of its aid.

The famine proper may be said to be nearing its end; but its effects remain disastrous. Thanks to its energy, organized and sustained by its government, Russia has emerged victorious from this new trial. Foreign aid has relieved much suffering and saved many lives. Today, Russia is convalescing and will soon stand powerful before international capital. But for the present it still

needs the assistance of all its friends. Far from coming to an end, the movement of proletarian solidarity must continue with increased energy. It has known how to fight the various forms of

intervention, the economic blockade and the famine. It will find a practical means of collaborating in the rebirth of the economic prosperity of the first State born of the Social Revolution.

The Exploit of Private Karachun

By CHARLES RECHT

THE historian of the Russian Revolution will be somewhat put to it in deciding what heroes to applaud when he writes of an age which disbelieves in heroes and when he describes a country where heroism is quite commonplace. A mass movement like the Russian Revolution brought in its wake countless unrecognized episodes of sacrifice and suffering of individuals of whom it must be said that to "read their history in a nation's eyes their lot forbade".

But if at any time an encyclopædic almanac is to be written for the benefit of the future sons and daughters of the Russian Revolution, which will then have become a conservative and model event, I am writing the present article as an effort to assure that there shall at least be a footnote in pink to commemorate the exploit of Private Antony Karachun. In that tragic farce, Mr. Wilson's private war in Siberia, Karachun was the Nathan Hale, a swaggering, undramatic one who is now hopeful that he may give his life to his country by digging trenches—for potatoes—near Rumayefka, Siberia, as soon as he is released from his confinement in a State of Washington jail. But how Karachun became a "traitor" by refusing to fight against his own countrymen, and how he "deserted" by joining his country's army to repel invaders, all of this is just a detail of the huge Alice in Blunderland panorama proving that a slogan-breeding pen and a slogan-spouting mouth has a greater mule-moving power than all the cannons and blunderbusses.

Wilson, who proclaimed a holier than thou war against a nation because it had declared a treaty to be a mere scrap of paper, convinced a lot of young crusaders that in violating treaties and conventions they were all little Galahads, rescuing Her Ladyship Democracy from the Huns—and he ordered them to repel an attack by the Germans in France by shooting his allies, the Russians, in the back, in Siberia. For to the depth of mankind's stupidity there seems to be no end. And in this *mutatis mutandis* epoch of world events Karachun found himself in a regiment of soldiers, waging war against his native village—and thereby hangs the following tale. Now conceive, if you please, Private Karachun, formerly of the 31st Infantry, a plain Russian laborer with a wife and child in Siberia. Conceive him on an American army transport bound for Vladivostok to invade Siberia, a warrior for democracy, fully equipped, from gas mask and bayonet to toothbrush. Curtain.

Act II. Two years have elapsed. The scene

takes place in the barracks of a United States army fort in the Philippine Islands. The Stars and Stripes are waving over the buildings, but it is far from Siberia or San Francisco. Dapper officers flanked by bayonet holding files on parade, sit all in a row at a plain wooden table. Before them, in a crouching attitude, is the dejected figure of an unkempt Private, just out of the guard house. It is Antony Karachun, on trial for his life. He is charged with desertion, with having joined and operated with enemy forces while the United States was at war, and several other articles of war. The court proceeds with some preliminaries, such as objections to jurisdiction; and there are remarks, such as "court is closed", and "court is open"; but Karachun sees no point to all these proceedings, for he has a naive and a stubborn mind. His thoughts are wandering off to Rumayefka, and he cannot admit the logic of the facts about him.

His fellow soldiers are called to testify against him; and in their dry, pseudo-militaristic way, they reveal the history of the exploit of Karachun. For instance, there is Captain Lindsay P. Johns, of the 27th Infantry, who testifies as follows:

"I took over this Sviagino sector about the 20th of May, 1919. The day that I relieved Company F, of the 31st Infantry, I received a telephone message from Kraefski, which was a sub-station on the railroad, about fifteen miles west of headquarters, that the station had been raided the previous night, the station master arrested by the Bolsheviki, and quite a lot of telephone accessories taken from him in the station. I took an interpreter and eight men and went to Kraefski. We found the station master's wife there, and she reported that there had been about thirty Bolsheviki from the village of Kamaronka, had accused her husband of giving information to Cossack troops, and had carried him over to this village of Kamaronka for trial. I asked her to identify or tell me some of the persons who were in the band—the village of Kamaronka was only a mile from this station. She said the only man she knew was a man named Karachun. She described....."

At this point the Captain is interrupted by the objections of counsel, but later on he continues the story.

"About one o'clock in the morning of the 12th of June, the railroad was cut, the railroad line, just below—that is, east of Sviagino and also to the west—during the night. At 4:30 in the morning—about 4:30—a Bolsheviki detachment of about two hundred and fifty men attacked the American camp of twenty-five men, of Company F, 27th Infantry, at Kraefski, and killed one American, wounded one, and captured two.

"I took a detachment from Sviagino after we had repaired the railroad south and east, and moved up towards Kraefski to see what was going on up there. We got there a little after noon. I took over four Bolsheviki

prisoners who had been captured by the Americans, and helped bury eleven that had been killed, and went back to Sviagino and reported to Colonel Sillman. The Colonel ordered me to get those two Americans back by working an exchange of those prisoners. I went to Kraefski the following day and sent a message to this town of Ruzemefke—they call it three or four different things—which was about twenty-five miles back in the hills, asking for the return of those prisoners. Two days later I received a message from the partisan commander, Bolsheviki Commander, that he would release the private at a certain hour on a certain day, and requested me to release one man at that time, which I did. The private got in, and the same day I received another message from the Bolsheviki Commander with regard to the release of the Sergeant. At the same (time) I received a note, written in long-hand, which read like this: 'Commanding Officer, American Troops, Kraefski: Give my regards to all the Americans. Ex-American soldier, Antoni Karachun.' Up to this time I didn't know who this man was. I had heard of him after the raid on the Kraefski station when the station master had been captured and taken away. So I reported to Vladivostok. Unfortunately that note was lost. We had four or five attacks there in that section in those days, and the note was lost. I think I turned it over to Major Wallace before it was lost. Somebody lost it, though. I received a telegram from the Chief of Staff at Vladivostok to make every effort to capture this man; that he was a deserter from the 31st Infantry, and they sent me a thousand rubles, they were worth about \$110.00, to help secure information against him."

So much for Captain Johns.

The next witness is Corporal Charles E. Batchelder of the 31st Infantry. After a few preliminaries Batchelder is permitted to tell his story. He testifies:

"Part of the month (of June) I was stationed in Spasskoe, Siberia, and we were strung along the road in detachments. There was a detachment of my platoon stationed at Kraefski; we were stationed there about three days. I was sent out by the platoon commander, Lieutenant Rich, the morning of June 11th. In returning, about 3:30 the morning of June 12th, I was captured with a private. And this man, this Karachun, was there. I did not know him from anyone else until he passed the remark that he belonged to the 31st Infantry. We marched back up the road towards Renovka, about two miles. Then, I don't know what they were voting on, but they were lined up and the Commander-in-Chief, Gurko, with a few men, started towards Renovka, taking Private Burt and myself as prisoners. The balance of his men, under the command of this Karachun here, was sent down to attack the station. I never saw anything more of Karachun until the next morning. We were taken back over the mountains to a place called Ruzemefke, which was the Commander-in-Chief's home—he lived there; had a wife and child. The next day, about 9:00 or 10:00 o'clock, this Karachun showed up. He went on to tell me about what a great scrap they had had down there; that he had shot the platoon all to pieces; that he knew Lieutenant Rich was dead because he took a shot at him himself and saw him fall. The Private was held five days as a prisoner and sent in; I was held fourteen; and this Karachun, I was around with him all the time for about seven days. He left Ruzemefke and went to Usbaka; said he was going to see his wife. I never saw him afterwards until I saw him in the guard house over here."

The last witness is Private William J. Jennings, of Company G, 31st Infantry, who describes how Karachun was captured by the American forces at Churkin Point, in the city of Vladivostok. Referring to the 20th of February, 1920, the private testifies:

"On this night that I was walking post, Karachun was coming down the railroad track; it was about dusk. I challenged him and in answer to my challenge, he said,

'A Russian'. I then advanced towards him and he says, 'Aren't you going to advance me?' I then challenged him again, and he advanced. He began talking about the shipping—the ships leaving there, the property from the base, and asked me what was on the three cars that were there. I then told him. Then he wanted to know if I should like to earn some money. I asked him what he meant, and he told me to let him take some of the property from the cars and he would give me half of anything that I wanted from him. I told him I could not very well do it. He said I could go to the other side of the cars and nobody would see me letting him take it. As I was the only man there that night—the rest of them being on patrol—I told him to come back the next day at four o'clock. As soon as the Corporal of the Guard returned that evening I reported it. The next day at four o'clock the Corporal of the Guard walked out of the cars and Karachun was out there. I started out behind the Corporal and met him as he was bringing him in. He was then turned over to Lieutenant Metler. He had also told me of his living at Churkin Point; also that he had been making his living off of the stuff that was there. He asked me if I remembered the night that there was four or five shots fired by a sentry. I said yes, and he said that was him and four more of his companions; also that he had been in the American Army before this. I asked him how he came to Siberia. He said he came there with the American Forces. I don't remember. I guess that's about all."

The testimony then discloses that after being captured, he was taken before the officers, examined, his story was found out, and he was transported to the Philippine Islands for trial. To prove that the man was a bad soldier, and had intentions of maliciously deserting, a Sergeant called by the prosecution states that he gathered this information from him:

"Why, a good deal in his talk, sir, I heard him make one statement—he made it to me in particular, he said he never wanted to soldier in the American Army; and he was very slack about doing any duty he was told to do and he seemed to have a grudge, or to think that other people had a grudge against him. It seems that he had a trial once before, and he told me personally, in these words, he said: 'What did they try me for? I didn't do nothing.'"

Asked by an officer why the sergeant believed that Karachun "did not care for the service in the army or whether he gave any reasons for his dislike," the sergeant states:

"No, sir, except one time he said, 'I don't see what they have an army for to shoot up poor people.'"

Following is the testimony of the sergeant in reference to Karachun's desertion:

"I asked him why he left, what he had expected to get out of it, and he made some statement again that he had never wanted to soldier in the American Army; that he was a Russian born, and he says: 'I don't want to soldier and never did.' He says, 'If they kill me, I want them to kill me here, and bury me here; it is my own country.'"

The court-martial ends. The court is closed. After a short while it returns. The prisoner is found guilty.

The court is closed and sentences the accused, Private Antoni Karachun, (2368422), Machine Gun Company, 31st Infantry, to be hanged by the neck until dead; two thirds of the members of the court having concurred in the sentence.

The prisoner is led away to the guard house. The officers undoubtedly are going to dinner. The Stars and Stripes keep on flying in the air, even over the Y. M. C. A. Hut, where besides other

volumes, *The New Freedom* offers itself to the guileless disciples. Apparently "everybody's happy".

Act III. The case of prisoner Karachun, neatly typewritten and bound with its drastic sentence, now proceeds to the General Headquarters at Manila, Philippine Islands, for review. It is the 26th day of June, 1920, undoubtedly a warm afternoon, and the General reviewing the court-martial and the sentence is apparently displeased. It may be with Karachun's case, or with the weather, or both. Before the officer lie many learned tomes or international and military laws, and he reads some passages which throw an unpleasant light on the case. For instance, says one of the volumes, that—

"In 1907, the United States, together with forty other nations assembled at the Hague Conference, signed a Convention one of whose sections provides:

"A belligerent is forbidden to compel the nationals of the hostile party to take part in the operations of war directed against their own country, *even if they were in the belligerent's service before the commencement of war.*" Second Conference of Hague, Convention No. 4 of 1917, Section 23 (h). Cf: American Journal of International Law, (1908), Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 71; also 'Leading Cases on International Law,' (3rd ed.), Part 2, p. 490.

"Wheaton interprets this provision as follows:

"The operations referred to are clearly of a more comprehensive character than 'military operations'. They would include service in all kinds of work that are immediately or will be subsequently useful to the belligerent in the carrying on of the war. It is unlawful to force enemy subjects to build fortifications, to dig trenches, to manufacture war materials, etc.' Wheaton, 'International Law', (5th ed.) p. 503, cf. also p. 462.

"This provision enacts a cardinal principle of international law that was first formulated by the Declaration of St. Petersburg in 1868 and has ever since received the unanimous and unquestioned approval of authorities of international law. (Cf., e. g., Hannis Taylor, writing many years before the Hague Conference, in 'International Law', p. 494.)

"The United States Government has repeatedly recognized the humanity and profoundly just character of the principle. Thus, in 1890, the Acting Secretary of State wrote the American minister to Mexico that:

"There is scarcely any act of which a nation could be less tolerant than that of a neighboring power forcibly impressing its citizens into their military service, *perhaps to be obliged at some future time to be fighting against their own flag.*" 4 Moore, op. cit., 59."

Under International Law, then, the American Army could not legally compel, had no legal right to compel, the defendant, a Russian citizen, to serve on Russian soil in any military capacity against his own country. The defendant was therefore under no correlative duty to serve the United States Army in any military capacity against his own country. Under Wheaton's interpretation of the Convention, he was under no duty to dig trenches, to build fortifications, or do any kind or manner of work that would be useful to the American Army in its hostilities. It would almost seem clear that Karachun was improperly drafted, unless by being drafted he became a citizen and as such it was his duty to wage war against America's enemy. The logic is about as thin as that of a monk who in order to eat meat

on Friday should baptize ham as cod. But still in these Wilsonian days of thin logic it might do. Again the books on international law give him pause for thought:

"Under the Constitution of the United States (Section 8, II) only Congress is given the power to declare war. The President of the United States has the power of declaring war only in case the United States is invaded by a hostile army. 40 Cyc. 304; 7 Moore, *Digest of International Law*, 167. A court must take judicial notice of the fact that neither the President, who has not constitutional power to declare war upon Russia because Russian forces never invaded the United States, nor Congress, which did have the power, ever declared war against Russia. The presence of the United States forces in Siberia was an anomaly that neither the State Department nor any other official American body has ever sought to explain, not to say justify.

"Furthermore, it was an anomaly that flies in the face of not only the American Constitution but of those principles of international law the adoption of which the representatives of the United States to the Hague Conference had been urging for years, and which they solemnly subscribed to. One of those principles written into international law by the Hague Conferences was the opening Article of the Third Convention in 1907:

"The contracting parties must recognize that hostilities between them must not commence without a previous and explicit warning in the form of a declaration of war." Cf. for interpretation and comment, 2 Oppenheim, 'International Law', 126 et seq.

"No sanction of international morality can be found for the unexpected and never justified presence of the American troops in Siberia."

The officer is apparently embarrassed, for Karachun is on his hands, and in prison, and somehow he must be disposed of; for, after all, possession means jurisdiction, does it not? The officer examines the 58th Article of War, one of the counts on which the defendant was convicted. He reads:

"Any person subject to military law who deserts or attempts to desert the service of the United States shall if the offense be committed *in time of war* suffer death or such other punishment as a court martial may direct, and if the offense be committed at any other time, any punishment excepting death which the court martial may direct."

The defendant had been further charged with violation of the 81st Article of War, which provides that

"Whoever relieves the *enemy* or, etc....."

But there seems to be a hitch in that logic.

"But even if the defendant had still been subject to the military jurisdiction, authority amply supports the conclusion that the United States Army could not *even then* have seized him in Russia and forcibly transported him.

"The digest of the Opinions of the Judge-Advocate General presents the following cases that are in point:

"Arrests of deserters must be effected within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States unless authorized by international convention." Cited by Davis, Military Law, p. 423; Dig. 346, par. 21; p. 347, par. 29.

"The arrest of the deserter must be a legal one. An arrest of an American deserter made on the soil of Mexico involves a violation of the territorial rights of that sovereignty." Davis, op. cit., p. 425, Dig. p. 347, par. 27.

"A deserter from our army cannot in the absence of any international convention allowing it, be legally arrested in Mexico and brought thence to Texas." Dig. p. 401."

"This is also recognized by the American civil courts, as witness a case decided last year by the highest court of Texas, holding:

"The entry into Mexico by United States soldiers

for the purpose of apprehending offenders against United States law, is a violation of Mexican territory, contrary to the law of nations, in the absence of the consent of the Mexican Government.' 234 SW 79.

"Further, not only had the United States Army no authority to arrest deserters outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, but the forcible removal of such deserters from their own country is illegal unless there are proper extradition proceedings.

"All demands for extradition must come from the executive authority of the demanding state. *There can be no legal extradition without a prior requisition to that effect in accordance with an extradition treaty.*' 4 Moore, op. cit. 355.

"The law of nations embraces no provisions for the surrender of persons who are fugitives from the offended laws of the country to the territory of another. It is only by treaty that such a surrender can be made.' 4 Moore, op. cit. 245.

"The infliction of punishment involves an exertion of power, and power implies subjection.... For a nation to hold its penal laws to be binding on all persons within the territory of another state, is to assert a right of sovereignty over the latter.... When a man in his own country violates the laws, he is answerable, for his misconduct, to those laws alone.... because the person he attacks is a foreigner would, in principle, subject him in his own country to a dual, but to an indefinite responsibility. The punishment by one state of the citizen of another state for an act for which he is solely answerable to the laws of the latter, or even for an act for which he was not answerable to the laws of the former, is a public wrong.' Davis, 'Elements of International Law', p. 169, Note 1.

"There can be no actual extradition without proper requisition to that effect....' Davis, op. cit., p. 174, par. 1, par. 2, note 2."

The officer seems bored. Finally, with resolution he shakes off his lethargy and displeasure. After all, these books are only paper treaties. But there was Karachun in person. His violations of the Articles of War were real things; and besides, Karachun was in the hands of the army. Against such treaties Karachun was a living fact. A living fact all ready for hanging, and the army was ready and willing, all the treaties to the contrary notwithstanding. But there were the books, and it did not seem to be quite right. After all, technically, Russians were not enemies, were they? Maybe on that peg one could hang a compromise. The officer seems to be lost in abstract thought. Maybe he is thinking of the treaties and discipline—or maybe he is thinking of the prisoner's wife and child in Siberia, and the primeval right of every man to defend his own land against an armed invader; and maybe the absurdity of the entire proceedings appears to him. He bangs his books with vigor. He has achieved the desideratum—a compromise. Slowly and resolutely he writes the reviewing sentence:

"In the foregoing case of Private Antoni Karachun, Machine Gun Company, 31st Infantry, the findings of the Specification, Charge II, and of Charge II, are disapproved because in the opinion of the reviewing authority it is at least doubtful that the Russians with whom the American troops came in contact in Siberia were 'enemies' in the meaning of the 81st Article of War. The findings of Specification, Charge III, and of Charge III, are disapproved because of insufficient evidence of record to support them. The sentence is approved, but the execution thereof is suspended until the pleasure of the President be known, and the record of trial is forwarded for action under the fifty-first Article of War, recommending that the sentence be commuted to dishonorable discharge, total forfeitures

and confinement at hard labor for twenty (20) years." In Washington the Great White Father orders the recommendation approved.

Tableau. Neat sheepskin-bound treaties in the United States State Department. Snow covered graves in Siberia. It is two years since Antoni Karachun has begun his twenty year sentence behind the bars of the prison at McNeil's Island, Washington. Fine, democratic war speeches of the late President Woodrow Wilson gathering dust in public libraries. — And the poppies that grow in Flanders fields—they have nothing to do with this case.

The Russian Bread Loan

By EUGENE VARGA

SINCE the establishment of the Russian Soviet Republic, the Government is now for the first time applying to the public for a loan. Let us say at the outset that the experiment of this first internal loan has met with full success. The amount of the loan, calculated at ten million poods (1 pood=36 lbs.), has been fully subscribed and its equivalent fully paid in money.

The peculiarity of this loan consists in the fact that though paid in money, it is repaid in grain. This is a loan for a very short term. The money is paid in now, and the subscribers will receive the subscribed amount of grain before the conclusion of the current year, as soon as the tax in kind is collected.

The particular form of this internal loan is the result of the uncertain money conditions in Soviet Russia. Until May of the current year, the ruble showed a rapid depreciation. For this reason it seemed impossible to raise a money loan in the internal market, as nobody knew what purchasing value the Soviet ruble would have after half a year.

The advantage for the subscribers of the loan consists in the fact that already today, i. e., with today's purchasing power of the ruble, they can cover their needs in grain, thus protecting themselves against a further depreciation of the ruble. The advantage for the Government consists in the fact that it receives at once—in the shape of money—part of the tax in kind to be collected in the fall. This presents two advantages: first, it enables the government immediately to purchase, for the money collected, grain for the famine regions; second, it contributes rather considerably to the stabilization of the exchange rate of the ruble, thus holding up the depreciation of the ruble, which was proceeding at such a catastrophic rate in the first months of 1922.

It is well known that the advance of prices in Russia—at least as far as foodstuffs are concerned—not only came to a stop in May, but that there even ensued a sudden drop in prices, which in the South, i. e., in Odessa and Rostov, was 30 per cent. In the northern regions the decrease in prices was somewhat less considerable. This means that the high cost of foodstuffs this year was specu-



MARTIN ANDERSEN NEXØ

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lative in origin, and that it broke down on account of the good harvest prospects and the arrival of foreign grain. Thus it depends upon the result of the harvest whether the subscribers to the bread loan have speculated at a profit or at a loss, whether the price of the grain will in the Fall be higher or lower than the grain prices that were taken as a basis for the loan.

An interesting innovation of the bread loan is the provision that in the Fall the peasants are allowed to use the bonds for the payment of the tax in kind. The peasant who has today paid the price for a certain amount of grain, in the form of a loan, in the Fall gives these loan bonds to the State instead of giving grain. This is thus an attempt to pass from the tax in kind to a tax in money.

This is being attempted at first on a small scale: ten million poods are not more than about 170,000 tons. It is not the quantity of the money or of the grain which makes the loan so important, but the fact that the Soviet Government has succeeded in putting through successfully an internal loan, a thing which at present is an impossible thing for many capitalist governments. At the same time this gives opportunity for gathering experience and building up an apparatus for further large loans, which will be necessary for the stabilization of

the exchange rate of the ruble and for the covering of the deficit in the state economy.

The success of the loan has also a political significance: it proves that the large masses of the Russian people have full confidence in the Soviet Government; it is a political vote of confidence, on a large scale, that the Soviet Government has received through the success of the grain loan.

The Proletariat Continues Its Support of Starving Russia

By WILLY MÜNZENBERG

WITH regard to the grave damages sustained by the economic life of Russia through the famine, the International Famine Relief Congress in Berlin has made known its decision to continue its aid for the Russian famine and the reconstruction of economic life, without abatement. Upon their return to their native lands, the various delegates have immediately acted upon this decision by initiating a new and energetic propaganda in favor of assistance for the famine regions and economic reconstruction. In nearly all countries, efforts are being continued to bring help to the workers and peasants of Russia. Thanks to the untiring sacrifices and vigorous solidarity of the workers, it was possible for the Workers' Relief Committee, in the last few weeks, to arrange for the sending of several ships, laden with foodstuffs and other necessities, to Russia. Petrograd has recently telegraphed that a few days ago, the Swedish steamer *Sölwig*, with foodstuffs, clothing, shoes and tools, to the value of 24,000 Swedish crowns, arrived in that port. At about the same time, a large American steamer, the *Belvedere*, arrived in Petrograd with 1100 tons of flour, sent by the *Friends of Soviet Russia* to be distributed among the famine sufferers through the agency of the International Workers' Relief Committee. The steamer *Tarrudant*, from Marseilles, on July 30, brought to Odessa 1200 tons of rice, as a gift from the French workers to their Russian brothers. The steamer *Rockaway Park* left America on July 18, with food, clothes and shoes for the Workers' Relief. As soon as the seamen's strike in Stettin is ended, or as soon as the strike committee there decides not to consider relief cargoes for their starving brothers in Russia as capitalist merchandise, the steamer *Bürgermeister Hagen* will sail for Petrograd with 400 tons of flour, 10,000 kilograms of fats, with the French Relief Train's contribution of 140 carloads of flour, fats, grain, other foodstuffs, shoes, clothes, tools, etc., and 100 more tons of machinery, tools, motor cars, etc.

At the Hague, the capitalists have once again declined to extend credits and trading facilities to Russia. The common exertions of the international proletariat must and will see to it that the ships which have arrived in Russia, or which are on their way there, should soon be again en route for Russia with relief materials of all kinds.

The Fear of Disarmament

By KARL RADEK

EVERYBODY must have noticed how difficult it seems to be for the states neighboring on Russia to find an answer to the note of the Soviet Government concerning mutual restriction of armaments. Every day it becomes clearer and clearer that we are here dealing with an outright case of sabotage.

The Latvian Government answered that as a matter of principle it would gladly accept the proposal of the Soviet Government, but that it would have to consult the other Baltic countries. The Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Enkel, an adherent of the hangman of the Finnish Soviet Republic, Von der Goltz, and at present a not less sincere admirer of France, endeavors to delay his answer to the note by various quibbling questions: as to when and where the conference should take place, etc., in order to avoid a direct answer to this important question. Still worse is the situation with regard to Poland. For more than three weeks Poland has been the scene of a farcical ministerial crisis. First, the Parliament was quarreling with the Chief of State, Pilsudski, over the constitutional problem as to who has the right in a democratic republic to nominate the government: the Parliament, whose existence is illegal because as a constituent assembly it was called simply to establish a constitution, or the Chief of State who, of course, has not the right to nominate a government against the will of the Parliament. The question was decided by having Mr. Pilsudski place the formation of the new cabinet in the hands of Mr. Sliwinski, who among historians is considered a very important novelist, but who among novelists is considered a very poor historian. The first act of this gifted writer was to dismiss Count Skirmunt, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is quite superfluous to mention that Count Skirmunt was never a Bolshevik; this is vouched for by his former membership in the Council of the Tsar, and by the fact that he is the owner of large tracts of land in Lithuania. But the Chief of State hated Mr. Skirmunt—first, because the latter understood very well that it is impossible to follow France's policy slavishly, and secondly, because he also saw the necessity of a peace with Russia. So Mr. Skirmunt was discharged. And this speaks volumes as to the future Polish Government, as well as on the cause of the silence of the Polish Government with reference to the proposal of the Soviet Government concerning the limitation of armaments.

For this reason all Russian Red Army men, workers and peasants, as well as the workers and peasants of other countries, should know: The Soviet Government has proposed a mutual limitation of arms so that the workers and peasants may be able to return to work. The governments of Latvia, Esthonia, Finland and Poland, however, did everything in their power to postpone enter-

ing into this question which is so important for the working classes of all countries. There is no doubt that this sabotage is not only the work of our neighboring states, but also that of much more powerful European forces, and first of all, of French imperialism.

French imperialism had already declared that the existence of the Red Army makes it imperative for it to keep in arms an enormous army. For France, it would be painful to be obliged to relinquish this argument. And for this reason French diplomacy is endeavoring to restrain the governments of the former Russian provinces from disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Government. We made this proposal quite sincerely for the single reason that we desired a part of our Red Army to be enabled to return to productive work. The refusal to answer our proposal shows the popular masses of Russia that it is our neighbors who do not desire a diminution of the burden of arms, because they do not want to cease to serve as cannon fodder for French militarism. Let the governments of our neighbors reproach themselves with the consequences of this silence, and the Polish, Latvian, Esthonian and Finnish masses must learn who will bear the guilt for frustrating the limitation of armaments.

In the Hague there is at present assembled a council of experts of the capitalist countries who are presenting us with a large bill for our debts. Let them know who has exhausted our resources from which in the future we could have paid a part of the demands made upon us. The French press has written many silly things about a military agreement between Soviet Russia and Germany, according to which we are alleged to have obliged ourselves to maintain an enormous army. If Poland and its more or less sincere friends decline to reply to the question concerning the limitation of armaments, it must begin to dawn even on the simplest minds that it is not because of a secret agreement with Germany, but because of a secret agreement between France and our neighbors, that we must keep our army intact.

OUR RELIEF COLLECTIONS

The F. S. R. has now collected nearly \$750,000 from all its contributing sources. Money is still needed for agricultural and other machinery to be sent to Russia, and occasional food shipments may also be necessary if the famine continues to move to the industrial centres from the grain regions. Are you actively engaged in collecting money?

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th St.,

New York, N. Y.

Need For Famine Relief Continues

By ROBERT W. DUNN

The following communication, released by the American Friends Service Committee ("The Quakers"), was received by the Committee, by mail, from Sorochinskoye, Buzuluk County, Province of Samara. It is clear from this letter that the need for famine relief is still acute.

AFTER a trip through some of the southern volosts* fed by the American Friends Mission I can only repeat what I wrote two weeks ago. A new famine, or at least a continuation of the old famine, is now a fact in more than half of the eighteen volosts in the American-fed territory. Feeding on a famine scale will have to continue throughout the coming winter. There is no other way of saving the population.

The conditions in Barabanovaya Volost, of which Gamaleyevka is the volost center, had prepared me for what I found in both Matveyeskaya and Shestakovskaya Volosts. Jessica Smith, the Quaker Supervisor for this District, had told me that the entire crop of 800 dessiatins** of millet had been ruined by the thirty days of uninterrupted drought, that more than half of the wheat was lost, that the barley was very bad, and that the rye harvested had yielded a bare 25 pood† to the dessiatin. (In good years this should run from 60 to 200 poods, depending upon the density of the planting.) This was Barabanovaya, one of the "better" volosts, where they had been saying a month ago "the other crops look poor but we can depend on our millet." The showers of yesterday were not equal to the task of reviving this millet. It is gone and with it the hope of surviving through another winter, unless the Quakers continue their systematic feeding.

Together with Jessica Smith and Walter Wildman, Director of the Russian Unit, who has been making a visit to the field this week, I went south toward the Ural Cossack lands to explore the conditions in the two southern volosts.

We passed through the capital town of Matveyeskaya Volost, wishing to see the actual conditions before we read any of the discouraging reports the volost officials would be expected to hand us. Stari Beligorki, a town two-thirds Tartar and one-third Russian, was our first stop. Of the 140 dessiatins of rye from which a crop had been expected only 80 yielded anything. Even if the crops had been extraordinarily fruitful from the amounts of seed planted (about 15 funts‡ per soul), there would not have been enough grain to last them more than two or three months. With almost half of the planted land a total failure and the yield on the rest far below the medium, the outlook for this village is no better than the worst I have seen in some of the even more impoverished volosts to the north. It means another year of famine, nothing less.

Of course there will be little grain to plant this fall or next spring. But even had they sufficient to seed a larger area, they would be unable to plow more than they did last fall. In some towns in this volost they estimated they would not be able to plow as much, so great has been the death rate of horses. Out of 2755 in this volost last summer only 223 remain. The human population has dropped from 11,500 to 6,000; there was one horse to every 4 or 5 persons last summer; now there is one horse to every 27 souls.

In Shestakovskaya Volost it is even worse. A month ago they told Jessica Smith that only four of the ten villages would be able to feed themselves and that only if the crops were good. Yesterday they came to tell us that none of the villages could survive the winter without help for almost the entire population.

Take Pronkino for example. We have it on the word of both the village priest and the President of the Soviet that the millet is entirely burnt up and that the other crops, with the exception of the rye, promise almost nothing. Even the rye will yield a sickly crop as compared with other years pre-war. The President himself formerly owned 13 horses. The famine has taken all but one. Last year he had 4 dessiatins planted; this year he has but one, and half of that is lost.

We ask this local official how much land the people in Pronkino will be able to plant. He answers that he knows they will not be able to plow as much as last year, but even if they could, would it be worth while? "Dear tovarishch," he asked as his eyes filled with tears, "is there any use planting the little rye we possess, if we are to starve during the winter?" It was the same questions the peasants in these volosts put to Anna Haines last fall. And we answered as affirmatively as we felt we could: "Plant your rye, tovarishch, we will do what we can to help you." Some of those who heard these words from the lips of Anna Haines last summer have probably died. Some who will hear it from our lips will die—unless the Friends organization, now much more completely equipped to do famine service, can keep pouring the food into Buzuluk County.

Then there is Bashirov, a dusty Tartar village where there was some cannibalism last winter. They tell us that last year they had cows and horses to kill. They lived on meat apparently,—that of both man and animal. But they lived. They tell us their chances of surviving are less this fall. Their millet is altogether dried up. They are already going out to dig up weeds and roots in the field. They know there will be nothing else to eat during the winter. Some families, from

*Districts.

**1 dessiatin—approximately 2½ acres.

†1 pood—36 lbs.

‡1 funt—14 oz.

The Russian Church and the Famine



THE STARVING MAN: *Sell the chalice and buy food for the starving!*

THE PRIEST: *But we shall need the chalice in an hour or so, when you die of starvation, for your extreme unction.*

NOTE: The attitude of many church officials on the famine situation has been very unfortunate. Many bishops and others high in the Church resisted the collections of church utensils for sale for the benefit of the starving.

the rye they have harvested will be able to live a month, some six weeks, none of them any longer.

As for plowing for the future, they can think of nothing else. But it avails little to think when, for a population of 600, there are 11 horses, seven of which are at present too tired and sick to work. Of course there are no horses to be bought anywhere for less than from four to five hundred million rubles. No one in Bashirov ever saw that much paper money. It is quite out of the question to think of buying horses from itinerant horse speculators from Uralsk. Thus with no plowing to do, the population is reduced to sitting—sitting and waiting for winter to come and put an end to it all.... This the Tartars do not

like. Many of them are intelligent, charming, alert persons, in many respects superior to some of the Great Russians who live in the near-by villages. But both Russians and Tartars are human beings; both have their "right" to live and enjoy life even in the face of a hostile nature. It is against that hostile nature that the Friends Mission in cooperation with the Soviet Government will be waging a struggle throughout the coming winter. For there will be famine, unmistakable famine, in this and other towns and volosts in Buzuluk County, Russia.

*American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia, Pa.*

Russia and the Britannica

By J. W. H.

THE Encyclopedia Britannica, which issued in twenty-nine volumes the Eleventh Edition of its publication in 1910, has just supplemented that edition with three "New Volumes" (XXX, XXXI, XXXII, 1922) and thus created what is now called "The Twelfth Edition".

Together the three volumes have almost 3500 pages and while there is an excess of "war-stuff" in the form of maps and analyses of every one of the theatres of war that monopolized the newspapers to the point of nausea a few years ago, and also too much technical military material, there is on the other hand much information of interest. Presumably excellent summaries are given of the advance of each branch of learning since the appearance of the Eleventh Edition in 1910, and fairly good biographical and bibliographical supplements on most of the well known names that had been entered in that edition, together with many new entries of persons who have come into prominence during the decade.

Particularly encouraging to what President Hibben of Princeton would call "the international mind"—which that gentleman appears in some measure at least to lack—is the treatment accorded to German affairs in these new volumes. The Preface by Editor Chisholm does not misrepresent when it points out the desire of the staff which prepared the volumes to forget the hatreds engendered by the war and to repair to a higher ground, where men of once hostile nations may meet in the exchange of intellectual stimulus. German military men have been invited to write on the German operations in certain encounters, and even accounts of naval and colonial campaigns, written by British pens, show much generosity and magnanimity to the defeated enemy. The fact is here apparent in a book of learning that has already been made plain in many another field: that Englishmen on the whole want to get started on a sort of *modus vivendi* with Germany. The same detached spirit is shown in the treatment given to matters connected with other once hostile nations to Great Britain: Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Turkey.

But Russia was an ally of Great Britain, and surely the lot of the Russian people also meets with kindly sympathy in this new addition to the great monument of British learning? Well, let us say that at least one British authority, writing in the new Britannica, is aware of the seriousness of the part played by Russia as England's ally in the World War; C. F. A. (Major Charles Francis Atkinson, of the British Army), in the article **ARMY, RUSSIAN**, says:

"No detailed information is available as to the losses of the Russian army from 1914 to the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The most probable estimates give 1,700,000 dead and 2,500,000 prisoners as 'definitive' losses, i. e., exclusive of wounded, but in the absence of the data from which those estimates are built up, all that can be

said is that Russia lost more heavily in men than any other belligerent on either side."

Furthermore, Major Atkinson understands that whatever may be the military merits of the new Russian Army, they have no relation with any qualities or attributes of the Russian Army that began to dissolve in 1917. While he does not pursue the subject of Russia's military organizations into the Revolutionary period, he yet has this interesting general characterization of the new situation:

"But neither the Red Army nor the armies raised by the different counter-revolutionary leaders derive directly from the imperial army. Thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of individual ex-officers and ex-soldiers figured in these new organizations and imparted to them the routine practices, the uniforms, and many of the characteristic customs of the old army. But no organic continuity exists between the old and the new. The peace of Brest-Litovsk and the civil wars constitute not a new chapter but a new book in the history of Russian military institutions."

In these words there is as much of understanding and of prophecy as is implied in the short paragraph in which Major Atkinson concludes his observations on the German Army (Vol. XXX, P. 238):

"With the evacuation of occupied territory and the march home to demobilization—in most cases self-demobilization—the history of the Prussian and German army system built up by Frederick the Great, Scharnhorst and Moltke, came to an end."

But on the whole the Britannica has neither understanding nor sympathy for Russia. Most of the signed articles concerned with persons and things Russian are initialed "P. Vi.", which stands for the person described as follows in Vol. XXXII:

"VINOGRADOFF, SIR PAUL (1854-), Anglo-Russian jurist, was knighted in 1917. His more recent works include *Common Sense in Law* (Home University Library, 1914), *Self-Government in Russia* (1915), and editions of various works for the British Academy and Selden Society. During the World War he gave valuable assistance to the British Foreign Office in connection with Russian affairs."

Sir Paul Vinogradoff, who is Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, has not a favorable attitude toward the Russian Revolution. Perhaps one of the best single sentences in his encyclopedia articles to indicate his general position is that with which he terminates his laudatory biography of Alexander Benckendorff, the old reactionary who was Russian Ambassador to England at the beginning of the World War:

"Fortunately he did not live to see the débacle of Russian society in 1917. He died January 11, 1917."

In general, that is Sir Paul's position. While not so fortunate as those who died early enough to escape a vision of the 1917 débacle, Sir Paul yet has it in his power to close his eyes to much of that deplorable chapter. For instance, he allots to Russian generals who made peace with Bolshevism a much shorter biographical space than to their colleagues who remained true to reaction to

the end. "KORNILOV, LAVR GEORGIEVICH (1870-1918), Russian general and patriot", gets a column and a half of the Britannica's space, while punishment is meted out for his having consented to work for the Soviet Government to "BRUSSILOV, ALEXIS (1856-..)", apparently not a patriot, who "later accepted the Bolshevik regime, and was often, though erroneously, reported to be in supreme command of the Bolshevik armies during the wars of 1919-1920"; Brussilov gets barely one-third of one column, and yet the reader surely will recall the days when the Austrian armies in Galicia were fleeing before his advance, and he was hailed in the Pro-Allied press all over the world as the savior not only of Russia, but of civilization. While we are thinking of Galicia, and our eye happens to strike the article on "The Battles of the Carpathians" (XXX, 580-584), we are astonished to find that it is not Brussilov who contributes this article, but "Major Karl Mayern, Late General Staff, Austro-Hungarian Army, now of the Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, author of various monographs on the World War". It is delightful to see the former belligerents so amiably hobnobbing with each other, but we are sorry to see the "hero of the Carpathians" so soon forgotten merely because he has made peace with the government of his country. Kornilov, "Russian general and patriot", was not available for this contribution, as, in the words of Sir Paul Vinogradoff (XXXI, 687), "the man with the lion's heart" died in 1918:

"The attack in Yekaterinodar, however, resulted in a terrible misfortune. A stiff battle ensued and the Volunteer Army carried some of the outskirts of the town. But early on the morning of March 31 Kornilov was struck down by the burst of a shell and died without regaining consciousness. His loss was irreparable. A magnetic personality and born leader of men, he knew no fear and shared the hardships with his soldiers."

The reader will now fully understand the criterion that is applied with such a result as to give to "KOLCHAK, VLADIMIR VASSILIEVICH (1875-1920), Russian admiral", nearly two pages of the Britannica's space, and to "LENIN (originally Oulianov), VLADIMIR ILICH (1870-..), Russian Communist leader", less than one page. The article on Lenin is quite careless and verbose, while that on Kolchak is neat and concise. In the former, much is of course made of Lenin's preference for a victory of the Central powers in the Great War rather than for a victory of the Allies. We can understand Lenin's remark, as quoted by Sir Paul:

"Yes, we hope for the defeat of Russia because it will facilitate the internal victory of Russia—the abolition of her slavery, her liberation from the chains of Tsarism."

But we cannot understand how anyone can be stupid enough to rehash the old German gold story. Here it is again, in all its pristine glory, as Sir Paul Vinogradoff himself serves it in his article on Lenin (XXXI, 757):

"He and his associates found ready support from the funds at the disposal of the German secret service. And it came to pass that the Kaiser, who deemed himself the champion of monarchical principles in Europe, should assist him and his retinue to reach Russia after the overthrow of the Tsar."

The article on Lenin contains several other gems of malice and swift statement, but nothing to rival the German gold story. We do not encounter anywhere, by the way, in Sir Paul's articles, nor anywhere else in the new Britannica volumes, any reference to the tale of the "Nationalization of Women", but our knowledge of Sir Paul's prejudices leads us to suspect that this omission would rather be due to the good taste of his English publishers than to any good will on the part of Sir Paul. While Mr. Chisholm might permit a distinguished Russian reactionary to write articles for his Encyclopedia, he could not very well afford to let him run wild.

It will be remembered that at the beginning of the World War Russian statesmen distinguished themselves by long discussions of which would be the most advantageous alignment for Russia ultimately to adopt: with the Allies or with the Central Powers. In the case of Social-Patriotic or bourgeois Russian leaders, any little mistakes of policy in this matter are readily overlooked by Sir Paul, who thus delicately treats the aberrations of "Milyukov, Paul Nikolayevich (1859-), Russian politician and historian":

"When the World War broke out he stood squarely for a policy of national union and active cooperation with the Entente, but the ineptitude and corruption of the War Office and of the Court drove him into an attitude of increasing hostility."....

"When the Bolsheviks seized power he escaped to Kiev and lived there for some time under the rule of Skoropadsky, the German-appointed Hetman of the Ukraine. In this atmosphere, saturated by German influence, he gave up the cause of the Allies as lost, and began to speculate on the possibility of rebuilding the Russian State with the help of the Kaiser. He had conversations on the subject with von Munn, the German envoy in Kiev, and advised his fellow Cadets in the same sense. The majority of the latter were, however, firmly opposed to any pact with the arch-enemy of Russia, and the turnover on the western front put an end to these plans. After the Armistice Milyukov went to London and subsequently to Paris, where in 1921 he was directing a journal (*Latest News*) in which he advocated an alliance with patriotic socialists."

With reminiscent tenderness Sir Paul must have written the opening line of the article that begins with the sentence:

"DENIKIN, ANTON (1872-..), Russian general, was of humble descent and held democratic views."

And with sadness we read of the calamity that befell the unfortunate creatures who cast in their lot with the counter-revolutionary general Denikin, in 1920, regretting that the destinies of the general and his army might not have been reversed:

"Crowds of refugees gathered in Novorossiask in the first months of 1920; spotted typhus raged among them. The remnants of the Black Sea fleet and foreign ships carried loads of these wretched people to the Prinkipo Islands and to Lemnos, and Denikin himself left for Constantinople." (XXX, 827).

Sir Paul Vinogradoff neglects to tell us, in his article on Kolchak, that he considers the Admiral to have been the legitimate successor of the Tsarist and Kerensky Governments, but this is quite clear from the final paragraph of the article on "SAZONOV, SERGIUS DMITRIEVICH (1866-), Russian statesman" (XXXII, 373):

"He was preparing to start for London as ambassador to succeed Count Benckendorff, when the revolution of March 1917 broke out. He deplored its advent, which brought an end to Russia's participation in the war and plunged the country into an abyss of uncertainty and misfortune. He consented, however to proceed to London as an envoy of the Provisional Government when the fall of Milyukov and the subsequent degradation of the Government made it necessary for him to step aside. He was again put in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Admiral Kolchak, and proceeded to London and Paris in the hope of contributing by his personal authority to win a recognition of the claims of historical Russia from her former allies. Such hopes proved to be in vain. The Peace Treaty of Versailles made only general allusions to the possibility of her reappearance in the future. Nor was Sazonov the man to curry favor with Estonia, Latvia, and Georgia, in order to obtain help, at the cost of a renunciation of the imperial interests of his country."

We do not know who writes the article on "Bolshevism" in the New Volumes, but are sorry the writer should have inserted the following absurd paragraph:

"No wonder that Lenin and Trotsky were highly incensed by Kautsky's criticism. They excommunicated him as a traitor to the cause, along with other Socialist leaders. But it was significant that they had to adopt the badge of 'Communism' in order to mark their precise position in the field of rival doctrines. They had ceased to be Socialists in the accepted sense of the term." (XXX, 469).

Without attempting to set ourselves up as authorities on the requirements to be filled by those who write for the encyclopedias, we have the very definite opinion that no man can write on "BOL-

SHEVISM" without having read Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*. In that book, written in 1847, our author would have learned why Marx gladly relinquished the designation "Socialist" eighty years ago, and accepted that of "Communist" by preference. In brief, he was impelled to declare this preference by the very nature of the Socialistic organizations of his day, which bore a sad similarity to the Socialist Parties of 1922. But the fact that "BOMBTHROWERS" follows on the same page immediately after "BOLSHEVISM" is accidental (XXX, 469): it is the amiable artillery device of capitalist trench warfare that is meant, and not a revelation of Bolshevik proclivities.

We could point out in many other respects the defects of these volumes when they deal with Russia and with Russian persons—and we may come back to the subject—but for the present we shall close our quotations with a few gems from the article on Zinoviev:

"ZINOVIEV, GRIGORI (OVSEI GERSHON ARONOR) (1883-), Russian revolutionary politician, was born at Novomirgorod in 1883. He was of Jewish origin and his original name was Aronor, but he was known in early life under the names of Apfelbaum or Radomyslovsky and later adopted several designations, such as Shatski, Grigoriev, Grigori and Zinoviev, by the last two of which he is most frequently called.".....

".....In the summer of 1917 the paper *Den* published revelations showing that he had been formerly employed by the department of police, and this statement was not refuted."

Protecting the Poor Peasantry

By Y. STEKLOV

OUR enemies have been saying that in passing over to the new economic policy the Soviet Government becomes practically a servant of capital. They have been shouting that from now on the Soviet Government will no longer be able to defend the interests of the toiling masses against the exploitation of private capitalists, that it will light-heartedly sacrifice these interests as a gratuitous favor to Russian, and particularly foreign, capitalists. There have even been among our own comrades peculiar fellows who continually shook their heads and believed all these silly whisperings. The reality has proved that there was not a word of truth in these malicious assertions of our enemies.

Now it is clear to everybody that even under the new economic policy the Soviet power remains the government of the toiling masses, the government of the workers and peasants, standing guard over their interests, and having only the protection of these interests at heart. When the Soviet Government found it necessary to inaugurate the new economic policy, it repeatedly declared that it was taking this step in the interests of the working class itself, in order to maintain the proletarian dictatorship, in order to establish for it a more stable economic foundation. And it was just the transition to the new economic policy which particularly required the preservation of the Soviet

power as the only means of safeguarding the interests of the working masses against the inevitable outburst of the predatory appetites of the private capitalists.

The Soviet Government has testified by all its actions that it is willing and able to discharge this task. It is of course ready to derive from the new economic policy every benefit it has to offer; the awakening of personal initiative, the establishment of production on a paying basis, the efficient and systematic management of production and exchange, expediency in economic matters, etc. But, at the same time it shows continually that it admits the application of private capital only to a strictly determined extent; only in so far as it does not injure the interests of the social whole, and particularly the interests of the working masses.

In the domain of industry there have already been published a number of laws protecting these interests, which at the same time give a certain opportunity to private initiative, which was invited to contribute to the increase of the productive forces. In the cities there have taken place already a number of court proceedings initiated by the organs of the Soviet Government against the over-greedy and impudent exploiters, who, in their pursuit of profit have injured the interests of the workers and have overstepped the Soviet

laws. The Soviet Government has unequivocally shown that it stands as, before, and with even greater watchfulness than before, as the defender of the working class, protecting it against the greed of the masters, who think that from now on everything will be allowed, and who would like to introduce in our country the customs of the epoch of "primitive accumulation".

The same is the case in the villages, where the Soviet Government is just as watchfully defending the interests of the poor peasantry. Here the defense of these interests is particularly important, as in the villages it is more difficult to apprehend the robbers, for here exploitation assumes more hidden forms, and here it is still more unrestrained than in the cities, especially as it hides behind the deceptive forms of "loans", "aids" and "friendship", and thus would with all the more certainty throw the poor peasants into further misery.

As a proof of the untiring solicitude of the Soviet Government for the interests of the poor peasantry, we may quote a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars, of July 3, 1922, concerning the annulment of all oppressive deals in grain. If the rich peasants thought that the new economic policy would again deliver the poor peasants into their hands, bound hand and foot, and therefore greeted the famine joyfully, with the help of which they expected to enslave the poor peasantry, they can convince themselves now that they were reckoning without their host, who is in this case the Soviet Government. In so far as the wealthy peasant is an industrious husbandman, desiring to improve his farm, he will meet with full cooperation in this effort on the part of the Soviet Government. But in so far as the rich peasant wants to live and to get rich by mercilessly exploiting his weakened and destitute neighbors, he must be told that he will meet with the determined resistance of the Soviet Government, and, if need be, with merciless punishment. On the other hand, the village poor may be fully convinced that the Soviet Government is their own government, which will permit nobody to oppress them, and which, if need be, will know how to defend them against all robbers and cut-throats.

The decree which annuls oppressive deals saves the poor peasants from those chains which the rich peasants wanted to impose upon them.

This decree will doubtless bring forth a sigh of relief in the villages; it will save the peasant masses from ruin, it will help them as soon as possible to get on their feet again and to overcome the terrible consequences of the famine. But the beneficent effects of this decree are much more far reaching than the boundaries of the villages. Not less interested in this decree is the Red Army. Every Red Army man has his relatives in the village, who in most cases belong to the peasants who have suffered because the very fact that one of the workers has been called to military service weakens a peasant family. Thus, every-



MICHAEL LEVITSKY
Ukrainian Socialist pioneer, delegate to the
July Convention of the Workers' Aid, Berlin.

thing which is beneficial to the poor peasantry is also beneficial to the tremendous majority of Red Army men. Furthermore, the workers are not less interested in the new law. Not only in the sense that in the poor peasantry they find their best political ally and that for this reason alone they have an interest in preventing the exploitation of this class, but also in that other respect, that many workers have their families in the villages, which also in the majority of cases belong to the category of the destitute and weak. For this reason the defense of the poor peasantry is at the same time also a protection of the city proletariat. And thus the decree concerning the annulment of the oppressive deals is directed toward the protection of all categories of the working and exploited.

Thus, the Soviet Government has once more confirmed the fact that it is a real government of the workers and the peasants, defending the poor and exploited toilers from the encroachments of the exploiters, and that it is protecting them under all circumstances, defending them with no less vigor under the new economic policy than before its inauguration. The large working masses forming the basis and the support of the Soviet Republic will appreciate this legislative act. They will avail themselves of it in their interests and will more confidently rally to the Soviet power which alone expresses their wishes and defends their vital needs.—*Izvestiya*, Moscow, July 6, 1922.

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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Jay C. Brown	Wm. Z. Foster	Mary Heaton Vorse
Jack Carney	Ellen Hayes	Hulet M. Wells
Prof. H. W. L. Dana	Capt. Paxton Hibben	Albert Rhys Williams
	Alice Riggs Hunt	

“**FAMILY Affairs**” is the title given by the *New York Times* to one of the editorials in its September 5 issue, and the occasion for this title was the answer made by the business manager of the Moscow grand opera to doubtless impertunate questionings by the *Times* correspondent concerning the directorship of the famous ballet: “Why do you mix in our family affairs?” On this the *Times* builds the specious structure of its editorial, which admits, at the start, the following:

“Yet the question put by the Moscow manager is, after all, Russia’s challenging question to the rest of the world. Translated into an even less courteous form it would tell the world, and America in particular, to mind its own business.”

Next comes the assertion, however, that there are points at which willingness to leave one’s neighbor to his own devices must be abandoned, and that it is not possible for a family always to be unconcerned with the practices of its neighbors:

“When millions were starving last Winter in the Valley of the Volga we proceeded so far toward a definition as to say, not without some protest from the Communistic lexicographers, that this was not wholly a family affair, that it was the concern of all mankind and more especially of the United States, since we were best able to give relief. But the humane instincts which gave material expression of that conviction in tens of millions of dollars’ worth of supplies were still left without a complete and satisfying answer. If there is an extra-family responsibility for alleviating an intra-family misery, does it begin only when the calamity arrives? Has it to do only with the hideous results and not at all with the causes, even if some of these lie wholly within the family?”

The *Times* goes on to point out that the epidemics that may result from the present famine conditions in Russia will afflict not only the population of Russia, but also those of Europe and America, and that “we have mixed in to the extent of inoculating, through the A. R. A., ten millions persons”. Even the alleged neglect of educational matters by the Soviet Government seems to the

Times editorial writer an occasion for “mixing in”, for

“There must be millions of children in Russia who are having not the meagerest sort of an education, and yet teachers and other intellectual and spiritual leaders have been banished by thousands.”

Of course, the solicitude of the *Times* might go even further. And the record of past importunities on the part of the owners of neighboring houses would not be without bearing on the record of the Russian edifice. The *Times* might well have indicated, in its editorial, the untiring energy displayed for several years by all the Allied Governments to bring such pressure to bear on the people of Soviet Russia as would bring them to a recognition of the error of their ways, and of the fact that a large fraction of the white race was doomed to fresh disaster “because of false economic doctrine and knavish or stupid political designing”.

It should have been pointed out by the *Times* that the duty to “mix in” in one’s neighbor’s affairs was never much neglected, as far as Russia was concerned, by the Allied Governments or by the United States. It was necessary to make the neighbor see his own folly, and whole armies were sent into Russia to bring about conditions that would make the population aware of how uncomfortable it is to have a Soviet Government. These armies were maintained in various parts of Russia and Siberia for months and months, and only after their soldiers had become so friendly with the population of the country as to make them unfit for aggressive warfare, did the Allied Governments finally withdraw them. Then followed a long period of financial support to Soviet Russia’s foes. Internal counter-revolutionists were kept going with immense supplies of artillery, munitions, foodstuffs, uniforms. But their human material could not be supplied: in Russia the population was in favor of the Soviet Government; abroad, the workers were opposed to enlistments for service against Soviet Russia. The Blockade should also not be forgotten as an instance of foreign solicitude for the welfare of the Russian people. For years, it was so impossible to get things in or out of Russia that factories, power-houses, railroad locomotives, were crippled for lack of the spare parts that had always, even in pre-revolutionary Russia, been imported from abroad. The gentlemen of the *Times* are over-sensitive; they really have no cause to rebuke themselves for having neglected to participate in the support of these measures to bring Russia to her senses.

But let the dead past bury its dead. It is really absurd of us once more to bore our readers with repetitions of the obvious statement that every capitalist nation on earth did all it could to injure Soviet Russia, and that the aid that was given during the famine—which is by no means past—was given less to help the Russian people than to enable foreign grain-raisers to dispose of their stocks to advantage, while otherwise they might have been “compelled” to burn them for fuel. All this is past, however, and the people of Russia

still live with the Government they have chosen for themselves. But how about the future? What—aside from the military preparations being made by Poland to repel alleged invasions from Soviet Russia—may we expect from the world's householders, the Governments of the nations of the world, in the way of action toward the house that is owned by its tenants, Soviet Russia?

In the first place, do we want Russia to be let alone, to shift for herself, or do we want a little "mixing in"? There is one form of "mixing in" that is very desirable indeed. All our readers know about the Tool and Machinery Drive now being conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia. While conditions of underfeeding, if not absolute famine conditions, prevail in many parts of Russia, particularly in Ukraine, we now desire not so much to feed the underfed as to enable them, with the aid of tools and machinery, to overcome the adverse agricultural conditions that have made possible a continuation of low crops even after the period of drought was over.

* * *

TOOLS and Machinery is what Russia now needs. Will the nations of the world provide them? Within the past few months great numbers of new foreign-built locomotives have reached Russia. Purchases of tractors are being made abroad by the Soviet Government. Seed-grain in large quantities, obtained from abroad, has been in the ground and is already giving fruit. The Friends of Soviet Russia were the first Russian relief organization to send a fully equipped agricultural unit to Russia; the cost of this unit, with seed-grain shipped after its departure, and with harvesting machinery now being purchased for those members of the unit that will remain through the winter, has been nearly \$100,000. And still the work must go on. That portion of the F. S. R. Agricultural Unit that will remain in Russia through the Spring will need new machinery for the expansion of their work in that season. The National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia therefore urges upon all its contributors, and especially upon all those who have not contributed in the past—and their number is legion—to send in their contributions as fast as possible, and, particularly, to point out to those from whom they solicit money, on the new "Tool Drive" sheets, the peculiar nature of the campaign that is now being made. Attention should be called to the following facts:

1. That absolute famine conditions are in many parts of Russia by no means a thing of the past, as is shown by the recently issued statement of the American Friends Service Committee, printed elsewhere in this number of SOVIET RUSSIA; the request for "aid to the starving" is still an honest one, and it is very probable that shipments of food will be occasionally required by the Berlin Headquarters of the Workers' Aid, and will be furnished by the F. S. R.

2. That we are now collecting money not only to fight immediate starvation, but to prevent any

possibility of such situations arising again in the future; that the Russian people, if properly equipped with agricultural machinery and locomotives and automobiles, will be able to organize their domestic economy in such a way as to make even large drought areas of no particular danger to the population as a whole; for this purpose we shall have to see to it that Russia gets not only many machines, but agricultural and mechanical experts to teach the people the use of these machines.

3. That the F. S. R. is not getting enough money at present to carry through an extensive program of agricultural and engineering relief of this kind; in July, only \$29,000 came in to the National Office; in August, the amount had dropped to \$16,000, as the reader will learn from the acknowledgments on pages 183-184; something must be done to increase the receipts of the National Office!

* * *

WHY have our receipts gone down? Doubtless the insinuations of misuse of funds, printed over a month ago in the Jewish *Forward*, have been taken seriously by some potential contributors; and then, some may have been alarmed by irresponsible statements in the press as to a possible connection between the Friends of Soviet Russia and the Communist Party, published in connection with the raid made on a meeting in Michigan on August 22. As to the former accusations, official statements have already been issued by the National Office, some of which appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA for August 15; as to the latter, the Treasurer of the Friends of Soviet Russia on August 25 released a statement to the press, which went to every daily paper printed in New York, but was printed by very few. As it is probable, therefore, that some of our readers may not have seen the denial of the alleged connection with the Communist Party, we reprint it herewith:

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA NOT ENGAGED IN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

News items appearing in the morning papers of this date have been brought to my attention, which declare that the arrests of certain persons, designated by these papers as Communists, have led to the finding of evidence connecting the Friends of Soviet Russia with an organization named as "The Communist Party". I feel constrained to point out that the spreading of such insinuations in the daily press is very unfortunate because of the possible discouragement such statements may give to persons who would be inclined to donate money for the relief activities conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia. I should feel obliged to call attention to the incorrectness of any statement of a connection between the Friends of Soviet Russia with what these papers call the Communist Party, if only in order to correct an obvious misstatement, but I consider such a misstatement to be doubly unfortunate in view of the harmful effects it may have on the collection of funds by this organization, and therefore hope that the persons—official or other persons—responsible for such declarations will desist from their inhuman and anti-social machinations. The relief work conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia is too serious an undertaking to be lightly linked up with organizations accused of conducting political propaganda of any kind.

Peter Kropotkin

By STEPNIAK

This chapter of "Underground Russia", written about forty years ago, on the famous Anarchist theorist and author of many historical and purely scientific works, should not be read without recalling Kropotkin's attitude during the war and towards the November Revolution (see SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. IV. No. 9.)

I.

HE is not the leader of the Nihilist movement, as he is called throughout Europe. He has not even the least influence over the modern Russian revolutionary movement; no literary influence, for ever since he has resided abroad he has never written except in the French language; no personal influence, for at this moment he is known in Russia only by name. This fact, however strange it may appear to the reader, is the natural consequence of another. Kropotkin is a refugee and the political refugees who reside in the various cities of Europe have not the slightest influence, either separately or collectively, upon the revolutionary movement of their country.

The thing may appear incredible, yet any man of judgment who thinks about it for a single moment will not fail to recognize the absolute truth of my assertions. Only two things have to be taken into consideration, the general character of the Russian movement, and the distance between Russia and the countries in which the refugees can reside, Switzerland, France, Italy, England; for no one would feel safe either in Prussia or Austria. I will cite one single fact. To exchange letters with Switzerland, which is the nearest country of all, a fortnight must always elapse, allowing a few days for the reply.

Now an order, supposing one has to be given, or even advice, would reach St. Petersburg a fortnight, or, in the most favorable case, ten days after it had been asked for. Now in Russia the struggle is no longer carried on exclusively by mental effort, as it was five years ago. It is a struggle, arms in hand, a thorough war, in which the minutest precautions have to be taken, in accordance with the latest movements of the enemy. Let us suppose that an attempt against the Emperor is being prepared. The slightest change in his itinerary, in the route he will take, in the measures he will adopt for his safety, immediately cause the whole plan of attack to be changed.

What orders could be given from London, from Paris, from Switzerland? Who would be so stupidly presumptuous as to believe himself in a position to give them? Who would be so stupid as to attribute any value to them? Let us suppose for a moment that a general wished to carry on a war in Turkey, himself remaining in St. Petersburg. What would be said by any man with a particle of judgment? Yet this general would have an immense advantage, that of possessing the telegraph, while we have nothing but the laggard mails.

Since it is impossible, therefore, for a refugee

to direct operations, or even to give advice of any value, upon Russian matters, why should he be informed beforehand of what is being prepared in Russia? To run the risk of some letter falling into the hands of the police? To increase the perils of this Titanic struggle, as though there were not enough already?

We have thus another fact resulting from the preceding. Even the refugees connected with those who belong to the party, and who take an active part in everything, have not the slightest knowledge of what is being prepared in Russia. From time to time, out of pure friendship, they receive some vague hint, without ever knowing anything for certain, respecting the place, time, or mode of execution of the project in embryo. Why communicate such things, even to the best of friends, merely to satisfy curiosity? It would be a crime, an infamy, a dishonest act; and every serious-minded man would be the first to reproach a friend for such an act. Events such as the putting to death of Alexander II and the explosion in the Winter Palace were as much of a surprise to the refugees as to the rest of the world.

The political influence of the Russian refugees at the present moment is therefore reduced absolutely to zero. Foreign countries are only resting places, harbors which every one makes for when his barque has been wrecked or disabled by the furious waves. Until they can refit, and steer towards their native shore, the refugees are poor castaways. They may be as intrepid as ever, but they can only stand with folded arms, regarding with envious eyes the country where the combatants are fighting, dying, conquering, while they, sad and idle, stifle in their forced inaction, strangers in a strange land.

II.

Kropotkin is one of the oldest of the refugees. For six years he has continuously lived abroad, and during all that time has therefore been unable to take the slightest part in the Russian revolutionary movement. This does not alter the fact, however, that he is one of the most prominent men of our party,* and as such I will speak about him.

He belongs to the highest Russian aristocracy. The family of the Princes of Kropotkin is one of the few which descend in right line from the old feudal princes of the ancient royal house of Rurik. In the Circle of the *Chaikovtsy*, to which he belonged, it used thus to be jestingly said of

*Stepniak means the revolutionary movement at large.—Ed.

him that he had more right to the throne of Russia than the Emperor, Alexander II, who was only a German.

He studied in the College of the Pages, to which only the sons of the Court aristocracy are admitted. He finished his course there with the highest distinction, toward the year 1861, but impelled by love of study, instead of entering the service of the court, he went to Siberia to pursue his geological researches. He remained there several years, taking part in many scientific expeditions, and obtained through them a vast amount of information which he afterwards utilized in conjunction with Elisée Reclus.† He also visited China.

On returning to St. Petersburg, he was elected a member and afterwards secretary of the Geographical Society. He wrote several works, highly appreciated by scientific men, and finally undertook a great work upon the glaciers of Finland, which, owing to a petition of the Geographical Society, he was permitted to terminate when already confined in the fortress. He could not escape the irksome pressure to enter the Court service. He was Chamberlain of the Empress, and received several decorations.

In the year 1871, or at the commencement of 1872, I do not quite remember which, he went abroad. He visited Belgium and Switzerland, where at that time the (First) International had assumed such proportions. His ideas, which certainly were always advanced, began to take definite shape. He became an Internationalist, and adopted the ideas of the most extreme wing, the so-called anarchist wing, of which he has always remained a fervent champion.

On returning home he put himself in communication with the revolutionary circle, inspired by the same ideas, that of the *Chaikovtsy*, and in the year 1872 was proposed as a member, and admitted by unanimity. He was entrusted with the duty of drawing up the program of the party and its organization, which was afterwards found among his papers. In the winter of 1872 he commenced his secret lectures upon the history of the International, which were simply the development of the principles of Socialism, and the Revolution, based upon the history of all the modern popular movements. These lectures, which united with depth of thought a clearness and a simplicity that rendered them intelligible even to the most uncultivated minds, excited the deepest interest among the workingmen of the Alexander-Nevisky district. They spoke about them to their fellow workmen, and the news quickly spread through all the workshops of the neighborhood, and naturally reached the police, who determined at all hazards to find out the famous Borodin, for it was under that fictitious name Kropotkin gave his lectures. But they did not succeed. In two months' time, having finished his lectures, he no longer

showed himself in the house under surveillance, and made preparations to go among the peasants, and carry on the agitation as an itinerant painter; for, in addition to his vast erudition, he has much artistic talent.

The police succeeded, however, in bribing one of the workmen, who consented to play the spy, and perambulated the principal streets, hoping some day or other to meet with "Borodin". In this he succeeded. After some few months he met Kropotkin in the Gostini Dvor upon the Nevski Prospekt, and pointed him out to a policeman. The supposititious Borodin was arrested. At first he would not tell his real name, but it was impossible to conceal it. Some days afterwards the landlady of the house in which he had hired a room came to declare that one of her lodgers, Prince Peter Kropotkin, had suddenly disappeared on such a day. On being taken to the spurious Borodin she recognized him, and Kropotkin was compelled to acknowledge his identity.

Great was the emotion produced at court by the arrest of such a high personage. The Emperor himself was excited by it to such an extent, that a year afterwards, in passing through Kharkov, where a cousin of Peter, Alexis Kropotkin,* was Governor, he was extremely discourteous to him, and abruptly asked if it was true that Peter was a relation.

Three years did Kropotkin pass in the cells of the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. In the early part of 1876, he was transferred by the doctor's orders to the St. Nicholas Hospital, the prison having undermined his health, never very good, to such an extent that he could neither eat nor move about. In a few months, however, it was re-established, but he did everything in his power to hide the fact. He walked with the step of a dying man; he spoke in a low voice, as if it were a painful effort merely to open his mouth. The cause was very simple. He learned through a letter sent to him by his friends, that an attempt was being organized to effect his escape, and as in the hospital the surveillance was much less strict than in the fortress, it was essential to prolong his stay there.

In July of the year 1876 this escape was effected in accordance with a plan drawn up by Kropotkin himself. I described it in my last article.†

III.

Some weeks afterwards Kropotkin was already abroad.

From this period his true revolutionary activity dates. Although not connected with the Russian movement, being exclusively devoted to European Socialism, it was perhaps the only means of displaying his eminent political qualities in their true light. His great gifts specially qualify him

*Killed in 1879 by revolutionists.

†See SOVIET RUSSIA for August 15, 1922. ("Two Escapes").

†Famous French geographer and anarchist writer. Died 1906.—Ed.

for activity in the vast public arena, and not in the underground regions of the secret societies.

He is wanting in that flexibility of mind, and that faculty of adapting himself to the conditions of the moment, and of practical life, which are indispensable to Russian conspirators. He is an ardent searcher after truth, a founder of a school, and not a practical man. He endeavors to make certain ideas prevail, at any cost, and not to attain a practical end by unscrupulously turning everything to account.

He is too exclusive, and too rigid in his theoretical convictions. He admits no departure from the ultra-anarchist program, and has always considered it impossible, therefore, to contribute to any of the revolutionary newspapers published in the Russian language abroad and in St. Petersburg. He has always found in them some point of divergence, and, in fact, has never written a line in any of them.

Kropotkin's natural element is war on a grand scale, and not guerilla fighting. He might become the founder of a vast social movement, if the condition of the country permitted.

He is an incomparable agitator. Gifted with a ready and eager eloquence, he becomes all passion when he mounts the platform. Like all true orators, he is stimulated by the sight of the crowd which is listening to him. Upon the platform this man is transformed. He trembles with emotion; his voice vibrates with the accent of profound conviction, not to be mistaken or counterfeited, and only heard when it is not merely the mouth which speaks, but the innermost heart. His speeches, although he cannot be called an orator of the first rank, produce an immense impression; for when feeling is so intense it is communicative, and electrifies an audience.

When, pale and trembling, he descends from the platform, the whole room throbs with applause.

He is very effective in private discussions, and can convince others and win them over to his opinions, as few can. Being thoroughly versed in historical science, especially in everything relating to popular movements, he draws with marvelous effect from the vast stores of his erudition, in order to support and strengthen his assertions with examples and analogies, very original and unexpected. His words thus acquire an extraordinary power of persuasion, which is increased by the simplicity and clearness of his explanations, due, perhaps, to his profound mathematical studies.

He is not a mere manufacturer of books. Beyond his purely scientific labors, he has never written any work of much moment.* He is an excellent journalist, ardent, spirited, eager. Even in his writings, he is still the agitator.

To these talents he adds a surprising activity

and such ingenuity in his labors that they have astonished even a worker like Elisée Reclus.

He is one of the most sincere and frank of men. He always speaks the truth, pure and simple, without any regard for the *amour propre* of his hearers, or for any other consideration whatever. This is the most striking and sympathetic feature of his character. Every word he says may be absolutely believed. His sincerity is such, that sometimes in the ardor of discussion an entirely fresh consideration unexpectedly presents itself to his mind, and sets him thinking. He immediately stops, remains quite absorbed for a moment, and then begins to think aloud, speaking as though he were an opponent. At other times he carries on this discussion mentally, and after some moments of silence, turning to his astonished adversary, smilingly says, "You are right".

This absolute sincerity renders him the best of friends, and gives especial weight to his praise and blame.

Post Office News Items

I.

Importation of Postage Stamps Through the Mail Into Russia

Postmaster Morgan invites attention to the following announcement by the Post Office:

The Department has learned of the provisions in force relative to the importation of postage stamps into Russia, such provisions being as follows:

1. All forms of prepayment can be sent only to the address of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and its branch offices.

2. Uncanceled Russian or foreign postage stamps can be sent to private persons or institutions, if stamps are intended for the prepayment of correspondence and are sufficient in number for that purpose; to that end they must be placed on envelopes.

3. Canceled postage stamps are not admitted as mail articles except in the cases mentioned under No. 1.

When the presence of postage stamps is detected in a postal article, the latter will be returned to origin.

Order & Instruction Section,
P. O., New York, N. Y., August 23, 1922.

II.

Parcel-Post to Russia

Postmaster Morgan invites attention to the following announcement by the Post Office Department:

"Effective September 1, 1922, the transit charges applicable to parcel-post packages mailed in the United States addressed for delivery in Russia will be changed as follows:

Russia in Europe

1- 2 pounds	\$0.84
3- 7 pounds .....	.96
8-11 pounds	1.08

Russia in Asia

1- 2 pounds	1.32
3- 7 pounds	1.38
8-11 pounds	1.50

Order & Instruction Section,
P. O., New York, N. Y., August 26, 1922.

*Since this was written (1881) Kropotkin published a great number of theoretical books on Anarchism.—Ed.

More Facts and Fancies

“AN organization similar to the Fascisti may be introduced in Russia. The conviction is rapidly growing among thousands of Russian exiles in Italy that the Fascisti system alone can help their country.” This is the enthusiastic beginning of a copyrighted cable from Rome, printed in the *New York Times* of August 9, describing how the hired private army of the Italian manufacturers and landholders is destroying the Italian labor movement by means which would make even the protagonists of Ludlow and West Virginia appear as preachers of peace and brotherly love. Possibly “thousands of Russian exiles in Italy” really hope that such an organization may be introduced in Russia and thus “help their country”. But we are afraid there are some serious obstacles standing in the way of this idealistic enterprise. The Soviet Republic has not on hand such vast stores of arms and ammunition as the Italian Government, and could not afford to deliver them free of charge to its patriotic sons, as was done by the Italian Government; and moreover, the Soviet authorities are so devoid of any understanding of the principles of real liberty, as understood by the Fascisti, that they may be expected to offer some objections to the open or secret organization of such an army. Which proves that the columnist of the *New York Call*, of September 1, was rather understating his case when, referring to the treatment accorded to the “Socialist” Counter-Revolutionists, he placed the Soviet Government on the same level as all other governments. For hasn’t the Italian government, in permitting the existence of such a private army, demonstrated that it is more “liberal” than Soviet Russia?

* * *

Speaking of the columnist of the *Call*, we are reminded of another great lover of freedom—Dr. Frank Crane, of the *Globe* and a thousand other papers. In his syndicated article of August 31 (*New York Globe*), after reviewing the European situation, Dr. Crane comes to the conclusion that “the present policies of France and of Russia point to Napoleonism”. We were not astonished at this gibe at Russia—even after her numerous disarmament proposals—for in his hatred against the Soviet Republic the grand old doctor is almost as consistent and as honest as Mr. Gompers. But the slap at France was quite unexpected. Only a few months ago, when France’s attitude was just as imperialistic—let us say “Prussian”—as at present, Dr. Crane—who at that time was in Paris—was writing over and over again that the only great enemies of peace, humanity, and civilization, were Germany and Russia. Is his change of tone due to the fact that the present-day rulers of France have finally succeeded in making their country the most hated in the world—even among the American public who have a traditional predisposition to favor France? And did he want to show that like the famous newspaper prostitute

Schmock, in Gustav Freytag’s “*Journalisten*” he can “write on both sides of any question”?

The “cradle of liberty”, as sentimental Emma Goldman not so long ago called the country of Poincaré, Tardieu, Millerand and Briand, has been lately very much attacked and vilified. And quite deservedly so. For in the course of the last year France has behaved like a Freudian patient who has ceased to suppress his desires and has begun to talk too frankly about them. One of her most outspoken public men, M. Raymond Recouly, in his address at Williamstown, Mass., in the conference on inter-allied debts at the Institute of Politics, made the following interesting remarks, according to the *N. Y. Times* of August 5:

“The moral and material destruction of Russia has been so complete that it is impossible to think of a rapid reconstruction. That reconstruction will take a very long time and require a great amount of money. It cannot be made, as we say in French, *en bloc*, as a whole, and all at the same time. It will mean, as a matter of fact, more a colonization than a reconstruction. We shall have as soon as possible to begin by working from the boundaries of Russia to the centre, from without to within. It will be necessary to proceed step by step, reorganizing one province after another from the borders of Germany, Poland and Rumania and proceeding to the interior of Russia. I am aware that this is a very modest program. But what is the use of having very big and ambitious programs if they cannot be carried out?”

This, together with the complete enslavement of Germany and the economic subjugation of all of Central and Southeastern Europe, is certainly a very “modest program”; for what is after all the colonization, i. e., the annexation of the Ukraine and the Caucasus, when compared with two great British colonies, such as Egypt and India? But we are afraid that even this “modest program” will meet with some difficulties. The Russian and Ukrainian peasants and workers will not appreciate the civilizing mission which the French imperialists propose to undertake with the help of Polish, Rumanian, Serbian and Senegalese bayonets. They may resist. And some of the intruders may even be killed on that occasion. True, by doing so they will place themselves on the same level with “any other government” and incur the criticism of Mr. Karsner of the *Call*—who, proceeding from the most lofty and universal principles, will prove that repelling an invader and executing the spies who are helping him is nothing but a barbarous denial of the right to move freely on God’s earth and to express one’s opinions.

* * *

Speaking of executions, we may mention the great commotion that was caused in the papers by the conviction of a number of priests who had resisted the seizure of the church treasures to be sold for the famine-stricken. The *New York Times*,

of August 13, has a long article by R. C. Crane, former American minister to China, entitled "Martyrs of Today". The "martyrs" are the Russian priests who preferred death—the death of the Volga peasants—to relinquishing the gold and jewels stored in the churches and monasteries of Russia. In speaking of the beneficent influence of the priests in Russia, he says that "every village in Russia had had one parish school"; that "they were imperfect but valuable". Very valuable indeed for keeping 90 per cent of the peasants illiterate and in religious awe of the Tsar. From this article we learn also that the famine was a godsend for the Bolsheviks, for "this famine was welcomed by the Government as a means of cowering and subjugating the country". Imagine now the great ingratitude of this government, which put on trial and condemned the "Social Revolutionists" who by their propaganda among the peasants to restrict the sown area to what was strictly necessary for their own needs, had themselves greatly contributed to the outcome so greatly "welcomed" by the Government.

The "persecution" of the clergy has brought forth an interesting alignment of mutual sympathies. In a meeting held in Brooklyn, according to the *N. Y. World* of August 27, the speaker "characterized the seizure of the property of the Russian Church as a pretense, the real purpose being to destroy the church organization, as it was becoming a more powerful opponent every day. People were seeing the light and were flocking back to the Church. Members of the Social Revolutionary Party were sentenced to death or to long prison terms, not for what they had done but for what they knew. The Soviet Government feared that the people might yet rally around the few intellectuals and with the aid of the Church overthrow the Bolshevik Government." Very strange "Social Revolutionists" indeed on whom their monarchist bedfellows are placing such high hopes.

But not only the Russian priests, the "Social Revolutionists", and the intellectuals are reported as suffering from the persecutions of the Soviet Government; if we are to believe the *Yevreyskaya Tribuna* ("The Jewish Tribune"), a weekly published in Paris, in Russian, in the interests of the Russian Jewish bourgeoisie, the worst sufferers of all are the Jews. In its issue of July 27, we read that Trotsky's army has already a number of pogroms on its conscience, that in the case of popular disturbances, caused by discontent, the Bolsheviks will direct the masses against the Jews, and that in some institution there was seen a poster bearing the inscription that Jews need not apply.

The news of this new persecution of the Jews has not yet reached America. The unsophisticated reader who for the last five years had been accustomed to think of the Russian Revolution as a Jewish affair would be too much bewildered if all of a sudden he were told that the Russian Jews were being massacred, persecuted,

and discriminated against by their "own kin". Or he might even conceive a favorable opinion of the Bolsheviks, who by such an attitude would prove worthy of the sympathies of all those millions who acclaim the political "principles" of Henry Ford, Boris Brasol, and the trustees of Harvard University.

Thus, while this latest atrocity of the Soviet Government has remained unnoticed, another news item is now making the rounds of the press—an item that may prove as effective as that of the "nationalization of women". It is the news of the "1,766,118 executions" perpetrated by the Cheka during the four years of its existence, i. e., at the rate of 1000 per day, as calculated by the editorial writer and mathematician of the *New York Times* of September 4. This news was especially "fit to print", first because it was cabled from Riga, which is just as good as Helsingfors, to the late Lord Northcliffe's *London Times*, second, because it is assured that they are "official Bolshevik figures", third, because the item was rather consecrated by time, for already on April 26, i. e., six months ago, the *Globe-Gazette* of Mason City, Iowa, had reprinted the very same figures from an old copy of the Paris monarchist daily *Gaulois* (we commented on it editorially in our issue of May 15),* fourth, because Mr. Samuel Gompers used the same figures at the A. F. of L. Convention at Cincinnati (June, 1922), as an argument against the recognition of the Soviet Government.

Speaking of Mr. Gompers, we may mention that the *N. Y. Times* not only sympathizes with the Russian people as a whole, fully two per cent of whom have been "executed"—but that it is especially solicitous of the welfare of the Russian workers. In its issue of September 3, this paper publishes a translation of an article printed in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich, Switzerland), a paper that takes the same attitude towards the working class as the organ of Mr. Ochs. The article is entitled "Russia's Fifteen-Hour Day" and it undertakes to prove with the help of "quotations", Walling-Spargo fashion, that there is no other country where labor is as much exploited and oppressed as in Soviet Russia. Which makes one wonder why the *Times* still opposes the recognition of that country, now that such ideal conditions have been established there.

But the Soviet regime has not only caused the misery of the Russian workers. It is also responsible for the plight of Italian labor. Such at least is the opinion of the Sunday editor of the *N. Y. Call* (September 3). For he prints, in the most prominent place, an article by the Secretary of the Italian Socialist Federation, beginning with the following words: "The split in the Italian Socialist Party, ordered by Moscow, and which took place in January, 1921, no doubt is one of the immediate causes of the development of the Fascismo." But why limit oneself to Italy? The

*By the way, the *New York Times*, of March 20, 1922, had a "special cable" from London containing the same figures.

German "Orgesch", the "Awakening Hungarians", the "Somatenes" of Spain, the "American Legion", and the Ku Klux Klan—can they not all be traced back to "Moscow"? For if there had been no November 7, those organizations hardly would ever have been founded or acquired any importance.

We were just passing these sheets to the printers when a curious accident brought to our desk a copy of *Freedom*, a venerable Anarchist paper

that for thirty-six years has been upholding the honor of the "pure" Kropotkinian ideal. In an article entitled "Why Attack Emma Goldman", we read: "For my own part, I am very positive that it (the Soviet Government) will join hands with capitalist governments for our suppression, and I know that calumny will be its favorite arm." And the writer goes on to defend Emma Goldman for having undertaken to attack the Soviet Government in the capitalist press!

Where Johnny Gets His Ideas

By ANATOLE FRANCE

After reading the above, our readers will be prepared for the judgment passed by Anatole France on the newspapers, taken from "Monsieur Bergeret à Paris" (printed 1900). Although the author had French newspapers in mind, he would not have needed to alter his remarks to make them fit their American counterparts. "John Cock" and "John Sheep" are respectively the pugnacious and amiable types of the man in the street.

JOHN COCK and John Sheep have no malice whatever. They have become the enemies of the human race through innocence. John Cock has more enthusiasm, John Sheep more of melancholy, but they are both very simple and believe what their newspaper tells them. Of course this shows them to be quite gullible. For what their newspaper says is by no means easy to believe. I testify for you, celebrated impostors, forgers of all ages, egregious liars, illustrious deceivers, famous artificers of fictions, errors and illusions, you whose venerable frauds have enriched literature, both sacred and profane, by so many fabricated books, authors of apocryphal books in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Assyrian and Chaldean, who have so long abused the confidence of the ignorant and the learned, false Pythagorus, false Hermes-Trismegistus, false Sanchoniathon, impostor editors of orphic poetry and Sybilline books, false Enochs, false Esdras, supposed Clement and supposed Timothy; and you lord abbots, who, in order to secure for yourselves the possession of your lands and your privileges, forged under the reign of Louis IX charters of Clotaire and Dagobert; and you, doctors of canonical law, who supported the pretensions of the Holy See with a mound of sacred decrees composed by yourselves; and you, wholesale manufacturers of historical memoirs, Soulavie, Courchamps, Touchard-Lafosse, false Webers, false Bourriennes; you, fictitious executioners and policemen, who wrote sordidly the memoirs of Samson and the memoirs of M. Claude; and you, Vrain-Lucas, who were able to trace with your own hand a letter from Mary Magdalene and a note from Vercingetorix, I testify for you; I testify for you, you, whose entire lives were works of simulation, impostor Smerdis, impostor Neros, Impostor Maids of Orleans who fooled even the brothers of Jeanne d'Arc, impostor Demetrius, impostor Martin Guerre and false Dukes of Normandy; I testify for you, celebrated charlatans, makers of miracles which misled the masses, Simon the Magician, Apollonius of Tyana, Cag-

liostro, Count Saint-Germain; I testify for you, voyagers who came from afar and therefore had every opportunity to lie and used your opportunity to the full, you who told us you had seen the Cyclopeans and the Lestrygons, the magnetic mountain, the bird Rok and the bishop who preached to the fish; and you Sir John Mandeville, who met fire-spitting devils in Asia, and you, fair tellers of fairy-tales, fables and fakes, O my Mother Goose, O Till Eulenspiegel, O Baron Münchhausen; and you, Spaniards of Chivalry and the picaresque, magnificent wind-bags, I testify for you; I testify that all of you together in a long series of centuries have not piled up so many lies as are assembled in a single day in a single one of the newspapers read by John Cock and John Sheep. Can anyone be surprised that they should have such crazy ideas under their hats?

A Letter to the "N. Y. Call"

August 18, 1922.

Mr. Charles W. Ervin, Editor-Manager,
The New York Call,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

As auditor of the Friends of Soviet Russia, National Office, I reply to your letter of the 16th instant:

There has been and there is a check upon expenditures of the Friends of Soviet Russia local organizations.

I think that is the only point you request me to deal with. If I am mistaken, please inform me and I shall be glad to take up any other point. However, it seems to me that the remainder of your letter deals with matters in which I have no technical interest. Also, if my answer to your one point is not sufficiently clear, I shall be glad to answer further.

Permit me to explain upon what basis the Friends of Soviet Russia organizations operate, and how and where the responsibilities for accounting rest.

The Friends of Soviet Russia is two things: First, the manifestation of the sentiment to help the famine sufferers, and second, a campaign to increase that sentiment and centralize its effects. The sentiment was evidently widespread. It manifested itself in various forms in various parts of the country. Organizations sprang up over night with the single purpose of aiding Russian

famine sufferers. At the same time there was started in New York a national campaign to multiply and centralize existing sentiments and collecting centers. In that way the Friends of Soviet Russia National Office was opened and advertised.

The National Office was opened for contributions from individuals, organizations and from Friends of Soviet Russia local organizations. The latter were so named from their willingness to accept the standards of appeal set up by the National Office, namely, a working-class appeal. In reality they were in the first place separate organizations with only that common bond.

The National Office immediately assumed responsibility for the receipt and disbursement of funds received from Friends of Soviet Russia local organizations and from other sources. This responsibility has been and is being fully discharged. Locals are and always have been assured that funds remitted to the National Office are honestly and economically handled.

The next step taken by the National Office was to face the problem of the responsibility for local accounting. Following the method usually adopted in national campaigns, the National Office fixed the responsibility of local accounting on to local officials. This step was the more easily understood by local officials and their contributors because it placed the organization as nearly as may be in line with other workers' organizations, such as trades unions, in which the rank and file are accustomed to look to their local first and then from their local to their internationals and central bodies.

It was not sufficient, however, to fix the responsibility for local accounting on the local officials. There arose an implied obligation upon the part of the National Office to see that local officials were controlled. This implied obligation became all the greater in the case of the Friends of Soviet Russia National Office because of the high standard of accounting which that office set and maintained for itself.

Such an implied obligation may be met in three ways: By education, by discipline, and formally. All these ways have been adopted by the National Office towards discharging its obligation.

Firstly the formal steps were taken. During the month of its organization the National Office commenced supplying locals with triplicate receipt books—original for contributor, duplicate for National Office and triplicate ultimately for National Office. At the same time the National Office requested monthly reports of receipts and payments from locals, certified to by a local auditing committee. On several dates later the National Office took steps to increase its control by adapting the system to the personnel and conditions of locals.

Secondly, educational steps were taken in order to supplement the formal structure. Very few workers, very few people, indeed, are able and willing to undertake the duties of bookkeeping. Large locals could employ bookkeepers, but if small locals did so their net income would be eaten up. Instructions were repeated and explained to locals. Furthermore, the employment of resident professional accountants by locals has been recommended. Any one familiar with the smallness of the percentage of local unions and so forth which have thus far been educated to the point of employing professional auditors will appreciate the task which the National Office faced in this respect. Also, the difficulty of maintaining standard of accounting without professional assistance should be appreciated.

Thirdly came the way of discipline and counter-control. Discipline, always difficult to enforce in a voluntary organization, is the more difficult if the organization does not rest upon a dues paying membership. I pointed out that in cases where money was received from a local which had not fulfilled all technical accounting requirements, the money could be returned and the organization requested to affiliate and remit elsewhere. For two very good reasons it would be useless to insist upon that course in practice. First, another national organization would inevitably arise to take care of expelled locals. Second, expelled locals would remit under different names. In neither case would the famine aid be increased or the

economy of centralization forwarded. I do not believe that that drastic step is ever taken by any national organization. As a man of common sense, I could not insist upon it.

Avoiding that form of disruptive discipline, the National Office sought at once to strengthen locals and to apply discipline by giving greater publicity to the fact that contributors to locals should insist upon the same standard of accounting by local officials as is maintained by the National Office, or at least as they are accustomed to in other working-class organizations. That standard includes, of course, the regular publication of lists of contributors and of financial statements.

It is difficult to see how much further a National Office could go in an organization which at first appeared to be but temporary. It would be out of the question to have employed a staff of traveling auditors. At present there are 175 active locals. Some locals have but a temporary existence. Others have dormant periods. To control all locals by means of traveling auditors would require a staff of six to ten of them. This would increase the National Office payroll (an average of 16 office workers) by fifty per cent and also add large traveling expenses. I could not insist upon that expense in an organization still in process of solidification. The obligation for economy must be allowed to temper the obligation for technical perfection.

Altogether the National Office has taken and takes quite the ordinary precautions towards controlling locals which national campaign offices and new national organizations take. And it has done one more thing. It has succeeded in reducing the volume of local accounting by initiating and paying for a service of national publicity, including touring speakers for the benefit of all locals.

With what response have these efforts met and with what response do such efforts usually meet in similar organizations?

Large locals generally have employed bookkeepers. In such cases National Office requirements have been approximately met. Small locals generally have neither employed bookkeepers nor met National Office requirements. These divisions into large and small and good and bad are necessarily arbitrary. However, it may be said that most locals are small, but that most money is handled by large locals. There are therefore a large number of small locals which have never approached National Office requirements, but it is easier for contributors to control a small local. There are also some large locals which, while approaching the standard set, have not reached it. One such large local kept its accounts about as badly as a number of liberal and radical organizations which it has been my duty to audit in this city. You and your readers and most people in the liberal and radical movement will know how badly that is. It is about as badly as most small business men keep their accounts until driven to do better by the severities of competition.

I trust you will find my answer complete. Concisely it is this: Friends of Soviet Russia National Office accounting is above the usual average and Friends of Soviet Russia local accounting is about the average.

I shall be pleased to answer further questions, but I prefer that they be addressed through the Committee of Investigation, since it has been appointed and is about to function.

Very truly yours,
J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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Room 31

The New System in Russia

By J. S. P.

Berlin, August 15.

SOVIET RUSSIA has not returned to capitalism.

The worst name by which we can call the present system is State Socialism. Capitalism cannot be thought of as apart from a capitalist government. Soviet Russia has not a capitalist government, therefore she cannot be said to have capitalism. I am pretty sure that the business men of Russia, I mean the speculators, will testify that Russia is not possessed of a capitalist government. How they wish it were!

America has complete capitalism. There, both the state and the natural resources, industries, etc., are all in the hands of the capitalist class. In Russia, not even half of this is true. Neither do the capitalists control all the industries, nor do they have any part in the government. They have partial control of some industries.

The Soviet Government has socialized the land; it owns and controls and runs the railroads; it owns and operates the coal mines and the oil wells; it owns and operates all the sea and river transport; it controls the schools, the theatres, the newspapers, in fact every avenue through which the people gain their ideas. Even the churches are coming under the influence of the state, as has always been true in every historical epoch. Just as the religion of the early Christians fell under the influence and was made to serve the interests of the state and the ruling class, so will the same thing take place with the Russian Church. You need not be surprised to hear some fine day that the proclamations of even a Communist Government are being read from the pulpits of the Russian churches.

The courts, that proud institution of the victorious state, that has commanded so much respect from the masses and has held them under control when other methods seemed to fail and which has so well served the interests of those who control it these many years, are also in the hands of those who toil.

A recent decree of the Soviet Government offers a point in question:

Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of the People's Commissars concerning the annulment of oppressive deals with reference to the harvest:

Since it is necessary to liberate the agricultural population from the fulfilment of oppressive contracts for delivery of their crops, which it was forced to conclude under pressure of hunger, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars resolve:

1) To declare void the following kinds of agreements concluded in 1921 and 1922, under which the persons liable are peasants:

a) Agreements according to which the debtor, as payment of his debt, obligates himself to deliver to the creditor not a certain amount of grain or a sum of money definitely stated in the contract, but the crop from a determined piece of land, if the loan received is less than the produce which is fixed per *dessyatin*

by the decisions of the district and provincial executive committee;

b) Contracts according to which the loans granted are to be repaid with an amount of grain, the value of which, if exchanged for gold at the rate fixed by the State Bank, would exceed by more than 50 per cent the value in gold of the loan at the moment when the loan was concluded; and for loans granted by state, cooperative and other public organizations—if the excess should be more than 25 per cent.

Note: The deals mentioned in the above article are void under whatever form they may have been concluded (loan, sale of growing crop, etc.)

2) In the case of all the agreements which according to Art. 1 have, been declared void, the party which received the loan, is obliged to return it to an extent not exceeding the limits stipulated under 1-b.

3) Creditors who demand the fulfilment or accept the fulfilment of oppressive engagements to an extent exceeding the provisions of the preceding paragraph, will be subject to criminal persecution for usury (Art. 193 of the Criminal Code).

4) The present decree does not deprive the indebted party of the right to apply to the court with a request to annul the deal or to discontinue its validity for the future, in accordance with the point c of Article 7 of the Decision of the Third Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Concerning Basic Property Rights.

5) To charge all local, district and provincial executive committees, with making this decree generally public within two days after receiving it, and also with the establishment of a fixed amount per *dessyatin* as provided in Paragraph 1.

6) This decree shall apply also to all autonomous republics and districts.

M. KALININ,
Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

A. TSUROPA,
Acting Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

A. YENUKIDZE,
Secretary of the Central Executive Committee

Moscow, Kremlin, July 3, 1922.

This recent decree of the Soviet Government gives us a concrete example of what can be expected of a court or government which remains in control of the workers. This decree grew out of the relationship between the old business man or speculator and the peasant as soon as the New Economic Policy was instituted. When this policy was inaugurated the peasant, like practically every other class of workers, found himself badly in need of assistance; he needed money so that he could buy a plow or seed-grain, or the thousand and one things that he needed. He was not long finding this money. The speculator had not died, nor had he spent all the wealth he had collected under the favorable conditions prevailing in the Tsar's day. He was ready to speculate again, and the peasant simply had to have help. In view of the needs of the peasant, the speculator was able to make a loan to him upon terms that were even more favorable than in the times gone by. Rates of interest were as high as 150 per cent, and the situation was such that the speculator, when he collected the promises that had been given by the peasant, would be in possession of practically

the entire crop, with which he could speculate still further. These matters came to the attention of the Government, and the Government wasted no time in passing the decree that appears above. This in my opinion is the first real stroke of the government in its relationship to the New Economic Policy. It will serve as a warning to future capitalists and speculators who plan to enrich themselves at the expense of either the workers or the peasants. Let "our friends" the business men and capitalists remember that this is a workers' government and that it will not fail to protect the interests of the workers and peasants, even though it has been forced to make certain concessions to capitalists in order to reconstruct and to build the necessary economic basis for a Communist Society.

It matters not what the economic policy of the Government will be forced to tolerate, it will always hold, as its most important asset, *the power*, and will use it to fight the battles of those who toil. One government at least takes the side of the workers in their struggles with the bourgeoisie.

What Are the Results of Nep?

In enumerating the things that Nep* has done for the Russian people and the Soviet Government—and let it be understood that I consider the two as one and the same, in spite of all the ranting of the capitalist journals to the contrary—we must include some slight mention of the fact that it has already brought to Russia a loan. You ask, a loan from whom? I answer, from the very people who never would have considered loaning money directly and who are and have been the enemies of the people and the Government ever since March, 1917. Once the New Economic Policy was begun, they immediately brought from somewhere their hidden wealth and began to buy and to sell. They bought in Esthonia and Latvia, in Sweden and Germany, and brought the goods to Russia. They rented buildings from the Government so as to have a place to put these goods. They hired laborers and mechanics to repair these buildings, for which they either paid money or *payoks* (provisions). Then the trading, buying and selling started. This all brought about a stimulation of every phase of industrial activity. It enabled the peasant to trade his farm products for things that he needed. It brought about the beginning of the circulation of commodities. This is exactly what was necessary and what this government or any other government would have had to do in order to stay in power. Commodities must circulate. Mind you, I do not say that this is the only way they can be made to circulate, for such a statement would be a denial of the obvious possibilities of the future. It is neither the only way nor the best way, but it was the only way it could be done when it was impossible for the Government to float a loan. This was a loan in which the speculator collected the interest by exchanging the goods he had bought at a profit.

One industry is dependent upon another. All

the activities of men are so related that one act or one kind of work is helpful in bringing to a start other kinds of activity. As a boy I can remember how necessary it is to have a hook if one would eat fish. Street cars come in very handy when one wants to get to his work on the other side of the city. Wagons need horses and ships need hawsers and cables. Once a beginning is made, slowly and surely, one after another, the various branches of industry start, and at last we have things getting better and better every day. Railroad trains are moving, coal comes from the mines. Fish are caught and the great boats bring the catch from Astrakhan to Nizhni. The streets are swept, cleaned and repaired. A peasant in his spare time makes some brush brooms and the lady who never swept before the Revolution can now exercise the muscles of her back. It does not matter what you think of, you can easily see its connection with something else.

Let me assure you in America that Russia is getting well. She was sick for a long time and kept getting worse until the Bolsheviks came along and put her on a new diet. There was a terrible pain in her stomach for a few days, and she fasted a little, and then *Nep* came, and now Russia smiles in the morning of her economic recovery.

Never again will the wheels stop. Never will the soil be allowed to stand fallow, never again will men cease to take part in the production of things and in their distribution. If you are out on the street any morning you will see thousands of men and women and girls hurrying along the street with their luncheon under their arm. It really looks like New York, only they do not hurry quite so much as in New York.

Probably the most important question of all is, How long will it last? Particularly, the Russian Communists are interested in the answer to this question. As we all know, it depends a good deal on the international situation. Revolutions in one or two or twenty other countries would make quite a difference in the entire world situation. I am afraid *Nep* would receive its death blow at that hour.

One can rest assured that any method by which the workers are robbed of their product cannot hope to have a long life in Russia. *Nep* will remain as long as we need it and then it will go. It will not go because we kick it out, for the Soviet Government will live up to the contracts it makes, even with capitalists; but *Nep* will go because a changed world and a changed economic condition in Russia, as well as in other countries, will make it impossible for it to continue. A revolution in Germany would particularly interfere with the New Economic Policy. Free trade between Soviet Germany and Soviet Russia would not only profoundly affect the thing we call *Nep*, but it would seriously inconvenience the capitalist system itself. Economic laws reach very far. They touch so many places when they are disturbed. A world war left its mark upon many nations that were not actively engaged in the conflict. The price of cotton in Galveston has its

*Russian abbreviation for "New Economic Policy".

result in the textile industries of Shanghai. The existence of *Nep*, its length of life, depends upon the rapidity with which the government can begin to do more successfully things that are at present being done by the "*Nepists*". An understanding of the interdependence of industry is really the explanation of the question as to how long *Nep* will last. When we think of steel, we must think of coal, transportation, cotton, thread, and bread. One industry is so closely related to every other industry that no one industry can long continue without the support of the others.

With the railroads and all other means of transportation and communication, with the principal industries, the basic ones, still in their hands, I

think anyone can readily understand the strength of the position of the Soviet Government. They invite foreign capital to come to Russia and in return they will guarantee a certain protection and allow a certain profit, to compensate for the help they will extend in the rebuilding and expanding of Russian industry. However, the time will come when all this will end, and the end can be brought about without necessarily violating any contracts made with these foreign capitalists.

Capitalism is not coming back to Russia. The struggle to establish a Communist society will be pursued more ardently even than before, but perhaps more cautiously.

Russian Literature and the Revolution

By IDA TREAT O'NEIL

THE 19th century in Russian literature was a period of faith. Every writer was primarily a thinker; he had a religious conviction and a social philosophy that gave him a ready answer to the eternal problem—"why live?"—"Be born again" was the formula of Tolstoi and his contemporaries, apostles of a doctrine of redemption applicable to the individual and to the class. Literary preoccupations were of secondary importance. The men and women in the books of Tolstoi and of Dostoyevsky became the prophets of moral and social revolution. This element of faith—in God and the ultimate destiny of society—is responsible for the combination of realism and mysticism that marks the literature of the century and moreover explains its influence on the thought and politics of the day.

With the growth of religious skepticism and the moral panic and disillusionment that followed the revolution of 1906, Russian writers lost much of the optimism of their faith, and Russian literature much of its originality and power. Those who still remained the exponents of a social or moral doctrine became increasingly dogmatic. In "*The Life of Man*" and even in the "*Seven Who Were Hanged*" Andreyev dealt with symbols rather than human beings and Gorki, with all his terrible realism has often been charged with being over-tendencious in studies like the "*Mother*" or "*Three Men*". But Gorki and Andreyev were preserved from the hopeless pessimism of certain of their contemporaries—pessimism that ranges from the classic irony of Chekhov (so wrongly estimated as a humorist!) to the bleak despair of Artsibashev in "*The Breaking Point*", or of Ossip Dymov in "*Riding the Wind*".

The majority of Russian writers, however, declared themselves to be interested in neither propaganda nor suicide, and began to give their attention to literature as an end in itself. With them, Russian literature began to give signs of a powerful western influence and entered on its first period of art for art's sake. Kuzmin's "*The Green Night-*

ingale", Bunin's "*Mr. San Francisco*", and A. N. Tolstoi's "*In the Midst*"—the distorted vision of a madman's mind from the time he leaves the asylum until his eventual suicide—are among the best productions of this group. The tales of Kuprin, and of Korolenko show clearly that their authors had studied the technique of the French short story. As for the poets, it is not difficult to trace the influence of Heine, Baudelaire, and the modern French school in Kuzmin's "*Songs of Alexandria*", in the love poems of Anna Akhmatova or Sinaida Hippus, in the exquisite color-studies of Balmont, or even in the early verse of Alexander Blok.

It was evident even before 1917 that the classic period of Russian literature was at an end. So far as the writers themselves were concerned, the Bolsheviks were a trifle unjust in reproaching them with their failure to rally to the support of the revolution. These were not the literary giants of the 19th century, the "heralds of revolution". The revolutionary tradition in Russian literature was already dead.

Even the author of the "*Governor*", the "*Seven Who Were Hanged*", and "*Tsar Hunger*"—never more hideously poignant than today—even Andreyev had already begun to despair of human nature in "*Savva*", a story of the eternal struggle between the two elements in man. When Andreyev saw the soldiers and sailors of Petrograd drown their officers in the Neva, he felt that the triumph of the Beast and the end of civilization were at hand. Having fled to Finland, where he was to finish his days in darkness and despair, he wrote "*S. O. S.*", that terrible arraignment of the Russian Revolution.

The critic and novelist, Merezhkovsky, and Kuprin, author of "*The Duel*", "*The Shulamite*", and "*The Diuch*"—a grim study of prostitution—both individualists and enemies of all violence, have become militant opponents of the present regime. Kuprin, who escaped with the army of Yudenich, has been editing an anti-Bolshevist news-sheet in Esthonia, and has written scathing

sketches of the present Soviet leaders in the press of Helsingfors and of Berlin. Merezhkovsky's violent denunciations of Bolshevism are generally known.

However, the majority of Russian writers have neither supported the revolution, nor have they attacked it. The old era in which they lived and wrote is dead, and in the chaos of the new they have found neither a firm ground for their feet nor inspiration for their pens. Of those who remained in Russia, many were too old to take active part in the life of new Russia, even had they so desired. They have not been able to readjust themselves to the new order, nor have they found the peace of mind necessary to all creative work. Some were totally crushed, like Artsibashev, who is now living in great poverty in Moscow. Others, and among these Gorki can be counted, were saddened and shocked by the violence of civil war, and have withdrawn into a non-productive retirement that has a little of the "ivory tower". They are like the venerable Fedor Sologub, who in 1921 was still composing verses on the virtue of "resignation and waiting". Of the writers now in western Europe, many are now preparing European editions or translations of their works; of these, neither Merezhkovsky nor Bunin, nor the two poets Balmont and Ehrenburg, have made any important contributions to Russian literature during the past few years.

The pre-revolutionary school of Russian literature has received its death-blow. But what has come out of the revolution? Are there any writers who have found a fresh source of inspiration in the tremendous cataclysm through which Russia is now passing? Already two names are known beyond the boundaries of Russia. Both men are poets: the late Alexander Blok, and Andrei Biely. Alexander Blok has given two great poems to Russian literature — "*The Scythians*", a splendid challenge to European "civilization" and "*The Twelve*" — that poem of the twelve Red soldiers on a snowy November night in 1917, before whom walked, "invisible and invulnerable, crowned with white roses....Jesus Christ". Andrei Biely has written "*Christ Is Risen!*" and his Christ is the dead railroad worker whose wounded head rises white and glorious in the halo of the automobile lamp. "O Russia, my country, you are the Bride, splendid in the sun.... I see you—my Russia—trampling the Serpent." Then too there is Nikolai Klionov, the Ladoga peasant, whose "*Songs of a Sun-Bearer*" have the form and the rythm of the old Karelian sagas; and Sergei Yessenin, whose "*Inonia*" has the passionate invective of the Biblical Prophets. A harvest of young poets has sprung up since 1917. Foremost among the extremists is Mayakovsky, the extravagances of

whose "*150,000,000*" recall the western nihilism of Dada. The work of the artisan-poets of the Proletcult (Kirilov, Alexandrovsky, Obradovitch) which is for the most part a glorification of the factory and all the instruments of labor, is more interesting on the whole from a historical than a literary standpoint.

No one can anticipate what will be the Russian literature of tomorrow. There is much in the work of Blok and Biely—a mysticism and a profound religious conviction—that recalls the great literature of the last century. They and the group of young poets who surrounded them have formulated their new doctrine of moral and social redemption. "A new Savior has come to the world," cries Yessenin. "Our faith is our might. Our truth is in us!"

Russian literature is entering on a new period; and whatever the outcome may be, it is significant that the first evidences of the new era are to be found—as in all beginnings of rebirths of the world's literature—in the production of the lyric poets.

BRITISH AND RUSSIAN CLERGY

Moscow, July 30.—The Archbishop of Canterbury has addressed a letter to Krassin informing him that he is unable to retract his statement concerning the oppression of the Russian church. However, in consideration of the categorical denial of the correctness of his assertions by the Soviet Government, he asks for permission for representatives of the Anglican church to enter Russian in order to find out on the spot the situation of the Russian church. Krassin empowered his secretary to answer this request with the statement that the Russian Government does not care to induce the Archbishop to retract his statement. For the working class the statement alone is a clear proof of the class solidarity among the princes of the church.

Next issue of

"Soviet Russia"

(October 1st)

will have the following important articles, among others:

- A. A. HELLER: The New Economic Policy (a timely article by an eminent authority);
- VICTOR SERGE: The Middle Classes in the Russian Revolution;
- PIERRE PACAL: Economic Notes on Soviet Russia;
- KARL-RADEK: Making Germany Pay.

Price, Fifteen Cents.

At All Newsstands.

"BOOKS REVIEWED"

Interesting books on Russia, including several recently received from abroad, will be reviewed in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Books Reviewed

J. E. MILLS, M. P.: From Tsardom to Genoa. Russia, 1906-1922. Midland Branch, National Labor Press, Ltd. English pamphlet.

This pamphlet is, one may say without fear of contradiction, one of the most effective pieces of propagandist writing in support of the demand for the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia that has made its appearance in England.

In it the writer has sought to express in language of an eminently temperate character the case which all who have been watching his splendid efforts on behalf of peace with the Russian people know that Jack Mills has so much at heart. It is by no means an exhaustive study of the theme which he sets out to explore. It does not pretend to be. It aims at presenting to the man in the street a plain, simple, and straightforward statement of the reasons why the Russian Revolution is as it is. The sketch which the writer gives of the Russian revolutionary struggle, and the quotations which he so aptly makes from the most unexpected authorities, puts into correct perspective the incidents of the Dictatorship which lying and not always disinterested critics of the Soviet Power have thrown into false relief. He shows that the Bolsheviks were the heirs of a tradition of repression and of violence which made it inconceivable that their rule should have been more gentle or more tender. Mills is neither apologist nor partisan enthusiast. He is not, and has not been associated with the Communist Party, nor has he been one of those feted guests who, going to Russia to posture and to patronize, returned to philosophize on the faults and failures of which even men of heroic mould can be the victims. Mills went out to Russia when there were no junketings and when the country was in the grip of famine and disease. Mills went out to discover how things were and how British labor might help.

His pamphlet is business-like. It is trenchant. It is excellent propaganda for the cause which, to-day, is the most urgent of all causes for those who are sincere in their desire and resolve to replace capitalism by social ownership and working class control. That cause is the recognition of Russia politically and her re-admittance into the circle of commercial intercourse. Without Russia restored to something of her former status as an exporter of foodstuffs, the industrial nations of Western Europe must remain the economic vassals of American imperialism. With Russia in a position to provide an alternative supply of wheat, maize, meat foods and dairy produce, it will be possible for the workers of the West of Europe to throw off the yoke of the bondholder and the "boss" without being exposed to the certain peril of starvation in the grip of a hunger blockade.

It is considerations of this nature which make it none other than an elementary matter of common sense that all should get together in support of Soviet Russia's demand for recognition. On these grounds and on its merits as a survey of the unfolding drama of the Russian Revolution, I have no hesitation in appealing to readers to buy (and to sell) as many copies of this pamphlet as possible.

J. T. W. N.

БЫЛОЕ. Исторический журнал. № 18, 1922. Петроград.—
Byloye (The Past). An Historical Review. No. 18,
1922. Petrograd. Published by the Cooperative Publishing House "Byloye". 256 pp.

Books have their fate, according to a Latin saying. Magazines too. Here is one of the typical bulky Russian magazines. True it is not as large as the giants of the pre-war times, the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* or the *Obrazovaniye*, with their 500 and 600 pages monthly. However, it is not the number of pages which will arrest the attention of the reader, but the unusual title. "Byloye"! The title of the famous review published for so many years by Vladimir Burtsev. Yes, Vladimir Burtsev—the associate of Savinkov, the open advocate of Denikin, the unashamed hireling of France—the man for whom even the Social Revolu-

tionaries of the Right—his former associates, were too "left", too "defeatist". But just as there was once another Savinkov, so was there also another Burtsev. The Burtsev of the eighties, the prisoner in Siberia, and later exile in Switzerland, France and England, who secretly published anti-Tsarist manifestoes and terrorist pamphlets. Hounded from one country to another, imprisoned in Geneva and in London, he still had time to collect materials on the history of the Russian revolutionary movement.

To the outsider he might have appeared as the incarnation of the Revolution—of the restlessness and abnegation of the "Nihilist". To those who really knew him he was a curious crank, one of those of whom Proudhon once said that they have a "great heart but a small brain". He was not taken seriously. But he was an honest soul. A rabid democrat, a "liberal with a bomb", little interested in theoretical problems, and still less in the labor movement, he would have forever remained an obscure near-historian of Russia's revolutionary past, had not the case of Azev brought him into the limelight as the great Russian Revolutionist. Plekhanov, Kropotkin, Lenin—what was their fame in 1908 compared to that of Burtsev? True they were thinkers and pioneers, but Burtsev had succeeded—with the clue given him by a repentant Tsarist spy, Bakai—in unmasking the spy Azev, the Chief of the Terrorist organization of the Social Revolutionary Party. Conan Doyle, the father of Sherlock Holmes, could not have imagined a greater "stunt". This discovery almost cost Burtsev his life, for Boris Savinkov, then the chief aid of Azev, for a long time, together with the rest of the party, did not believe Bakai's and Burtsev's charges, and even intended to kill the "slanderer" of his master. Savinkov may yet live to regret his omission to perform this deed, for it would have saved his own and Burtsev's political reputation and would thus have prevented their both falling to the depths of ignominy which they have now reached.

Burtsev's historical magazine *Byloye* appeared irregularly from 1900 until 1917—mostly abroad—except for the period 1906-1907 when it was printed in Petersburg. In 1917, after the March Revolution, it was again transferred to Petrograd where we find among its editors, in addition to its founder Burtsev, the names of Vodovozov, E. V. Tarle and P. E. Shchegolev.

During this period—between March and November, 1917—Burtsev continued along the path which he had entered with the beginning of the war. His social-patriotism, coupled with his spy-mania, led him to declare as German agents all the opponents of the bitter-enders—including in his denunciation not only Lenin and Trotsky, but also Maxim Gorky and even some of the more or less internationalist Mensheviks. The November Revolution put a stop to his further "activities"; he was arrested, but shortly afterwards released and sent out of the country where he now shares the lot and the fame of Savinkov and Chaikovsky.

But whatever have been the aberrations of the erratic Burtsev, his review, *Byloye*, remains a venerable monument of Russian revolutionary history, and therefore its publication was continued—without its founder—along the same lines as in the past, and even with the same typographical appearance, with Shchegolev—one of the four editors of Burtsev's day—as editor, and the other editor, E. V. Tarle, as a regular contributor.

The first article contained in No. 18 is an unpublished manuscript from the pen of the famous Russian critic P. V. Annenkov—containing his memoirs from January, 1849, until August, 1851. It gives an interesting picture of Russian life during the last years of the reign of Nicholas I, whose reactionary tendencies were still increased by the fear inspired by the revolutions of 1848. The persecution of the Petrashevsky group (in which Fedor Dostoyevsky was implicated), the ridiculous censorship which severely persecuted perfectly loyal writers for passing remarks about the cruelty of Asiatic despots, the distrust with which even reactionary Slavophiles like Uvarov were treated, whose slogan, "Orthodoxy, Autocracy

and Nationality" was considered as an outright revolutionary program, the plans of the ruling camarilla to close all universities altogether, afford a splendid illustration of the political atmosphere of that period. Some rather bitter and sharp remarks about Alexander Herzen's literary activity and Turgeniev's character show that then as now tenderness and mutual admiration was not the prevailing feature among Russian radicals and liberals.

The second article, entitled "Memoires of the Sixties" treats a period of twenty years later—i. e., the end of the sixties. It is written by Alexander Uspenskaya, the elder sister of Vera Zassulich, of whom Stepniak gave such an interesting picture in his "Underground Russia"—reprinted in SOVIET RUSSIA for July 15. She was the wife of P. G. Uspensky, who together with her, took part in the revolutionary activity initiated by Sergey Gennadyevich Nechayev in 1868-1869. Nechayev's name has gruesome associations, and, as Schiller said of Wallenstein, "his picture is distorted in history by party favor and party spite". For the last fifty years we have been hearing of him as the personification of unscrupulous fanaticism, as a man who would not disdain the most repugnant and discreditable means, if they served the purpose of the revolution. It is he who is usually "credited", if we may say so, with the famous or notorious "Revolutionary Catechism" whose authorship has often been ascribed to Bakunin—especially by the latter's enemies. The admirers of Bakunin shifted the blame to Nechayev who, buried for the rest of his life in the dungeons (the dreadful "ravelin of Alexis") of the Peter-and-Paul Fortress, never made a statement on this subject. Alexandra Uspenskaya, the author of this sketch, is inclined to believe rather in Bakunin's authorship—for which she adduces the authority of Sophia Perovskaya—and the picture she gives of Nechayev's character will probably greatly contribute to the rehabilitation of this "clever man of extraordinary energy who with all his soul was boundlessly devoted to the cause" and "who had nothing—neither a family, nor personal attachments, nor his own corner, nor absolutely any property of his own—who had not even his own name; they called him at that time not Sergey Gennadyevich, but Ivan Petrovich."

The next article is entitled "Lost Letters of N. G. Chernyshevsky", with the subhead "An Illustration of the Activity of the Third Department". The "Third Department" was the famous secret police department, which was *de jure* and *de facto* a law unto itself—as it was directly connected with the personal office of the Tsar. Shortly after his arrest in 1862, Chernyshevsky, the famous critic and sociologist, addressed a letter from his cell to the Governor General of Petersburg, Prince Suvorov, who at that time had the reputation of a liberal and was known to have considerable respect for Chernyshevsky's great learning; to this letter was attached another, addressed to the Tsar. Both letters, in a dignified tone, protest against this arrest, which was legally absolutely untenable, as Chernyshevsky was not connected with any organized revolutionary movement or party. But the ruling camarilla was afraid of the influence his writings were having upon the youth (although these writings had all passed the censor) and they decided to silence him forever. The two letters were not forwarded to their destination and Prince Suvorov never received them.

Another article treats of the activity and the tragic fate of the members of the revolutionary group founded by Dolgushin, the "Dolgushintsi", who in the beginning of the seventies represented the anarchist-insurrectionist wing ("Buntary") of the "narodniks" who "went among the people". This article is followed by another, entitled "On the Decline of the Narodnaya Volya", presenting the life—if we may say so—of the members of that terrorist organization in their Siberian exile, in the eighties and nineties.

While the first half of this volume is thus mostly concerned with the romantic and earlier past of the Russian revolutionary activities when the forces opposing the old system practically consisted entirely of intellectuals, who had no support among the masses, the second half is concerned with more recent events, and the protagonists of this period are no longer heroic individuals or groups,

but the working masses themselves. There is first the history of the "Strike of the Railroad Workers in Rostov on the Don, in 1894". The report was written by a worker who took part in the strike and whose manuscript fell into the hands of the police when he was arrested in 1897. "The Poles in Kiev in 1920" gives a picture of Ukrainian conditions at the beginning of the Polish-Russian War of that year. Two other articles are reviews of the memoirs of the German reactionary Helfferich and of Count Witte, the Russian "liberal" minister. There is also an interesting criticism of General Denikin's history of the Russian Revolution—a book of which we may speak on another occasion.

The present volume of *Byloye* ends with a hitherto unpublished chapter of Dostoyevsky's famous novel "Byesy" (Demons). No. 19 of "Byloye" has just arrived and a review of it will appear in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

M. P.

D. MEREZHKOVSKEY: *The Menace of the Mob*; translated by Bernard Guilbert Guerney. Nicholas L. Brown, New York; 1921, 115 pages.

D. MEREZHKOVSKEY: Joseph Pilsudski; translated by Harriet E. Kennedy, B. A. Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London and Edinburg; 1921, 20 pages.

Some people never attain maturity. If somehow they should arrive at the conclusion that there is no God they would not close up all their accounts with Him, as logic would require, and proceed on their way alone, but, like lost children crying after their mothers, they run back and forth, unable to tear themselves from their former illusion—discovering him again and again in some other person of the Trinity, or in nature, or in their own person, and, if they are writers and their chief aim in life is to write, they will put out edition after edition of endless varieties of new gods and new religions.

Such was the lot of Dmitri Merezhkovsky, the brilliant Russian critic and writer, author of *The Life Work of Henrik Ibsen*, *The Death of The Gods*, etc., who, years after executing the gods and praising Ibsen for showing the lie of our entire social and ideological structure, and understanding the death of Ibsen's heroine Hedda as meaning "only the impossibility of continuing any longer to live as we are living," finds himself in insane sympathy with the same bourgeois world that he perhaps in a more authoritative manner than any other writer, had once denounced (*The Menace of the Mob*)—with the *Canaille* in whose continued rule he saw the inevitable ruin of mankind, the coming of the Chinese quietude which spells death, the Chinafication of America and the Americanization of Europe — and sings hosannas to Poland for the great gift bestowed upon her by God, in the person of her marshal, Pilsudski. That chauvinistic and irresponsible tool of the Allies appears to him as "the chosen of God" from whom he expects the salvation of the world.

The revolution disclosed Merezhkovsky's true character, who became, all at once, both European and Chinese. What makes him write that the triumph of the revolution means perdition to our entire planet is precisely the death of the gods who can no longer exist under the revolution.

The writers, artists and savants of bourgeois society have arbitrarily transported themselves to another—imaginary—planet, wherefrom they descend to the masses only as prophets, and where, all by themselves, they have transformed themselves into immortal gods. This state is tolerated by bourgeois society because the latter, being exclusively stomachal, is not concerned with anything else and does not react except when its stomach is directly attacked. But the gods take this tolerance seriously and resent the slightest intrusion upon their contemplative moods. That is why they could not accept the revolution.

The proletarian society, in the first place, needs no contemplators. The proletarians never had a full belly and so they are not used to contemplation. Moreover, they have their own problems to solve, which fail to interest

the gods, and their own intellectual life to live, which the gods seem incapable of directing toward any but the old channels. Again, in the future society, where everyone will act from the knowledge that whatever is of advantage to society is also a personal benefit to himself, everyone will be able to put his ideas into practice without any need of idle contemplation. But for that nobody will be given a throne. (It was Schopenhauer who said that to be a genius one must live in a world of crazy fools.) The relation between the masses and its artists will necessarily change. There must be community of purpose between them and the masses and they

will have to understand the aims of the masses—they will have to be one with them.

That is the thing to which the intellectuals cannot reconcile themselves. They will not understand that the masses are indeed capable of leading an intellectual life, that under changed material conditions they will lead one and that it is only then, when all society will live intellectually, that pure intellectual life can exist.

What alarms the gods is nothing but the reality which, sooner or later, they were bound to face. But if they cannot live with the revolution, the revolution can live without them.

J. BASILE.

Relief Contributions, August 16-31

The following abbreviations are used: F. S. C., Famine Scout Clubs; F. S. R., Friends of Soviet Russia; RC, Roll Call contribution; TD, Tool Drive contribution; W. S. and D. B. F., Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund. The total for August is low; contributors should see to it that the September total is higher.

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12554	Joseph Selesco, RC, N. Y. C.	4.75	12615	H. B. Cooper, TD, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone	6.00	12651	Joe Perko, Coll., TD, Cleveland, Ohio	7.00
12555	Hannes Aakters, TD, New Brighton, S. I.	8.50	12616	Miss Lydia LeBer, Westport, Can.	5.00	12652	Karl Mracek, TD, Toledo, O.	5.00
12556	A. O. Grigby, Toloboro, Ky.	2.00	12617	R. P. MacGowan, RC, Fairbanks, Alaska	67.50	12653	Mr. Silver, TD, Washington, D. C.	2.00
12557	R. L. Tenger, Toloboro, Ky.	1.00	12618	Johs Lahtonen, TD, Fort Brag, Cal.	5.50	12654	B. Mustonen, N. Y. C.	2.00
12558	Ellmer Tenger, Toloboro, Ky.	1.00	12619	E. Israelite, TD, Brooklyn, Wash.	5.00	12655	Syvret Olafson, Snochomish, Wash.	.45
12559	Harlan Tenger, Toloboro, Ky.	1.00	12620	Axel Tilen, TD, Oak Point, Wash.	2.00	12656	Russian Club "Prosvetchnie", TD, Indiana Harbor, Ind.	300.00
12560	J. L. Tenger, Toloboro, Ky.	1.00	12621	Alex Dulchewsky, TD, Latouche, Alaska	5.00	12657	Group of Workers, Fairbanks, Alaska	60.00
12561	J. Calvert, Toloboro, Ky.	1.00	12622	Tony Narkel, Latouche, Alaska	5.00	12658	Group of Workers, TD, Bridgewater, Mass.	21.00
12562	J. A. Wood, Toloboro, Ky.	1.00	12623	Maxim Podolan, TD, Latouche, Alaska	5.00	12659	Tony Honcharuk, TD, Frankia, Mass.	5.00
12563	S. P. Rudd, Toloboro, Ky.	1.00	12624	Nick Allison, TD, Latouche, Alaska	5.00	12660	A. Lensky, N. Y. C.	2.25
12564	James Robertson, Epworth, Ky.	1.00	12625	N. Maschovich, TD, Latouche, Alaska	5.00	12661	FSR Branch, TD, RC, Minneapolis, Minn.	73.75
12565	May Walden, TD, Avon Park, Florida	1.00	12626	J. Wolfe, TD, East Chicago, Ind.	1.00	12662	Russian Technical Society thru FSR Branch, Lawrence, Mass.	18.35
12566	M. Richter, TD, West Hoboken, N. J.	10.50	12627	Emma Aho, Coll., TD, Woodland, Wash.	.50	12663	Lithuanian Women's Progressive Alliance No. 8 thru FSR Br., Lawrence, Mass.	31.65
12567	FSC No. 87, Anna Chernaenko, Leader, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.17	12628	Harry E. Olewiler, RC, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00	12664	FSR Branch, Utica, N. Y.	13.33
12568	Cancelled.		12629	Cancelled. Issued by mistake.		12665	FSC No. 69, Edgmore, L. I.	12.00
12569	B. Turkel (Entertainment), Klamcaba, N. Y.	40.00	12630	Mikka Soini, Coll., TD, Proctor, Vt.	11.25	12666	H. Mansfield, Coll., TD, N.Y.C.	8.00
12570	Ernest Max Braune, TD, NYC and Cont., Akron, O.	168.05	12631	H. Honkones, Coll., TD, Brooklyn, N. Y.	18.00	12667	Walter J. Conarty, TD, Hammond, Ind.	2.00
12571	Ernest Max Braune, TD, NYC	10.00	12632	Jack Turaka, Coll., TD, Elms, Wash.	4.89	12668	C. A. Kaley, TD, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
12572	Aatti Heikkila, Florenton, Minn.	14.25	12633	A. J. Karockas, Coll., TD, Grand Rapids, Mich.	13.45	12669	S. E. Coble, TD, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
12573	Lydia Nyyssola, Baltimore, Md.	13.35	12634	Anna Gordon, Coll., TD, NYC	10.00	12670	Nick De Santo, Coll., TD, Glengarry, Mont.	5.50
12574	L. Wychaert, Coll., New Bedford, Mass.	12.00	12635	Harry E. Olewiler, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	4.00	12671	Lydia M'Mettere, Coll., TD, Hancock, Mich.	2.25
12575	N. Baer, RC, Chelsea, Mass.	3.50	12636	Christ Hagopoulos, Coll., TD, N. Y. C.	4.00	12672	FSR Branch, Pledges, Relief, RC, TD, So. Bklyn, N. Y.	66.74
12576	Central Labor Union, TD, New Britain, Conn.	2.00	12637	E. B. Banners, Coll., Ponce, Porto Rico	3.30	12673	Mrs. E. Kami thru Matsui, Oakland, Cal.	1.00
12577	Julius Marcus, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	12638	H. Nelson, Bay City, Wash.	2.00	12674	Mike Murch, Coll., TD, Chicago, Ill.	15.00
12578	Ben Bailen, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	12639	Julius Soos, Canton, O.	1.00	12675	Sophia Wirta, Coll., TD, Big Lake, Wash.	10.00
12579	Chil Smetanka, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00	12640	Carl Karpinen, Coll., TD, Chicago, Ill.	19.35			
12580	A. Silverstein, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	12641	Ida Komula, Coll., TD, Elkol, Wyo.	19.00			
12581	J. Silverstein, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	12642	Corona S. P. Branch 1, TD, Elmhurst, N. Y.	28.00			
12582	Wm. Blanky, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	.50	12643	L. Siminow, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00			
12583	Henry Tillerman, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00	12644	R. Lipshitz, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	3.00			
12584	B. Rosenberg, TD, St. Louis, Mo.	.50	12645	B. Dennenberg, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00			
12585	S. S. Branch, TD, Brantwood, Wis.	25.00	12646	J. M. Belkin, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00			
12586	M. Demczuk, TD, Sydney, N.S.	.95	12647	M. Shulman, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00			
12587	Nick. Zobink, TD, Longlac, Ont., Canada	1.95	12648	L. Smit, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00			
12588	FSR Branch, TD, Duluth, Minn.	5.00						
12589	Peter Astaphik, Coll., TD, N. Y. C.	4.50						
12590	S.S. Osasto, Paynesville, Mich.	3.00						
12591	FSR Branch, RC & CRC, Flint, Mich.	15.00						
12592	Timothy Vlassoff, RC & TD, Toronto, Can.	33.00						
12593	Jan Luczywo, TD, Buffalo, NY	14.50						
12594	C. Becker, Utica, N. Y.	5.20						
12595	J. Shaltonis, Bridgewater, Mass.	10.00						
12596	M. Bashura, TD, Norwich, Conn.	6.25						
12597	W. W. Cornas, TD, Sacramento, Cal.	2.00						
12598	I. Soltner, TD, Washington, D. C.	5.00						
12599	E. Pechkoroff, TD, Indiana, Pa.	2.00						
12600	D. Korytar, TD, Chicago, Ill.	1.00						
12601	Engels McLeod, TD, Alice Arm, B. C.	1.00						
12602	Leo Paulcer, TD, Alice Arm, B. C.	4.00						
12603	Mrs. Marie Kocher, TD, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00						
12604	Aida Flomenbaum, TD, Lecture, Forest Park, Pa.	25.00						
12605	Alex Pennanen, TD, Spirit Lake, Ida.	5.00						
12606	Tony Baronoff, TD, Raymond, Wash.	30.00						
12607	S. Hillkowitz, TD, San Diego, Cal.	25.00						
12608	K. Wirtanen, TD, N. Y. C.	12.25						
12609	Henrietta Justement, TD, Washington, D. C.	8.00						
12610	Mrs. Catherine McBee, TD, Washington, D. C.	2.00						
12611	Otto Baehr, Monico, Wis.	10.00						
12612	B. Lax, RC, N. Y. C.	8.00						

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The Economic Situation in Russia

By PIERRE PASCAL (Moscow)

IT is one of the characteristics of the Soviet Government constantly to scrutinize its own policies, to verify ceaselessly the results of this or that measure, and to define, as often as possible, the actual stages attained.

Hence, a thorough examination of the new economic policy was made at the conference of the provincial offices of the Supreme Council of National Economy (S. C. N. E.) which started on July 24, at Moscow. With the exception of the Bashkir Republic, all the federated territories were represented: Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, etc., under the leadership of the Supreme Council of National Economy. Besides, the state bureaus and the state trusts, and the labor unions also sent delegates.

The report of Bogdanov, President of the S. C. N. E., is a detailed picture of the industrial situation of the Soviet Federation during the first six months of 1922. If, in order to complete our material, we add the statistical information recently provided by certain institutions, or published by the Soviet press, we shall be able properly to appreciate the strictly material results—quite apart from social and other consequences—of the new economic policy. The following conclusion is then drawn: The situation is serious, depending strictly on a more or less successful harvest. But on the whole, there is a general advance to be noticed, as compared with the corresponding period of last year; the Spring crisis has been more easily overcome, prospects for development are more favorable, the national forces are felt to be capable of sufficiently sustaining the country for as long as it pleases foreign capital to delay the resumption of relations.

The new policy has brought a radical modification into the methods of administration and organization of State industry. The general prin-

ciple is to encourage private enterprise and to reduce the role of the bureaucracy. The Supreme Council of National Economy, instead of directing all industry from Moscow, is limited to the general power of supervising and determining the general policy. Its personnel is reduced from about 25,000 employees, to about 1,500. The notorious "Central Bureaus" of different branches of industry have disappeared, leaving all responsibility and direction to the state trusts, which are directly interested in production.

These trusts comprise, in each branch, the best equipped enterprises, and thus continue the process of concentration which was already started. Finally, these trusts are themselves grouped into syndicates for the distribution of their products, and for general commercial activity. Such is the scheme which has been developed progressively, through experience, and which is now almost realized. Instead of 235,000, the state industries are now administered by 18,000 officials.

For years the Soviet Government has been endeavoring to systematize economic life, that is to say, to draw up and apply methods of production, transportation, distribution and consumption. The new policy had abandoned distribution and consumption, and even a part of the production, to private initiative, but on the other hand, it has succeeded in working out a real program for the State industry and to effect the execution of the program up to 70 per cent (from October 1921 to April 1922).

If we take the most important branches of industry, we shall discover figures which will immediately destroy the fantastic legends of the suspension of all production in Russia, which have been retailed by Whites of various categories. Taking everything into account, the war and the blockade, the former lasting until 1920, and the

latter until now, we may say that Russia shows infinitely more vitality and capacity for recuperation than many other countries.

As to fuel, Russian industry has been compelled since 1918 to resort to the use of wood almost exclusively; this is a most bulky material for transportation, and has a low caloric value. This abnormal situation is now beginning to disappear; instead of continuing the devastation of the forests, the exploitation of oil and coal has been intensified. From January to April, 1922, the lumber-cutting yield has been only 13 million *sazhen*,* instead of the 32 million *sazhen* in January-April, 1921.

On the other hand, the Don coal basin has furnished, in the first five months of 1922, 183.1 million poods of coal, instead of 140.7 million poods of the corresponding period of 1921. The monthly output varies between 30 and 40 million poods, without counting that of the small mines worked on lease by the peasants. In spite of the severe crisis last Spring, arising out of the famine, Bogdanov estimates that in the first six months of this year the coal industry reached 42 per cent of pre-war production, as compared with 31 per cent in 1921 and 27 per cent in 1920.

In Baku, we note the following progress in oil production:

September, 1921,	11.6 million poods
December, 1921,	15.2 " "
January, 1922,	15.4 " "
March, 1922,	16.1 " "
May 1922,	16.4 " "

And in the Grozny fields, as follows:

September, 1921,	6 million poods
December, 1921,	6.3 " "
January, 1922,	7.1 " "
March, 1922,	9.7 " "
May 1922,	7.4 " "

Bogdanov states that in the first six months of 1922, the oil industry reached 43 per cent of pre-war production. In 1921, the average monthly production was 19.8 million poods for Baku and Grozny; in 1922, it is 22.7 millions. This result is all the more remarkable because all the machinery needs renewing and trade relations with foreign countries have hardly made their effects felt yet.

The metal industry provides us with another indication, no less significant, of the economic restoration of Russia. Up to the Spring crisis, which was caused by the tension with which the new harvest is expected in Russia, the number of blast furnaces, Martin furnaces and rolling works has increased, as follows:

	Blast Furnaces	Martin Furnaces	Rolling Works
January, 1922.....	11	20	43
February, 1922.....	13	24	52
March, 1922.....	16	24	52
April, 1922.....	14	24	49

*1 cub. *sazhen* equals 12.70 cubic yards.

The production in the course of these four months has brought an increase of 13 per cent for the products of the rolling works; of 30 per cent for pig iron; of 40 per cent for Martin steel, as compared with the same period for the preceding year.

This progress is especially due to the activity of the works in the South (Ukraine), whose average monthly production has risen from 146,000 to 313,000 poods.

The whole industry of the South is progressing; the extraction of iron ore, which had completely stopped from 1918 to 1920, was resumed in 1921; this also applies to manganese ores. The production of coke has risen from 4.8 million poods in 1920 to 7 million poods in 1921.

It must be mentioned here that Southern industry was almost entirely in the hands of foreign capital: 70 per cent of the Donets coal, 90 per cent of the manganese; and 94 per cent of the coke. Its disorganization was the natural consequence of the departure of foreign capital.

Another branch of the mineral industry in which the Soviet Government has achieved brilliant success is salt mining. In 1920 the production of salt reached 28 per cent of the pre-war figure, and in 1921, it rose to 55 per cent. The individual output, from each worker, has risen from 42 per cent to 63 per cent of the output in 1913.

In the electrical industry, the actual total pre-war production has been reached in cables, accumulators and high and low tension motors. At the beginning of 1922, the Soviet Republic possessed about 1,000 public utility power stations, furnishing about 400,000 kilowatts. Of these, 400 low power stations have been constructed since 1918. Also, the great central stations of Shatur and Kashira began operations in 1921 and 1922 respectively.

The textile industry has also kept pace with the general progress. To cite just one example, the manufacture of cotton thread has risen from a monthly average of 103,000 poods in 1921 to 260,000 poods in 1922.

Soviet industry has recently encountered a crisis which was greatly exploited by the bourgeois and counter-revolutionary press. This crisis, which resulted from the bad harvest of 1921 (and the consequent decrease in the purchasing power of the peasants) and the financial experimenting necessitated by the new economic policy, is now in process of disappearing. The satisfactory harvest of 1922, and the measures adopted for the restoration of credit, the stabilization of finance and the technical improvements in industry and in the management of the trusts, have all created a situation favorable to the hastening improvement of trade.

An extremely significant symptom of this economic progress is the stabilization of the ruble. After an extremely rapid rise, a first fall in prices took place in the third week in May, and remained steady for some time. After the first week in July,

another fall in prices may be noted, reaching the following percentages in Moscow: vegetables, 5 percent; meat, 4 per cent; bread, 4 per cent; groceries, 2 per cent. This phenomenon is general throughout Russia, and implies a corresponding gain in real wages. At the same time the number of paper rubles given on the market in exchange for the gold ten-ruble piece, is markedly decreasing. We may note, therefore, a stabilization of currency, a stabilization which is still weak, it is true (we hear of a slight rise in prices in Petrograd), but which may be consolidated by a wise

financial policy such as that of Comrade Sokolnikov.

Thus, in all branches, the figures show a perceptible amelioration of the situation. This betterment is not accidental, as it continues even after the spring crisis, and is derived from various lasting causes. One may then predict its continuation and increase. We thus get an idea as to what Russia can do, of its own power, without foreign aid; and, on the other hand, the use she could make of foreign capital, if an opportunity were given her.

The New Economic Policy In Practice

By A. A. HELLER

A chapter from the author's "Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia", to be published shortly by Thomas Seltzer, Inc.

I HAVE already described the underlying theoretical principles of the new economic policy, together with the conditions which made its adoption an imperative necessity for the Russian Government. It still remains to show how the new policy works out in practice, how it has affected the economic life of Russia. This is not an easy task. The Soviet Government's effort to bring about a revival of trade and industry has encountered unforeseen problems and obstacles, which have, in turn, led to constant changes and modifications in the decrees published during the last year by the central authorities. However, there are a few broad tendencies which stand out like landmarks in this period of industrial flux and transition. Among these tendencies may be noted the signing of treaties with a number of European and Asiatic countries, efforts to build up relations with foreign capitalists on a basis of trade and concessions, the working out of a financial policy, including a state budget, reforms in legal procedure and codification of existing laws, a steady broadening of the scope of the co-operatives, a systematic attempt to promote the organized immigration of qualified groups of foreign workmen to Soviet Russia. In its domestic economic policy the Russian government has attempted to derive the maximum amount of benefit from the encouragement of private initiative in industry, while striving to regulate and discipline the new tendencies by maintaining such measures as nationalization of foreign trade, state control of basic industries and the strengthening of labor legislation.

March, 1921, the month when the new economic policy was formally promulgated, was signaled by the conclusion of a number of peace treaties and commercial agreements. The Trade Agreement with Great Britain, the product of long and protracted negotiations, was signed at this time. This agreement was subsequently interpreted by the British court as according *de facto* recognition to the Soviet Government and exempting it from

liability to suit in the British courts. The Agreement provides for mutual admission of the commercial representatives of the two countries, for an exchange of trading facilities and for mutual abstinence from hostile propaganda. As the first great power to open up formal commercial relations with Soviet Russia, Great Britain enjoyed the largest share of Russian trade during 1921.

Treaties with Poland and Turkey were also concluded in March, 1921. A certain amount of trade has gradually developed between Poland and Russia, although relations between the two countries have been strained several times by the failure of the Polish government to carry out the provisions of the peace treaty, which stipulate for the liquidation of all organizations in each country, which aim at the destruction of the government of the other. Russian White Guard organizations are flourishing in Poland to this day; the Savinkov band and others weaving their conspiracies against the Soviet State.

The Turkish Treaty, which was signed on March 16, sets the boundary between the two countries, abolishes the right of extra-territoriality which Russia, in common with other powers, had previously claimed for its citizens in Turkey, and provides for joint diplomatic co-operation against the aggressive designs of the Western powers.

Germany was the next country to institute formal relations with Russia. By the terms of an agreement signed at Berlin on May 6, 1921, economic representatives of the two countries were mutually guaranteed "the rights and privileges of the heads of accredited missions". It was furthermore provided that the Soviet mission in Germany should be regarded as the sole representative of the Russian state. The agreement also included a number of clauses looking to a resumption of trade between the two countries and providing for the arbitration of cases where the laws of the two countries might conflict. The friendly attitude of the German government toward Soviet Russia was recently manifested by the turning over of

the old Tsarist embassy in Berlin for the use of the Soviet mission.

Norway fell into line by concluding a trade agreement on September 2. This document follows very closely the lines laid down in the German treaty. Article XI of the agreement is especially interesting as a practical recognition of the full sovereignty of the Soviet Government. It reads as follows:

"(a) The monopoly of the foreign trade—as far as Russia is concerned—belongs to the government of the R. S. F. S. R., which works through the Commissariat for Foreign Trade and its organizations.

"(b) Every commercial agreement and transaction which has been made with some private persons or groups who are not working on behalf or with the consent of the government of the R. S. F. S. R. will be regarded as a violation of such monopoly, with all the consequences arising out of the Russian law in the matter.

"(c) The monopolization of the foreign trade by any party cannot be regarded by the other party as a reason for imposing any custom duties or claiming any compensation."

Shortly afterwards Austria signed a compact drawn up along similar lines and including particularly recognition of the Ukrainian Soviet Government. This is of especial importance as Austria harbored a number of hostile organizations claiming to represent Ukraine, which, under the provisions of the treaty, will have to be disbanded.

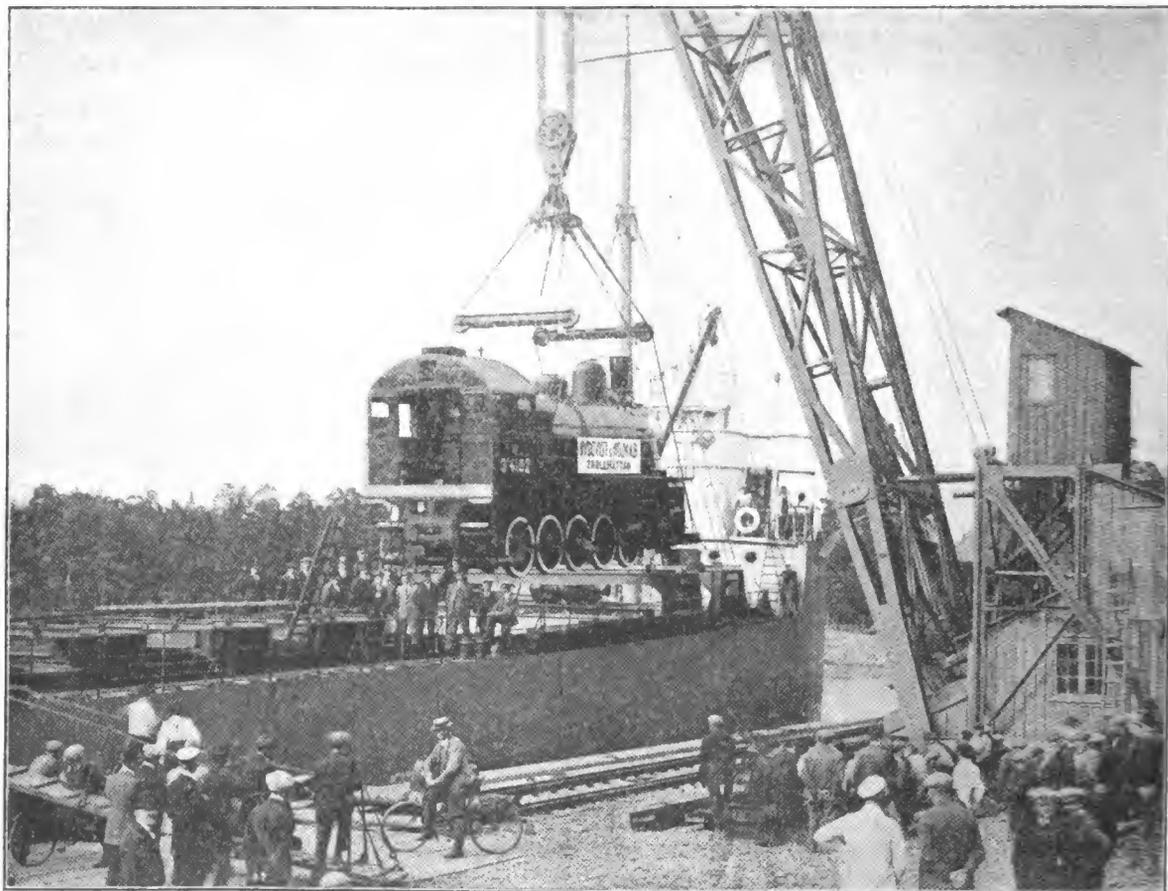
On December 26, a commercial agreement be-

tween Russia and Italy was signed.* In this agreement with Soviet Russia, Italy, the fourth large power in Europe, establishes the principle that the Italian Government "will not take any step with the object of sequestering or taking possession of gold, funds, securities, or goods, that have not been identified as the property of the Italian Government, and which may be exported from Russia on payment or as guarantee of importation. Nor shall any step be taken against the movable or immovable property that may be acquired by the Russian Soviet Government." (Art. XIII.) The agreement is followed by a Declaration of Recognition of Claims, similar to the Declaration used in the agreement with Great Britain:

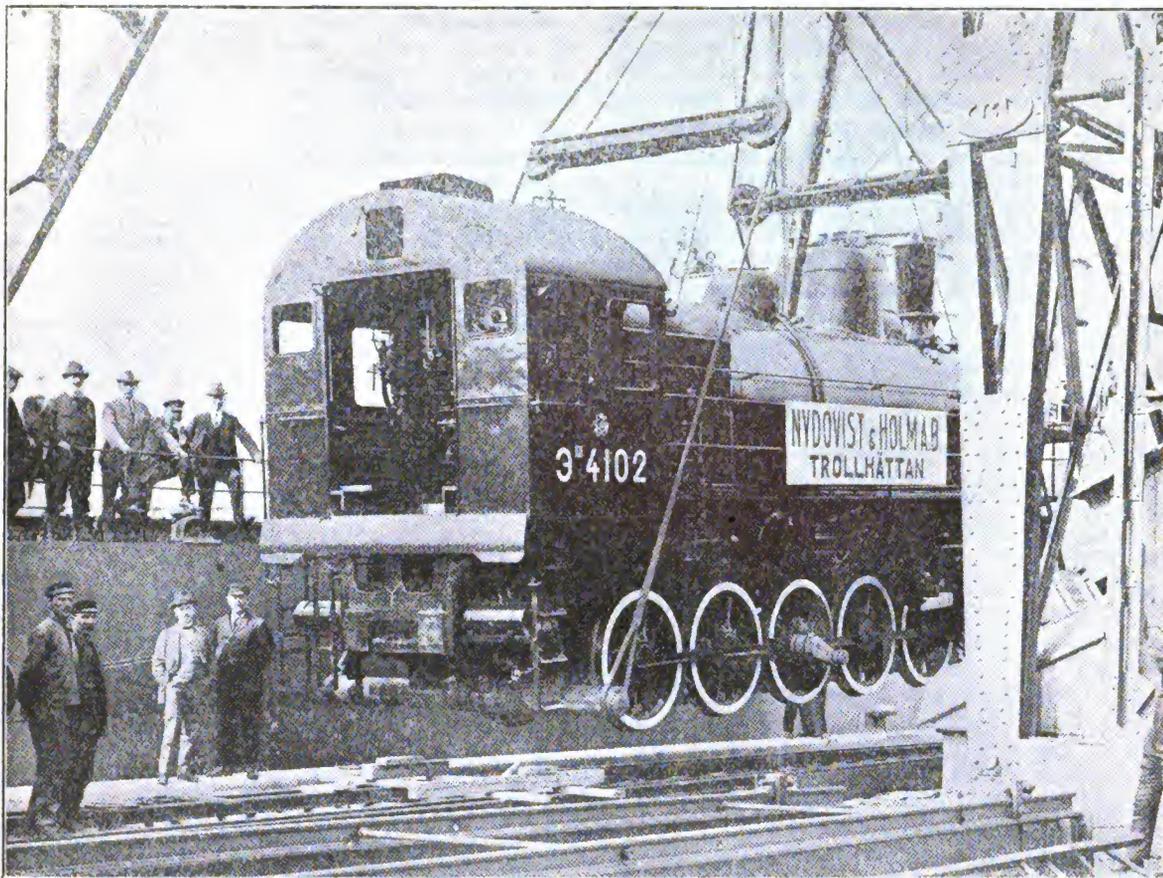
"At the moment of signing this convention both parties declare that all claims of the parties and of their own nationals against the other party concerning property or rights or obligations assumed by the existing government and the preceding governments of either party, shall be equitably adjusted in the general definite treaty provided for in the Preamble.

"However, without prejudicing the general provisions of the treaty provided for above, the Russian Soviet Government declares that it recognizes in principle its own responsibility for payment or compensation to private persons who may have furnished goods or services to Russia that may still remain unpaid. The details of the execution

*This treaty failed to be ratified by the Soviet Government.



A LOCOMOTIVE GOING ABOARD
the steamer "Neebing" for transportation to Soviet Russia



A CLOSE-UP VIEW OF THE LOCOMOTIVE
going aboard the steamer "Neeping" at Trollhättan, bound for Soviet Russia.

of this obligation shall be established by the Treaty provided for in the Preamble.

"The Italian Government makes the same declaration for itself."

This Declaration sketches the manner in which Soviet Russia and foreign powers can reach mutually satisfactory agreements in the adjustment of claims against one another. France and Belgium are the only two countries in Europe refusing to concede the justice of this arrangement, and their stubborn opposition is retarding European reconstruction.

Negotiations carried on with Sweden resulted in the preliminary agreement between the two countries signed at Stockholm, March 1, 1922. While this agreement failed of ratification by the Swedish Parliament, probably under the effect of the outcome of the Genoa Conference, nevertheless, Soviet Russia has its representation in Sweden, and the commercial relations between the two countries are growing in importance. The agreement with Sweden was the most comprehensive, including both political and commercial recognition, granting the representative of Soviet Russia full diplomatic rights and privileges, the use of the flag, etc. Trade is to be carried on in accordance with the legislation in force in each country. Nationals of one country have the right to engage in trade or industry in the other country, and enjoy the

same rights and protection as other foreigners.

Because the agreement provided for the full recognition of the Soviet Government, pressure has been brought to bear on Sweden against its ratification; but it is hoped that the document will be ratified in the course of this year.

Germany, however, dared to complete its provisional agreement with Soviet Russia of May 6, 1921, by the formal peace treaty signed at Rapallo on April 16, 1922. This treaty has stirred up enough discussion, both during the Genoa Conference and after, to have made its provisions familiar. The treaty is vastly important to both Russia and Germany, providing as it does an instrument of mutual interest and contact. Clause 5 says: "The two governments undertake to give each other mutual assistance for the alleviation of their economic difficulties in the most benevolent spirit." Surely the unhindered combination of Russian natural wealth and German technique and patient methodical organizing ability should prove a boon to both countries.

Other states with whom Soviet Russia has peace treaties or commercial agreements are Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Persia, Afghanistan, and Czecho-Slovakia. In addition, a general peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Poland, Esthonia and Latvia was concluded at Riga on March 30th,

1922, whereby "The delegates of Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, and of the Russian Socialist Federation of the Soviets of Russia, met at Riga on March 30th, 1922, solemnly confirm their sincere desire for universal peace, as well as their decision to live in harmony and to undertake the settlement of contentious questions by pacific means."

The several treaties enumerated here, considered chronologically, are interesting as showing the growing confidence in the Soviet Government on the part of Europe. England, the first to conclude a trade agreement, devotes more space in the document to the question of propaganda than to the question of trade. The tone of the whole document is that of distrust, of an agreement to treat with a party that is avowedly not an equal. The German agreement two months later, already recognizes that Soviet Russia is a sovereign state, and concedes to "the Representation of the R. S. F. S. R. in Germany" consular and other rights. The third treaty, with the Norwegian Government, is a definite political agreement between two sovereign states. And finally, the preliminary Russo-Swedish Agreement is still broader in scope, and deals with the commercial and political interests of both countries in a business-like, matter-of-fact manner, "in accordance with international law".

In just one year of international relations, March 1921 to March 1922, Soviet Russia thus succeeded in establishing her right to complete recognition in the eyes of the world.

In discussing Russia's external economic policy, Krassin, the Commissar for Foreign Trade (*Izvestiya*, September 7, 1921), characterizes the Russo-British Trade Agreement, in its present form, as unsatisfactory, because it does not provide for political recognition of the Soviet Government, because it can be abrogated at the will of either party, and because the recognition of the right of the Soviet Government to dispose of Russia's national property is insufficient. However, in Krassin's opinion, a poor agreement is better than no agreement at all; and he is confident that British public opinion will not countenance a breaking off of Russo-British trade relations. Krassin touches on the original difficulties of utilizing Russian gold for foreign purchases; these obstacles have now been largely overcome. He expresses the hope that the purchase of food in America for famine relief will "set a precedent for commercial purchases in America."

Krassin then turns to the subject of concessions. He feels that the failure of the Soviet Government to conclude definite agreements with any large number of foreign capitalists up to the present time is not a reason for discouragement, as concession agreements, even in pre-revolutionary times, always required months for discussion and elaboration of details. The important thing is that concessions are being negotiated with a number of powerful foreign firms; and this fact, in Krassin's opinion, makes Russia's chances for political recognition much brighter. Insisting upon the necessity of keeping Russia's transportation system a government monopoly, Krassin

nevertheless declares that this rule may be open to some exceptions. He alludes to the possibility of granting concessions in connection with the building of new railroads in the North of Russia, and the opening up of direct transport connection between Petrograd and Baku.

The parts of Krassin's statement relating to the practicability of raising a foreign loan are so interesting for the light which they cast upon Russia's policy at Genoa that they deserve to be quoted in full.

"We are now devoting attention to a great international loan, without which it will be impossible to rebuild Russia economically in a short time. But the question to be answered here is: Is it not utopian to speak of such a loan? Our experience in the course of a year and a half of work abroad has suggested to us that the preparations for a loan to Russia are a logical outcome of those general economic circumstances in which the capitalist countries also are involved."

"The interests of capitalist Europe and America themselves imperatively demand that the question of this loan be put upon the order of the day. Europe is languishing in the pains of a tremendous and unprecedented crisis. There are now in France, England and America, hundreds of thousands of automobiles, hundreds of thousands of tractors, and all sorts of transportation machinery, locomobiles, instruments, supplies of iron, steel, etc., for which there is no outlet at all, since the French automobile manufacturer cannot sell a single automobile in England, and the English automobile manufacturer cannot sell a single automobile in France. Germany cannot buy; she can only sell, because of her enormous debts, and the idea has begun to work itself into the minds of the most far-sighted capitalist leaders in Europe that without an economic reconstruction of Russia, there is no possibility of attaining a healthy circulation of the blood in this great economic world organization.

"I think that the question of a great trade loan is a timely one. Let me say that this question will become acute first of all in France, the same France which has tried, as no other country has, to boycott Soviet Russia in the most stubborn manner, which has been the initiator of all the harm of every kind to Russia, of interventions, uprisings, etc. It will be France in the first place, I think, who must give us money. France must give us money for the reason that, owing to the stupid policy which she has been following so far and which has brought her to the point of complete isolation, the only way by which she can save for herself even a part of her claims on Russia, will be by granting us a new loan. Only on these conditions will France be able to obtain a recognition on our part of any of the debts of the former governments, and the main demand of France upon us has been for the payment of this indebtedness. Furthermore, it would be ridiculous for France to expect recognition of her loan at par at a time when the quotations of Russian obli-

gations on the Paris Bourse are about fifteen francs to the hundred."

Just before the Genoa Conference, Krassin said in the course of an interview:

"Russia has an inexhaustible wealth of natural riches, and her hundred and thirty millions of people, with the help of her economically stronger and more cultured neighbors can develop productive forces surpassing the most audacious hopes.

"The economic system founded in Russia by the will of the Russian working people is founded on the principles of ownership by the whole people of the whole land, and state control or nationalization of the most important branches of industry and foreign trade. These foundations remain unshaken, but they do not exclude the possibility of working side by side with foreign capital."

In every case, it was not the attraction of immediate trade alone that formulated these treaties, but the "possibility of working side by side with foreign capital" in an ever increasing measure. To afford this possibility of working side by side, within Russia, a number of "mixed" companies have been recently organized. In a "mixed" corporation part of the shares are held by the Soviet Government, and part by foreign interests. A typical corporation of this form is the Leather Corporation, formed in February, 1922. Its full name is: "The Leather Corporation for Internal and Foreign Trade", and the incorporators are the Commissariat for Foreign Trade, the Supreme Council of National Economy, Centrosoyus (Union of Consumers' Cooperatives), and citizens Steinberg and Tomingass. Capital of Corporation: 15 million gold rubles, divided into 15,000 shares at 1000 rubles each. The Corporation is managed by a Board of Directors of 5, elected by the general stockholders' meeting for two years; a managing director is elected by the Board. The charter gives the Corporation the right to collect and prepare leather, hides, skins, furs, horsehair, bristles, hoofs and horns for domestic and export trade; to prepare, purchase and import materials needed in the business of the Corporation, or for trading purposes; to establish plants, warehouses, offices, etc., in Russia and abroad, and to own and operate transport facilities; to keep funds of Russian or foreign denomination, to establish credits and carry on exchange transactions with Russian or foreign firms and institutions in accordance with existing laws and regulations, or such as may be passed later.

Another "mixed" company is *Derumetal* ("German-Russian Metal") owned by the Commissariat for Foreign Trade and Herr Norbert Levi of the Lichtenberg Metal Works. Capital 2 million marks. Purpose—export and sale mainly in Germany, of metals and minerals, ores, scrap and waste metal.

Another one is *Derutra* ("Russo-German Transport Co.") formed between the Soviet Government and the Hamburg-American Line (American capital participating), for marine transport between western Europe and Russia.

THE CHARACTER DOLLS OF THE CHILDREN HOMES OF SOVIET RUSSIA

There they stand in a corner of the Ukrainische Kunstausstellung* in Berlin, these wonderful dolls that have been made by the tiny fingers of the Russian children in the children's homes. What a revelation of natural skill and of the true artistic impulse that comes only with freedom! One laughs till one weeps at the types from Gogol, the pompous old gentleman, the pedantic magistrate, the adipose old lady. A whole drama from Gogol could be staged with these puppets with their quaint gestures, their faces of silk wonderfully painted and sewn, their figures full of life and movement. There are the old peasant women with red kerchiefs and wrinkled faces, Red Army soldiers, market women with their baskets, magnificent old ladies in silks and furs, the new life of Russia in city and village depicted with startling realism and exquisite detail.

These dolls should be preserved in a museum, not only as objects of art but as psychological documents of the new proletarian culture and education of Russia. At any rate, a number of excellent photographs have been taken of doll groups, suitable for sale, and may be ordered from the "Arbeiterhilfe" office in Berlin (Wikinger Ufer 3).

*Ukrainian Art Exhibition.

Busts of Lenin and Trotsky

The Friends of Soviet Russia have disposed of almost all the casts they have had made of these excellent works of the famous sculptress, Clare Sheridan, who donated the originals to the organization on condition that they be reproduced and the copies sold for the benefit of sufferers from the famine.

Prices:

Trotsky Bust\$2.50
Lenin Bust\$3.00

Send remittance with order to
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Published Semi-Monthly

201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.



Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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THE settlement arrived at between the Soviet Government and the Russo-Asiatic Corporation may on its face not appear as a great success for the Russian workers; for it represents virtually the restitution of tremendous areas to their former capitalist exploiters. The 6 per cent share of the Soviet Government in the profits is a far cry from the 51 per cent which were originally contemplated for all concessions and similar enterprises. But on the other hand, as matters stand now, in view of the financial blockade which was proclaimed against Russia beginning with the Hague Conference, and in view of the great need of foreign capital in Russia, this deal means a great success; especially since, owing to the present lack of technical resources, Russia would not have been able to derive any substantial benefit from her natural riches even in a decade. But apart from its economic importance, the political significance of the new arrangement can best be judged from the editorial utterances of the *New York Times* of September 12, in an article entitled "Buying Them Off", which contains the bitter remark that "Moscow has not forgotten that excellent principle of politics—"Divide the opposition and have your own way". The bitterness of the *Times* is quite justified, for, by signing this deal England has already for the second time—since the conclusion of the Trade Agreement—"betrayed her trust", and violated the solidarity of the capitalist powers.

Soviet Russia may still be forced to conclude a large number of such settlements, which, beneficial as they may be from the purely economic point of view, nevertheless involve the danger of undue political influence on the part of foreign capital within Russia. But the workers' republic has no choice. The only other alternative would be the active solidarity of the workers of all countries, who, by sending tools and machinery to

Russia, would help in the building up of Russia without leaving the monopoly of industrial reconstruction to foreign capital.

* * *

THE affair of the Sisson documents, the interesting papers which "officially revealed" Lenin, Trotsky, and all the other leaders of the November Revolution as paid agents of Germany is almost forgotten and the Soviet Government may yet be requested to repay to America the millions spent in circulating these, now historical, forgeries. The world at large has certainly forgotten the names of Edgar Sisson and George Creel, who labored so hard to destroy the honor of the Russian pioneers; but the *New York Times*, an ardent champion of tradition, will not permit the venerable guild of forgers and their willing dupes to languish for lack of patronage. And so it happened that the world was now again favored with a set of startling "revelations" of the true character of the bad men of Moscow.

The Sisson of our day is the famous Sir Paul Dukes, who was knighted by the King of England for his activity as a British spy in Soviet Russia. Through "the Intelligence Bureau of one of the allied nations in Berlin" he got hold of letters "signed with initials K. R." Now "K. R." might mean a variety of things, "but the inquiry shows that the writing is attributed to Karl Radek." The interesting parts of the letters are scandalous remarks on Alexandra Kollontai's opposition to the present policy of the Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party, and her alleged accusations that Litvinov, Lunacharsky and others are grafters. There is also a mention of Radek's "business in Leipzig". And Sir Paul makes the little remark that "it looks as though some of the proletarian leaders are carefully feathering their nests abroad." Kollontai's name has been mentioned often of late and the I. W. W. have even published an English translation of her pamphlet criticizing the present Russian policy. Needless to say, there were no personal attacks of any kind in that publication, and what personal accusations Alexandra Kollontai might have written—even in a confidential way, since that time, would not have remained a secret for any length of time. They would have long ago gone the rounds of the world.

Another "document" is a speech by Bukharin to the last Congress of the Third International, which "apparently never was published". In this speech Bukharin, according to Sir Paul Dukes' informant, makes the following remark:

"Recalling the fiasco of the Communist International in Western Europe in 1921, it becomes evident why every project of our administrative organs in the country is doomed to failure if it takes its orders from the Communist International. Risings in Germany, the strikes in Sweden, England and Italy, and finally the Irish adventure, all these are nothing but successive failures of our tactics."

Linking the "Irish adventure" with the Communist International is a good joke; but better still is the warning of the failure menacing the Soviet

administration if it "takes its orders from the Communist International". Sir Paul may rest assured; there are very slight chances that the Soviet Government will get into trouble for failure to comply with "Bukharin's warnings".

* * *

IN one of our former issues we had an article on the life of Russian émigrés. This article contained information on the great number of papers, dailies, weeklies, monthly magazines, etc., that are being published by the monarchist, "liberal" and "socialist" irreconcilables who will not come back to Russia until at least half a million of Communists have been massacred and the great plains of Russia converted into a paradise on the Horthy model. Whatever differences may exist between the various counter-revolutionary currents, there is one thing besides their hatred towards the Workers' Republic which unites them all—and that incidentally distinguishes their papers immediately from all the publications loyal to the November Revolution—their spelling. The old Russian alphabet, as is well known, contains a number of letters which are completely useless (different letters for the same sound), which had some meaning centuries ago, but which at present are a nuisance, the only function of which is to put correct spelling out of the reach of the "common people." The March Revolution of 1917 was, so to speak, in duty bound to do something against this nuisance, and the Minister of Education in Kerensky's Cabinet, Milyutin, issued a decree abolishing some of these letters. But the decree remained a dead letter, while those dead letters remained alive just as much as before, the publishers as well as the writers, prompted by habit, as well as by high-brow snobbery, simply disregarding this very sensible reform. It was not until after the fall of Kerensky that the new spelling was really introduced—by the victorious Bolsheviks. But how did they do it? Especially, as during the first months of their rule they had not nationalized the printing offices and the bourgeois papers continued to appear as before. Well—we must admit, they used a very barbarous method. They did not try to persuade, they simply sent men to every printing establishment with special instructions to remove all the hand-type (or linotype-matrices) bearing these unnecessary letters. And the schools received strict instructions as to the elimination of the doomed symbols. All the great writers, especially Leonid Andreyev, were profoundly indignant. The monopoly of education—if only in an infinitesimal degree—had been infringed upon. But for the hatred of the "highbrows"—the Soviet Government was recompensed with the deepest gratitude of all the school children for whom, during the entire school period, the "yats" and the other signs had been nothing but a prolonged nightmare of fear. Not to speak of the gratitude of the entire young generation of peasants and workers, all of whom, in case they passed through the Red Army, have learned to read and to write.

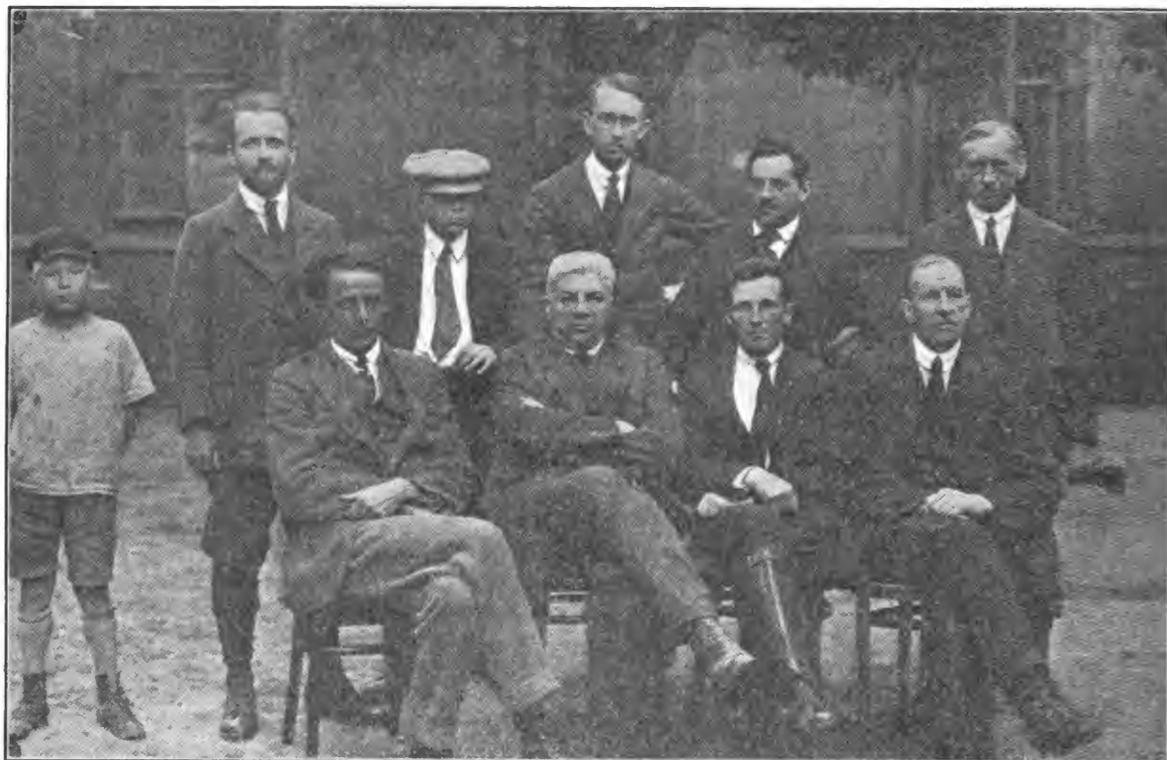
THE enterprise launched by Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (The Russian-American Industrial Corporation) seems to have met with a friendly echo among the ranks of American organized labor, and there is no doubt that a successful organization of clothing factories in Russia, with the financial help and organizing skill of American workers, will mean a great step towards the industrial rehabilitation of the workers' republic. This rehabilitation would be hateful not only to capitalists all over the world, but also to a great number of so-called "radical" labor leaders, who are perfectly satisfied with the bourgeois-democratic paradise in which they now live in comfort. Every advance made by Soviet Russia may increase the ambitions of the workers of other countries to such an extent as to make the jobs of their leaders less enviable. For this reason we were not astonished at all to find in a recent issue of *Justice*, the organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers a very elaborate attack on Hillman's plan and Soviet Russia in general, emulating the journalistic prowess of Walling, Spargo and Sack. The gist of the article is that Russia does not need any industrial help, as the population is at present too poor to buy anything, or, as the author says: "Russia does not want new factories at present, but the improvement of agricultural economy." And to emphasize his point, the author quotes the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, according to which the supply of manufactured goods was greater than the demand. What he did not say was that this was an exceptional condition created by the bad harvest of 1921 (see the article by Pascal in the present issue of SOVIET RUSSIA), and that this condition is already in process of disappearing.

But the bad faith and ignorance of the writer in *Justice* is best characterized by his statement that "the impoverishment of the Russian people began not with the blockade and the intervention, but when the Russian peasants ceased to cultivate their fields in order to escape confiscation by the Bolshevik requisitions". As if the "Bolshevik requisitions" would have been at all necessary, if blockade and intervention had not previously completely paralyzed industry, thus making it impossible for the Government to give the peasants any equivalent in manufactured goods for their grain.

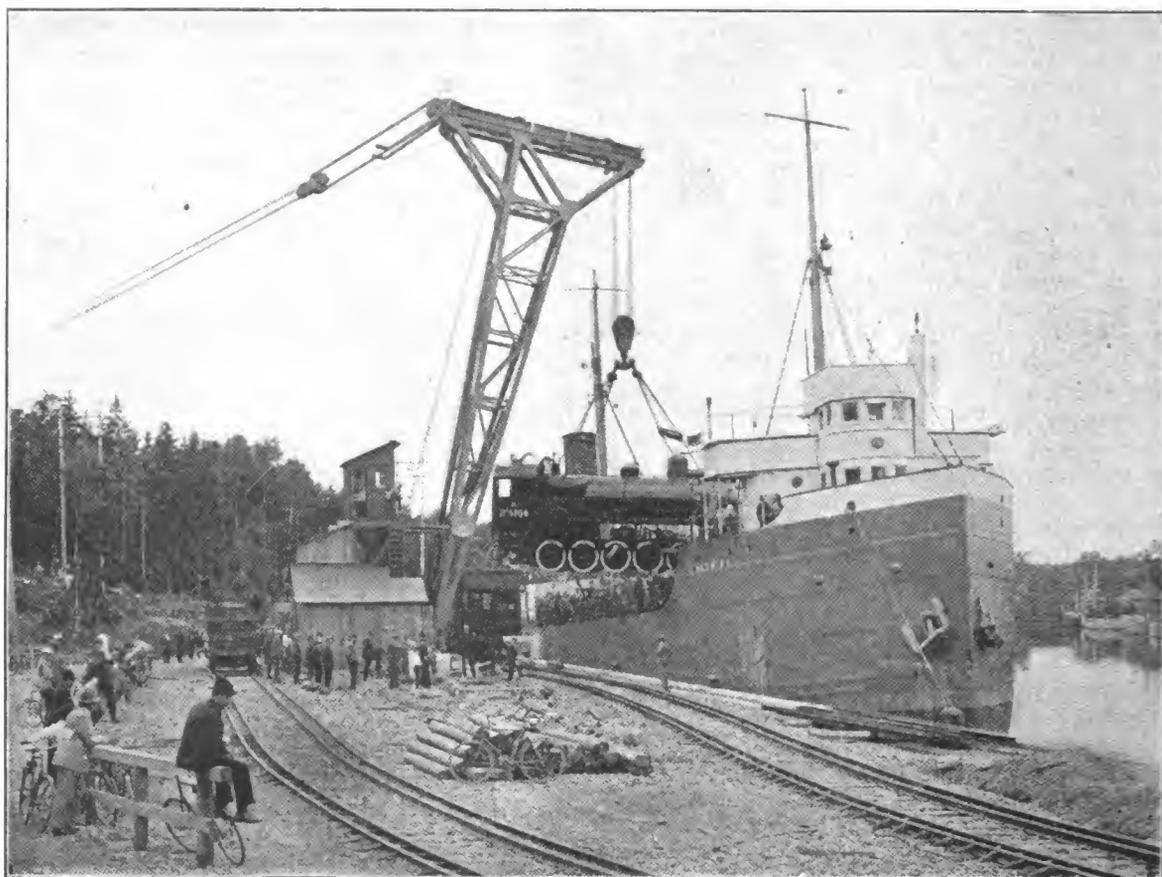
The article is not lacking a touch of humor, either—although it is of the involuntary kind. The author sneers at the "efficiency" of the Soviet Government, which finds it "less difficult to send coal from Yekaterinoslav to England or America, for instance, than to Petrograd." The severe critic of Soviet economics has probably never heard that even before the war fuel for the Petrograd industries was imported from England by sea, for to send coal from South Russia to Petrograd—which can be done only by rail—would consume more coal than the amount of coal shipped.

This is the way 150,000 organized garment workers in America are served with "economic facts"!

The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will be 24 pages.



A GROUP OF WORKERS' DELEGATES TOURING THE FAMINE REGION



ANOTHER LOCOMOTIVE GOING ABOARD FOR RUSSIA

“Help The Children Of Soviet Russia”

THE Third Congress of the International “Arbeiterhilfe”^{**} sent forth this slogan to the workers of all countries. Help is needed for the thousands and hundreds of thousands of children in Russia whom the war and the famine have left orphaned, weak and diseased. These children of the Russian workers and peasants have many of them lost their parents in the wars in which Russia has been forced to defend herself against western imperialism. Many are the children of the heroic fighters who gave their lives for the Soviet Republic. Others have lived through all the horrors of the blockade and the famine. These children are in a true sense the children of the workers of the world, of the international proletariat. They have suffered and hungered in the conflict, not only of Russia against the outside world, but of the workers and peasants against imperialistic capitalism. The workers’ struggle was theirs, and their future must now be assured by the workers of the world.

This was the thought that animated the delegates of the Third Congress of the “Arbeiterhilfe” in drawing up their resolution on the “Kinderhilfe”,^{***} in which they undertook to feed, clothe, and care for 20,000 children in Soviet Russia and to gather them for this purpose in groups of homes, each of which should contain not less than 1000 children. Such homes have already been established on a smaller scale during the past year by the “Internationale Arbeiterhilfe”, such as the Luxemburg-Liebnecht Heim at Cheliabinsk, supported by the workers of Holland and Germany.

The *Kinderhilfe* must now, however, be greatly extended. Now that the “Internationale Arbeiterhilfe” has committed itself to a general policy of productive relief, the children’s relief will be the only form of direct workers’ relief outside the sending of packages of food to Russia.

It will be the only form of workers’ relief for which general collections of money and useful articles will be made. In addition to these general collections, which will aid in establishing and furnishing the homes, it is planned to extend widely the system of “*Patenschaft*” or “adoption”, which has already been tried with great success. According to this plan individuals or groups in other countries will assume the responsibility for caring for a child in one of the Russian children’s homes. The “adopters” (*Paten*) may be trade-unions, or cooperative groups, women’s and young people’s organizations, clubs and associations of all kinds, the workers of a factory, etc. They will pay an initial amount (about \$5) on entering the adoption group (*Patenschaft*), to aid in the outfitting of the homes and a regular monthly contribution of about \$2 thereafter, for the feeding of the children and the running expenses of the homes. The children and their adopters will be

in communication with each other through photographs and letters, and the interest in the *Kinderhilfe* should be greatly stimulated by these personal connections.

The collective responsibility for the 20,000 children which the International Workers’ Relief has adopted will be divided among the various national committees in proportion to their struggle. Each national committee will have its quota of several hundred or several thousand children for whose support it must raise the funds, a large initial sum to finance the establishment of the homes, and a regular monthly contribution.

The *Kinderhilfe* will demand great energy on the part of the national committees for its successful carrying out. New groups recruited from all classes should be drawn into this activity. All possible methods of publicity and agitation must be used to popularize the cause of the Russian children.

New moving pictures are now ready to show the children’s homes and the children at work and play. Several pamphlets have already been published. Meetings, entertainments, tag-days, bazaars, lectures must be held for the benefit of the children’s homes. Organizations of women, young people and children in all countries will take an especial interest in this form of workers’ relief.

The future of the workers of the world depends on Soviet Russia. The future of Soviet Russia depends on its children.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrade,

One of our sympathizers in San Francisco has made such a remarkable collection on one of the tool drive lists, that we think he should be rewarded with special mention in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The amount collected is fifty-six dollars and fifty cents.

This sum was collected by John Braitto, a member of Carmen’s Union No. 518. A great part of this money was collected from the members of the union to which Brother Braitto belongs, and we believe that credit should be given to this brother and to his union. We are working hard in this city to buy a tractor, and certainly the efforts of Brother Braitto have added a very considerable sum to the amount required. We perhaps should also add that Brother Braitto performed this work without any urging on the part of any of the members of our local organization.

Trusting that you will be able to use this little news item, we are,

Yours fraternally,

C. J. READ, Secretary.
San Francisco Branch,
Friends of Soviet Russia.

This worker got his total by taking contributions from 150 members of his union, of whom 77 gave 25 cents each. His contribution list is about 5 feet long, and consists of several sheets pinned to the original printed Tool Drive sheet.

^{**}“Workers’ Aid”.
^{***}“Children’s Aid”.

"The Living Church"

IT is already well-known that a far-reaching movement of internal rebirth made its appearance immediately after the counter-revolutionary campaign had been started by the old clergy on the occasion of the seizure of the church treasures for the famine-stricken. It is also known that the progressive—the "Red" elements among the lower clergy—forced the Patriarch Tikhon to abdicate.

Their movement centers around the group and the publication called "*The Living Church*", and the group recently, beginning on August 6, held its first Convention in Moscow. Six archbishops, bearing beautiful Byzantine names, such as Antonin, Eudoxus, Johannides, as well as the representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople and of the "Free Russian Church" in America, took part in the Convention. There were present one hundred and fifty delegates—all priests with actual votes—and also forty representatives with a consulting voice.

Archbishop Krasnitzky, one of the creators of the new movement, delivered the introductory speech about "The Revolutionary Movement within the Church". "The main thing", said the archbishop, "is to listen to the voice of the lower clergy, is to bring the church in close touch with the world of the workers and to place ourselves definitely on the side of the exploited and against the exploiters. In order to carry through this program, a fundamental reform of the church is necessary."

"The Living Church" seems to be determined to bring this reform to a successful conclusion, and it proves this determination by the fact that it has taken up energetically the struggle against the oldest and most dangerous of the old theocratic traditions—that is, against monasticism. It asks unanimously for the abolition of all monasteries and for their conversion into cooperative workshops, homes for the aged, and hospitals. It condemns the monastic laws, the celibacy which has been enforced by vow, and the disregard of all hygienic rules, and demands the emancipation by the church itself of all the men and women whom the monastic life is still keeping in a condition of slavery, ignorance, and uncleanness.

The Convention declared that the monks—even the learned ones—represent in the "organism of the Russian Church an element of decay". Moreover, it adopted an emphatic resolution against the reactionary tendencies of certain priests, who should be dismissed without mercy. But on this point it considers it necessary to make a distinction between the effects of ignorance and a consciously counter-revolutionary activity. A sharp vote of censure was passed against Patriarch Tikhon.

For everybody who knows what a tremendous service the orthodox church has rendered to the old regime and what a tremendous force was embodied in the Russian clergy, these events are of

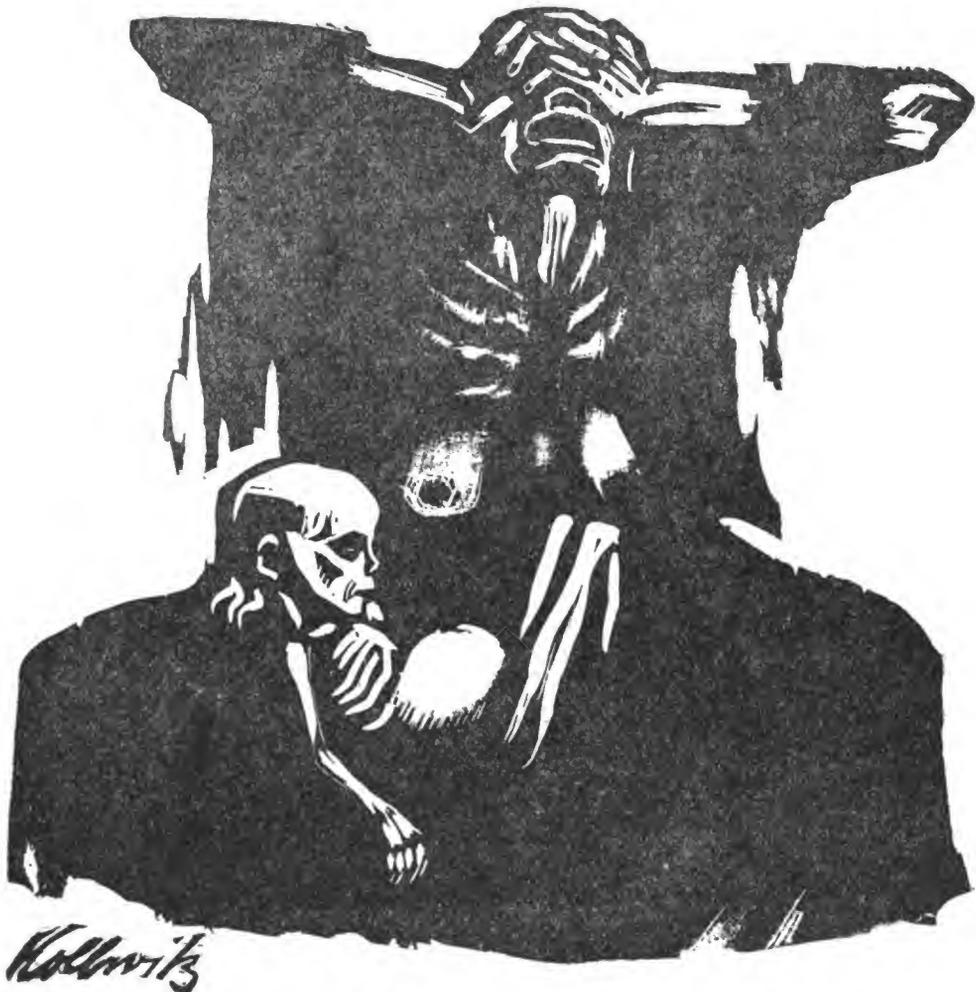
great importance. "The Living Church" has gone out to conquer the entire Russian Church. The movement for a revolutionary renaissance of the church, which took as a basis not the establishment of new articles of faith, but the necessity of an adaptation to a new social situation, deserves to be followed attentively from various points of view.

A CENTRAL PEASANTS' INSTITUTE IN MOSCOW

A couple of months ago the Commissariat for Agriculture decided to open in Moscow a central peasants' institute, the main purpose of which was to render assistance to the hundreds of peasants who come to Moscow daily on agricultural and public business. They come from the Crimea, Murmansk, the Caucasus and Siberia, the Urals, Turkestan, Volga, and so on. Formerly, when the peasants came to Moscow and other large towns they met in the beerhouses, inns, cafés, bazaars, or markets, where they transacted their business with speculators and profiteering middlemen. The Central Peasants' Institute will now take the place of all these uncomfortable and demoralizing meeting places. Here they will be able to obtain all the information they need, consult with one another and with the various Government departments, and at the same time find an opportunity for amusement and self-education. The peasants themselves welcome the idea, as the following resolution (one of many) from a village in Penza province testifies: "Only in a workers' and peasants' republic is it conceivable that, in the former capital of our nobility with its fine palaces, a home for peasants should be set up.... We express our thanks to the organizers and hope that such houses will be opened in other important provincial towns."

Owing to the shortage of habitable houses in Moscow, it was difficult to find suitable accommodation. However, the Committee organizing the institute has at last succeeded in obtaining an hotel, formerly known as "The Siberian", in which there is accommodation for nearly 500 people—a dining room for 300-400 and a hall for meetings, conferences, etc., with 600-800 seats. In this hall a cinematograph will work; most of the films will deal with agricultural subjects. There will also be accommodation for agricultural exhibitions, a museum, a library, a reading room, and a reception room for travellers. It will be possible to arrange bathrooms, wash-houses, a disinfecting room, etc. The house is situated in the centre of the city, near the railway stations and tramways. The connection between city and country will thus become closer and mutual understanding will increase mutual goodwill. The peasants' handicraft industry and the co-operative movement also recognize that they will benefit greatly by this institution. It should prove to be of great educational value.

Hunger



"HUNGER"

A striking poster designed by Käte Kollwitz, a well known German artist, who is no longer a stranger to readers of SOVIET RUSSIA. All over the world, not only in Russia, well-known artists and cartoonists have found in the Famine a stimulus to help in the work of appealing to the masses for aid. Volume VII of SOVIET RUSSIA contains many such artistic contributions. The front cover of our last issue (September 15), which was particularly effective, was the work of Lydia Gibson, an American artist.

Annual Financial Statement

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

National Office:
201 WEST 13th STREET, NEW YORK.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Statement "A"

For the Fiscal Year, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1922.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from Local F. S. R. Conferences and Workers' organizations. Receipts are issued for income received. Receipts Nos. 1 to 11435 for income received to June 30, have been previously reported in detail, a total of.....		Tool Drive	General
		\$1,113.50	\$704,544.67
Receipts Nos. 11436 to 12115 for income received during July are reported in detail in our official organ, "Soviet Russia" dated August 1 and 15, 1922, a total of		6,051.28	23,213.25
		<u>7,164.78</u>	<u>727,757.92</u>
Total received and acknowledged.....			7,164.78
The above income was deposited in a bank account, and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to			878.96
Making a TOTAL INCOME of			<u>\$735,801.66</u>

From which must be DEDUCTED the following items:

(1) Remittances received as contributions which the bank refused to honor (Receipts Nos. 1, 214, 2820, 3732, 3959, 4070, 4327, 4293, 4450, 5956, 6139, 6877, 8534, 8956, 8872, 9826, 10717, 10507, 10619, Bill No. 944)	\$1,275.49	
(2) Remittance addressed "Soviet Russia", received by us in error	42.94	
(3) Exchange and discount on checks received.....	16.18	
(4) Entertainment expenses incurred and charged to National Office by Locals	270.93	
(5) Lawyer's fees and bail premium for Local workers arrested for making appeals ...	1,225.00	
(6) Loss on sale of literature and busts incurred by treating remittances therefor as contributions	2,617.47	5,448.01
		<u>\$730,353.65</u>

Leaving the INCOME RECEIVED BY NATIONAL OFFICE

HOW THE FUNDS AND CLOTHES WERE COLLECTED:		
In order to assist Locals and Workers' organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and supplied buttons for sale and contribution lists for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for this purpose is explained in Statement "B" below. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. It is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred those expenses themselves. But because this money was spent to help Locals and Workers' Organizations raise the money which they sent to the National Office it is deducted from the amount which they sent in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after deducting all expenses paid by Locals and all publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office, Thus: Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office	93,888.71	

Leaving INCOME received by National Office LESS COST OF COLLECTING FUNDS AND CLOTHES	\$636,464.94
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EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are explained in Statement "C" below. They represent \$4.59 for each \$100 of FUNDS remaining after deducting the cost of appealing for funds and clothes. They amount to	29,222.40
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Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of Soviet Russia of	\$607,242.54
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Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:

**American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for F. S. R. for food and equipment	481,140.12	
Tool Drive Purchases: Tractors	1,439.47	
Remitted to Arbeiterhilfe, Auslandskomitee, Berlin (The Workers' Aid, Foreign Committee)	54,787.50	
Food Shipments, direct	2,185.73	
Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I. L. G. W. U.	2,288.94	
Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia—Subsidy for training technicians for Agricultural Relief Unit	1,000.00	
Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage and shipping charges on old clothes contributed	8,655.26	
Federated, International & Russian Conference expenses	14,797.43	566,294.45

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of.....	\$ 40,948.09
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Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or FOR EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank	\$37,448.75
Petty Cash on Hand	1,001.18
Charges on Toys in transit from Russia to be offered for sale	709.65
Advances to Publications—for advertising, translating and publishing	383.40
Advances to Speakers and Official Organ	445.15
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost less depreciation)	1,812.98

Deposits for Electricity, Gas & Lease.....	145.00	
Books and Busts purchased for sale, less sold.....	604.35	
DEDUCT:		
Funds held awaiting definite instructions	602.37	
Funds reserved for payment of traveling expenses incurred	1,000.00	1,602.37
		<u>\$40,948.09</u>
**From the date of organization to May 31, 1922, each \$100 of relief funds received by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee from the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations was expended for the following purposes:		
Office expense		\$1.00
Extending its affiliations		2.00
Relief		97.00
		<u>\$100.00</u>

Statement "B"

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES
For the Fiscal Year, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1922.

*Wages:		
Speakers and Organizers	\$ 9,155.70	
Addressers	6,293.77	
Publicity: Writers, Translators, and Movie Director.....	2,696.68	
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers	13,245.88	
Postages	10,788.45	
Information Service	74.36	
Envelopes and Wrappers	2,106.95	
Official Organ "Soviet Russia"—subsidy	7,500.00	
Bulletins and Financial Reports printed and distributed	1,480.18	
Advertisements	16,915.43	
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed	6,669.59	
Posters, window cards, etc.	1,213.00	
Motion Picture and Stereopticon Equipment.....	5,715.30	
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc.	1,847.48	
Racial and Language Sections preliminary expenses.....	1,375.00	
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.	6,102.76	
Printing pamphlets and cards for sale.....	2,414.18	
		<u>95,594.71</u>
Less Sale of Pamphlets and Cards.....		1,706.00
		<u>\$93,888.71</u>

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

Statement "C"

For the Fiscal Year, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1922.

*Wages:		
Secretary	\$ 2,160.00	
Office Staff	17,988.47	
Office Rent	1,485.00	
Office Space — Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat	1,161.45	
Office Furniture Rent	20.00	
Office Supplies, etc.	1,924.46	
Printing and Stationery	1,605.75	
Telegrams	639.41	
Telephone	302.84	
Outside phone calls, carfares, etc.	296.48	
Auditor's charges	1,437.10	
Depreciation of office furniture and equipment, 10 per cent for first year on cost	201.44	
		<u>\$29,222.40</u>

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the first fiscal year, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1922.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the year and of the state of the funds as at the close of the year.

20 Nassau Street,
New York, N. Y.
September 15, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Relief Contributions, September 1-15, 1922

It is imperative that contributions be sent in speedily and generously. The Friends of Soviet Russia need money to carry on their work for Russia. It is hoped that the total for September may be larger than for August, when it was only \$16,000. Get your list in circulation and remit proceeds promptly.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
12676	L. J. Morris, Seattle, Wash.	20.00	12727	N. Y. C.	1.00	12771	E. Nelson, RC, Dorchester, Mass.	4.50
12677	F. S. R. Branch, CRC, Detroit, Mich.	10.00	12727	Monthly Pledgers thru FSR Br. N. Y. C. (for Food)	400.00	12772	Victor Ketola, Coll., TD, Winlock, Wash.	3.05
12678	Matti Muukonen, TD, N. Y. C.	1.00	12728	FSR Branch, N. Y. C.	1,500.00	12773	Frank Latus, San Diego, Cal.	5.00
12679	Davis, RC, N. Y. C.	10.00	12729	FSC No. 52, Stella Gallemski, leader, Chelsea, Mass.	1.47	12774	Dr. W. S. Fogg, thru Rus. Amer. Ind. Corp., Lockford, Cal.	1.52
12680	Matt Marttala, Coll., TD, Ladysmith, B. C.	40.00	12730	V. Munchillo, N. Y. C.	1.50	12775	FSR Branch Women's Division, Bridgeport, Conn.	46.00
12681	M. J. Miltman, Coll., TD, Troy, N. Y.	16.45	12731	Antoni Krelowicz, Coll., TD, Claremont, N. H.	9.00	12776	FSR Branch, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	1,090.00
12682	Mina Cooilover, Coll., TD, San Francisco, Cal.	13.50	12732	Wm. Sikorsky, Coll., TD, Mill Hall, Pa.	7.00	12777	Alexander Muhlberg, TD, San Pedro, Cal.	6.00
12683	Helen Kurbach, RC, Lowell, Mass.	5.25	12733	Jack Goldstein, Coll., FSC, N. Y. C.	3.00	12778	H. Ellers, TD, West Hoboken, N. J.	1.00
12684	C. Cueno, RC, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	12734	J. Creidenberg, N. Y. C.	3.00	12779	A. C. Smith, Jr., TD, Phila., Pa.	1.00
12685	J. P. Haven, TD, Casimira, Cal.	2.00	12735	George Kottas, TD, Salt Lake City, Utah	2.00	12780	Finnish Branch, W. F., Soo, Mich.	18.50
12686	Chas. Eisenberg, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	1.25	12736	Finnish Socialist Branch, RC, Buffalo, N. Y.	8.50	12781	Frank Johnson, Jersey City, N. J.	9.50
12687	Richard Boecker, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	12737	B. Dallard, Coll., TD, N.Y.C.	3.00	12782	Mrs. Chas. Cocher, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
12688	Alexander Nitsch, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	12738	Pietro Casavella, Coll., TD, N. Y. C.	2.00	12783	Mrs. Eather Novitsky, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
12689	John Nitsch, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	2.00	12739	John Ruippa, TD, Mariners Harbor, S. I.	1.00	12784	Chas. Rangela, TD, Deep River, Wash.	5.00
12690	M. A. Rothmund in memory of B. M. R., Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	12740	J. Orugyst, Coll., TD, Clinton, Mass.	10.50	12785	C. A. Appela, TD, Deep River, Wash.	5.00
12691	A. Nickolychuk, TD, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00	12741	H. Kantanen, Coll., Bessiere, Pa.	17.25	12786	S. Maczenas, Coll. TD, Tacoma, Wash.	8.00
12692	J. Dubers, TD, Willimantic, Conn.	1.00	12742	J. B. Jusaitis, thru "Darbinoku Tiesis", Bridgeport, Conn.	34.60	12787	Workmen's Circle, No. 125, TD, Kingston, N. Y.	1.00
12693	F. S. R. Branch, Passaic, N.J.	16.65	12743	Mary W. Calkins, Southwest Harbor, Me.	1.00	12788	Millicent Shaw, thru New Ideal School, TD, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
12694	Fred Norelkin, RC, Yorkton, Sask.	6.66	12744	FSR Branch, Tiffin, O.	20.00	12789	Ida Stone, thru New Ideal School, TD, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
12695	Bill Belash, RC, Josephine, Pa.	6.80	12745	Michael Rohach, Coll., TD, Shelton, N. J.	7.01	12790	Emil Hill, Coll., TD, Finland, Ont., Canada	.85
12696	Hyman Soanowsky, TD, Troy, N. Y.	3.00	12746	FSR Branch, Boston, Mass.	300.00	12791	FSR Branch, Vancouver, B.C.	200.00
12697	Wm. Gueike, TD, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	12747	Selma Wessman, Famine Scout, New Ontario	4.50	12792	Union of Russian "Starobryadtezy" N. Y. C.	26.00
12698	Harry Nelson, RC, Bay City, Wash.	1.00	12748	Geo. N. Lindsay, Evanston, Ill.	5.00	12793	Finnish Socialist Br., Coll., TD, Chicago, Ill.	9.67
12699	R. V. Warner, TD, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00	12749	Wm. Koivola, Coll., TD, Jamaica, L. I.	41.25	12794	Wm. Galvenek, Pontiac, Mich.	5.00
12700	Joe. Kilzer, TD, Tuckahoe, N. Y.	1.00	12750	J. P. Beardall, TD, Brooklyn	5.00	12795	FSR Branch, TD, Ely, Minn.	9.90
12701	Chas. Jurich, Coll., TD, Whiting, Ind.	40.75	12751	Carl Templin, Coll., TD, NYC	4.50	12796	FSR Branch, Brockton, Mass.	200.00
12702	G. Szymanowsky, RC, Kenosha, Wis.	24.25	12752	Mrs. F. Zawlocki, Pledge, Toledo, O.	1.00	12797	Mrs. Elsa Koski, Coll., TD, Amesbury, Mass.	24.00
12703	N. Korubo, TD, Hegewisch, Ill.	17.00	12753	John Bashura, TD, Mill Hall, Pa.	2.00	12798	FSC No. 82, Taag Day, Detroit, Mich.	8.00
12704	A. Shapiro, Coll., Haverhill, Mass.	12.00	12754	Stanley Taylor, TD, Buffalo, N. Y.	1.00	12799	FSR Branch, TD, E. Liverpool, Ohio	10.00
12705	John Borisoff, TD, Gary, Ind.	10.50	12755	Nick Roahko, TD, Steubenville, O.	8.00	12800	Hugo Weder, RC, Bakersfield, Cal.	10.00
12706	FSR Branch, TD, Binghamton, N. Y.	50.00	12756	Russian Relief Committee, South Bend Ind.	72.70	12801	Karel Onnpun, Coll. TD Ocean Falls, BC	57.00
12707	A. Salminen, TD, Berkeley, Cal.	20.00	12757	Russian Dramatic Club, Haverhill, Mass.	45.75	12802	Katerina Hopper, RC, Evergreen, Bklyn	16.00
12708	Mike Malteff, RC, Coll., Maynard, Mass.	12.25	12758	FSR Branch, RC, Ottawa, Can.	37.00	12803	Antti Mehtala, Coll. TD Abington, Mass.	11.00
12709	Workman's Circle No. 248, Coll., TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	11.25	12759	FSR Branch, Passaic, N. J.	32.81	12804	J. Soos, Canton, Ohio	1.00
12710	Nick Tlatoff, TD, Vancouver, B. C.	11.00	12760	P. Eutoniek, RC, Hamtramck, Mich.	15.25	12805	C. H. Dickman, TD, Missoula, Mont.	2.50
12711	Jake O. Salo (Flower Social) Rochester, Wash.	52.30	12761	D. Shewchuk, TD, Toronto, Canada	12.08	12806	John Jarvi, Coll. TD, Ramsey, Mich.	31.25
12712	Fred Johnson, Coll., TD, Grayland, Wash.	9.50	12762	FSR Branch, TD, E. Chicago, Ind.	9.00	12807	T. E. Mielty, Coll. TD, Webster's Corner, B. C.	13.40
12713	Louis Katich, Coll., TD, St. Louis, Mo.	9.15	12763	Nick Wolfram, TD, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00	12808	Lavinia L. Dock, TD, Fayetteville, Pa.	5.00
12714	Toimi Hirvela, Coll., TD, Detroit, Mich.	7.75	12764	A. M. W. Peggypacker, Phila., Pa.	1.00	12809	Rupert Lockhead, RC, Port Arthur, Ont.	1.70
12715	L. E. Luchan, TD, Binger, Okla.	6.50	12765	FSR Branch, TD, Minneapolis, Minn.	73.89	12810	H. Smith, RC, Hamilton, Ont.	7.00
12716	F. Kalciak, TD, Alberta, Canada	2.50	12766	Carl & Laura Brannin, Dallas, Tex.	10.00			
12717	Elmer Rapp, TD Pasadena, Cal.	2.00	12767	FSR Branch Jamestown, N.Y.	10.00			
12718	C. J. Brown, Louisville, Ky.	1.00	12768	A. Kanzas, Coll., TD, Mara BC	8.00			
12719	In memory of Robert R. Hammer, TD, Roslindale, Mass.	10.00	12769	Sam Littman, Coll., TD, NYC	7.75			
12720	F S R Branch, TD, Seattle, Wash.	1,750.00	12770	JBC Woods, TD, N. Y. C.	5.00			
12721	Yanofsky & Janoff, Woodridge, N. Y.	5.00						
12722	James Dukelow, TD, San Anselmo, Cal.	12.00						
12723	Arne Pelkonen, TD, Bois Du Wassi, Mich.	6.40						
12724	C. Wikse, Dayton, Ohio	3.00						
12725	Antonio S. Guelos, TD, Fall River, Mass.	1.00						
12726	Mrs. Rose Greenman, TD,							

"BOOKS REVIEWED"

Owing to the small number of pages in this issue of "Soviet Russia", it has been impossible to print reviews of books in it. The next issue will again include this popular feature of "Soviet Russia".

Buy the October 15 issue.

At all newsstands, Fifteen Cents.

October 15, 1922

Fifteen Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

Semi-Monthly Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia



Tractors: Russia's New War "Tanks"

SOVIET RUSSIA

Vol. VII

October 15, 1922

No. 8

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The Ukrainian Soviet Republic

By LEONID

We reprint this interesting article from the Berlin "Rote Fahne" whose regular contributor and correspondent, Leonid, is well known to the readers of "Soviet Russia".

THE Ukrainian Soviet Republic is one of the States of the Russian Soviet Federation. Abroad little is known about this republic. A grain producing territory, inhabited by "Little Russians" as they used to be called in old Russia, infested by bands and robbers, very disorderly—that is about all.

During the last years of the war, after the breakdown of the Russian front, the German troops under Field Marshall Eichhorn penetrated the Ukraine, instituted there a kind of monarchy under the Hetman Skoropadski, carried off much grain to Germany and proceeded with a regular transformation of the country into a colony. After the conclusion of the armistice with the Allies in the Winter of 1918 the German troops had to leave the Ukraine. The great number of German war concerns organized to exploit the country disappeared quickly. The first large scale attempt by German imperialism to found direct centers of colonization in the East, failed miserably.

Struggle against the Counter-Revolution

During the following three years (1918-1920) the Ukraine was a theatre of incessant bloody struggles. After the collapse of the feudal reign of the Hetman, forcibly instituted by the Germans, came the rule of the Ukrainian nationalist bourgeoisie and the kulaks (rich peasants), under Petlura. This was ended by the Red troops and the Ukrainian workers.

Later on the entire Ukraine was occupied by the counter-revolutionary army of Denikin, until it, too, was forced to flee. Then came the period of the "bands". Throughout the country countless "bands" roamed about, robbing, assaulting; they were composed of former officers, rich peasants and underworld elements. Calling themselves the carriers of the "Ukrainian National Movement", they fought everywhere against the Ukrainian Soviet Power, at the same time practising pillage

as a "side line". These bands, composed of mounted men were incredibly swift; they often covered stretches of sixty and more miles a day and kept the whole country in terror.

The Ukrainian Soviet Government understood that without the destruction of the bands, without the final crushing of the Ukrainian rich peasantry and bourgeoisie, no really constructive work could be undertaken in the country. The government promoted in the whole country, in all villages, the foundation of so-called "Committees of the poorest peasants". In the course of a few months these committees contributed decisively to the crushing of the counter-revolutionary band movement. Side by side with the working class they represent today the most important political factor in the Ukraine. For these "committees of the poor" which in the villages unite the entire petty peasantry, represent the ruling city proletariat in the country. The power given them by the State they use in villages to restrain the rich peasantry, to rearrange the conditions of land tenure in favor of the poor peasants, and to rehabilitate the country from the political, cultural and economical points of view.

The internal political situation.

Today the village in the Ukraine (which means about ninety per cent of the population) no longer represents an anti-Bolshevist factor. We mean the mass of peasants, consisting not of small, but of middle landholders. What has brought about this change? The civil war, the counter-revolution under whose rule the Ukraine suffered in the course of the last few years did it. For the White Guards had brought back the landed nobility; and the large masses in the Ukraine (more than in Great Russia where the country did not have to suffer as much directly from the counter-revolutionists) came gradually to the conviction that the Soviet power is their friend and protector.



OATH of the representatives of the regions which had a good crop to help the famine-stricken regions of Soviet Ukraine. This poster with the symbolical motto: "Sickle and Hammer will destroy the Famine" is displayed everywhere in those provinces of Soviet Ukraine which had a good harvest, to further relief for the famine stricken regions. The text of the poster is as follows: "We, the delegates of the All-Ukrainian Congress of the poorest peasants of the regions which had a good harvest, swear to you that your words about the spectre of famine which grips your regions at the throat are clear and comprehensible to us. And we swear to you that after returning we will give active aid to the famine stricken by delivering to you as soon as possible the rations which we pledged for the starving. We realize the importance of our work in fighting the famine. We know that at home you are expected by the hungry who have sent you here. Now, tell your starving comrades that we, the peasants from the provinces blessed with a good harvest, are responding to your cry. As to the seed grain, we are placing our loan at your disposal in pro rata deductions, and we recommend to our government that it turn its attentions to the railroads which put obstacles in the way of delivering the seed grain and the rations to the starving. We swear to you again that we will ask everywhere for help in your behalf, and where our entreaties are unsuccessful, there we will employ all measures including compulsion on those who will refuse. We know that during the hard times of the revolution you have fed and clothed our Red Army which has crushed all bands and has cowed the White Guards. We know also that you have fed the hungry from Moscow and the other provinces. We, the poorest peasants, know that our oath cannot satisfy the starving, but tell them in our name that we will put our oath into effect.

This is the main reason why the internal political situation of the Ukraine is at present quite different from what it was two years ago when the Ukrainian Bolsheviks had still to fight hard for the establishment of their rule in the country. The Soviet Government has finally succeeded in establishing itself; the period of the civil war has passed here. The working class, great masses of the peasantry, the Red Army stand in closed ranks behind the Soviets outside of whom no power is able to maintain itself. This will be confirmed by every inhabitant of the Ukraine, not only by a worker or a poor peasant, but even by a bourgeois intellectual. Practical experience has brought him to this conclusion.

The Ukrainian economy.

The fact that the internal political situation of the Soviet Ukraine is at present completely assured, secures also its economic development. The constructive work is going on slowly, having been greatly handicapped by the famine. The Don

basin, the industrial center of the entire country, is gradually recovering, steps having been taken to provide for the welfare of the workers, to gather skilled forces and to carry out technical improvements. The basis for an increase of production has been laid in the Ukraine, too, through the "new economic policy". Already, last winter, an increase in production was noticed. True, since that time the situation of the Don basin as well as the entire Ukrainian industry (metals in the Don region, sugar in Western Ukraine) has to a great extent become worse, because the famine has visited the five industrial provinces of the Ukraine—Kharkov, Nikolayev, Zaporozhie, Odessa, Yekaterinoslav. In the southern regions mass starvation among the workers is going on even now. In some places all the children of workers' families, up to the age of 4 and 5 years have died out. There is great need in Ukraine for the help of foreign workers, not only in food and clothes, but also in industrial material for the reestablishment of industry. In the Ukrainian sugar industry which in the past exported a great surplus and which at

present is hardly working, it is planned to grant concessions to foreign workers in order to revive production.

The restoration of Ukrainian industry depends upon two conditions: First, foreign help; and second, the harvest, which in part seems to yield splendidly. If the peasant has a good crop, then the city will also greatly benefit from it because the tax in kind paid by the countryside and the purchasing power of the peasants will increase. If the peasant can buy, then there will be work for industry and food. And as soon as the city workers have enough to eat all other obstacles to a quick recovery and development can be easily overcome.

To assure this development, an army of Communist village teachers, cooperators and agronomists who are at present being trained for this work

will be put on the job throughout the country.

Although an independent State, Ukraine is in close contact with Soviet Russia. The administration, the economic organization, the army are modeled on Russia. There is a close relation between the Ukrainian and the Russian Soviets, the former taking part in the All-Russian Soviet Congresses.

At present there is need for many things in Ukraine: Food and clothing for the workers, machinery and skilled workers and specialists for industry and agriculture. But all this will come in due time; the conditions for the final success—a good harvest, help from abroad—are at hand or are being created. But what is most important to its reconstruction and development is that Red Ukraine possess to a full extent: Iron will, energy and discipline.

The Conference of the International Workers' Aid

THE first conference of the representatives of the International Workers' Aid for the various provinces took place at the Workers' Aid house, in Moscow, on August 30 and 31. The organization in its present form was not actually organized until 1922, so that the gathering was an initial accounting of what had been accomplished.

The whole trend of the reports from the various districts affected by the work of the I. W. A. (International Workers Aid) was indicative of the significant fact that the workers of the world were not content with providing famine relief but were interested in attacking in an organized way the sources of the famine. When the extent of the catastrophe became known outside of Russia, the friends of the Workers' Republic in other lands sent tools, clothing and even machinery of the highest grade in the effort to make the Russian soil productive again. They set about with this in view: to aid in the effective organization of a new socialist production.

The Convention accepted reports from the several districts. These reports are the clearest indication of the kind of work which has been accomplished as well as an index to further work to be done:

Petrograd: From the beginning, Petrograd played no real part in the Famine Aid activities, but became a center of organization. The Petrograd branch made connections with the Soviet of Municipal Economy and took over an establishment of six sections for constructional repair. The housing repair detachment of the I. W. A. reported in the course of a few months the repair of seventeen houses and the improvement of the harbor. In several workshops of their own they produced great quantities of different kinds of merchandise. The Petrograd I. W. A. also gave its assistance in famine relief.

Urals: In addition to the provisions of the Workers Aid, 35,000 poods of foodstuffs were given to the Russian famine relief authorities.

Several children's homes and public kitchens were provided. The tractor detachment of twenty tractors donated by the American workers, was placed in this province with nineteen workers. Ten thousand desyatins* of land were put at its disposal and it has been attached to the coal mine, Kiesel-Kopp.

Kasan: There, in the heart of the famine region, forest concessions were obtained from the Chuvash Republic. The I. W. A. organized the "Kustar" (home industry) workers in the Chistapol district. Under their direction axes, harnesses, bast sacks, barrels and one hundred and fifty wagons were produced. The I. W. A. in Kazan owns three landed estates, containing altogether 800 desyatins of arable land and 900 desyatins of pasture land, on which three tractors and one Diesel-motor are being worked. In the forest economy the Kazan I. W. A. has prepared one hundred thousand trees for shipping. The costs of administration were covered by the sale of the timber.

Cheliabinsk: While production is still of little account here, this detachment has done very much for famine relief. A school for artisans has been established. An estate belonging to the Cheliabinsk I. W. A. contains altogether three thousand desyatins of which three hundred and twenty desyatins have already been sowed.

Orenburg: The representatives reported that the activity of the Workers Aid began only a short time ago. In July, 1922 there were still 483,000 famine stricken individuals there. In April, 1922 food rations for producers were distributed. The two children's homes which were founded there were also doing productive work by engaging in vegetable gardening. Altogether, twenty thousand poods of foodstuffs were distributed.

Tsaritsin is important on account of the fishing in the Volga. Here, too, the I. W. A. did not begin its activities until the spring. Fishing apparatus from the I. W. A.'s own workshops was delivered

*1 desyatin equals 2.70 acres.

to the Volga. By order and for the account of the I. W. A. sixty thousand poods of fish were caught in the spring. The workers make their living almost exclusively by their work for the I. W. A. Packing materials (barrels, etc.) were supplied by the Workers Aid from its workshops in other provinces.

The central station, Moscow, was established in November, 1921. The report to the Conference showed that the central authorities had no distributing apparatus for Workers' Aid; it had to be created independently. Now the Moscow Central Office has organized its own shipping and receiving departments at the Central Depot. The Moscow Production Aid has established a die and stamping press establishment and detachments for housing repair which are to be merged into a trust. The shoe factory in Moscow is a donation of the Swiss and German workers. It will be ready for work in the course of this month.

The Moscow Central Office has established a cooperative for commodities for its employees. Moreover, the Moscow I. W. A. has opened a dispensary in which five physicians are in attendance, and the costs of which are already being covered by its patients.

Later the Conference accepted the reports of the International Congress of the Workers' Aid in Berlin. The resolutions adopted by that Congress, concerning the feeding of the children, were discussed and the details for putting those resolutions into effect were entrusted to the commission which immediately gave the necessary instructions to the representatives. In accordance with the plans, twenty thousand children will be fed and placed in homes by the I. W. A.

The decision of the Berlin Congress to maintain only paying enterprises has been put into effect as far as possible.

It is characteristic of this Conference that not only were requests received from individual provinces asking to be included in the organization of the international production aid, but also that official representatives of the governmental authorities came to express their gratitude for and their satisfaction with the accomplishments and the activities of the I. W. A. A representative of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, for instance, urged that the trade unions and the I. W. A. remain in the closest possible contact, that thus they would accomplish the most useful work. If there were any conflicts in the past, they were caused by the insufficient contact, and in the future those conflicts will be avoided.

The chances for further activity of the I. W. A. are very encouraging. As to the feeding of the 20,000 children, negotiations are under way with the authorities concerned. Many problems which the I. W. A. could not have solved alone will be solved in this way; for instance, the question of a teaching personnel for the children's homes.

The first efforts of the I. W. A. in Russia were difficult, of course. But the seeds of what the international solidarity of the workers has planted promise to yield a gratifying harvest.

A WARNING TO COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS

THE bourgeois press has raised a great clamor over the exile of a certain number of Petrograd and Moscow university professors and intellectuals to foreign countries and the northern provinces of Russia.

Pravda comments thus on the event:

These intellectuals were seeking to pursue legally the counter-revolutionary work that failed during the civil war.

The schools of higher learning, which had been but little affected by the October revolution, were their principal strongholds. On every occasion they actively or passively resisted every undertaking of the Soviet power. One could see a regrouping of the bourgeois elements among the student classes and at times open resistance to the reform of higher education as during last spring, when they instigated the strike of the university teaching corps.

They had established, especially at Petrograd, a certain number of reviews, in which, with as much circumspection as obstinacy, they subjected every effort of the Soviet Government to a malicious criticism with scientific pretensions. Finally, they were in continuous relations with the White emigrants, whom they kept informed. Let us add that they were carrying on this counter-revolutionary work at the expense of the proletarian Government, from which they were receiving high salaries and the supplementary rations given to the learned, as well as all the privileges granted to qualified specialists in teaching.

The Public Service of the Soviet Government therefore saw itself constrained to decide upon sending the most active counter-revolutionary intellectuals — professors, physicians, agronomists, men of letters — either to the northern provinces or abroad.

This exile, imposed upon counter-revolutionary elements that supposed the new policy would offer them the possibility of preparing the ground for a bourgeois restoration, has been welcomed with great satisfaction by the Russian workers, who were impatiently waiting for an end to be put to the propaganda in favor of the ideology of the Wrangels and Kolchaks.

Among the exiles are some names known in the scientific field, but for the most part it is a question of elements that owe their renown more to their adhesion to the Cadet* Party than to their scientific labors.

The measure taken by the Soviet Government is only a first warning to their colleagues. Whereas the Soviet authorities will continue to value highly and to sustain in every way those representatives of the old intellectual circles who are disposed to collaborate loyally with the proletarian State, on the other hand that will by no means prevent, from the very first symptoms, the repression of all attempts at propaganda, manifest or disguised, in favor of a bourgeois restoration.

*"Constitutional Democrats", the party of the Russian bourgeoisie. Its best known exponent is Paul Miliukov.

The Trial of the Russian Girondists

By JACQUES SADOUL

(We publish here extracts of a speech delivered by Jacques Sadoul before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Moscow on occasion of the trial of the Social Revolutionists. In 1917 Captain Jacques Sadoul, then a moderate Socialist, came to Russia as a member of the French Government Mission. The November Revolution impressed him so poignantly that he became an ardent adherent of the Soviet Government. For his loyalty to the Workers' Republic and especially his services during the mutiny of the French soldiers in South Russia, when he helped to stop French intervention, he was condemned to death by a French court martial. As between Sadoul, the rebel, and Vandervelde, the signatory of the infamous peace of Versailles, the choice is not hard.)

COMRADES! This trial is more than the trial of a few men, more even than the trial of a party. It is the trial of a regime, it is one of the decisive phases of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution.

Because they have realized its importance the friends and enemies of the capitalist regime in all countries, as well as in Russia, are following these proceedings and are taking part in them with passionate energy.

These men have already seen similar conflicts and similar passions.

History does not repeat itself. Nevertheless, how many times has the trial of the Social Revolutionaries recalled to us the famous trial of the Girondists*? For in reality, in these tremendous social crises which are throwing into confusion and transforming the nations, the same classes can be found which, urged by the same needs and by the same economic interests, are bound to take the same political attitudes.

More than a century ago we saw men taking part generously in a movement of liberation, spending their energies in order to strengthen and push forward the waves of the revolutionary stream. Then, all of a sudden, as if siezed by folly or terror, they endeavored to destroy their own work, spent more energy in stemming the advance than they had used before to bring it about; they resisted for some time and finally disappeared, submerged, crushed by the all-powerful current.

In 1793 the men who, after having gloriously served the revolution, fought and betrayed it, those former patriots who called for invasion and paved the way for it, those former revolutionists who tried by all means to kill the revolution, those men whom all sincere democrats, however moderate, from Bebel to Jaures, from Kautsky to Plekhanov, branded for their crimes, those men in 1793 were called the Girondists.

The Girondists of the Russian Revolution are the Social Revolutionists.

"It is of the Girondists," said Vandervelde himself, "that one will have to think if one tries to place the Social Revolutionists in the Russian Revolution." (*Le Peuple*, June 14, 1922.)

*During the French Revolution the Girondists were the representatives of the more prosperous strata of the bourgeoisie.—Ed.

And again:

"It is a repetition, after 125 years, of the trial of the Girondists." (*Le Peuple*, June 19, 1922.)

Mr. Vandervelde is right.

During the eighteenth century as in the twentieth, in Russia as in France, allowing for differences, the Girondists and the Social Revolutionists have played the same role.

In 1793 the Girondists had only one aim: the extermination of the Jacobins.* In order to attain this aim—dupes and accomplices of the cabinet of London and of the émigrés of Coblenz—they abandoned the revolution and went over to the services of European reaction.

Since November 7, 1917 the Social Revolutionists have had only one idea: the overthrow of the Bolsheviks. And in order to attain this aim—dupes and accomplices of the Russian émigrés and of the allied governments,—they consented to be, and were effectively for four years, the most dangerous instruments of world reaction, the hangmen of the proletarian revolution.

"It is of the Girondists that one is to think when one tries to place in the Russian Revolution the Social Revolutionaries." This is the formal avowal which escaped Mr. Vandervelde, and no sophisms, lies or calumnies can alter it. The confession has been made. We simply record it.

It is a confession which bears heavily upon the Second International. It is condemned to defend the Social Revolutionists as the Social Revolutionists are condemned to be defended by it. They are both, whatever their differences of opinion, in spite of their socialist etiquette, serving the interests of the bourgeoisie against those of the working class.

* * *

Mr. Vandervelde is straining all his forces in order to delay this victory of truth.

Mixed up more or less directly in all the crimes of which the Social Revolutionists are accused,—having incited some and supported others, intimately associated (as minister of the royal and Catholic government of Belgium or as leader—and oh, how representative!—of the Second International) with the counter-revolutionary and interventionist policy of the Allies against Soviet Russia, Mr. Vandervelde has never believed, for

*The party of the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie.

good reasons, in the innocence of the Social Revolutionists.

But he imagined that the Supreme Tribunal though armed with sufficient material proof for a revolutionary condemnation, would lack the necessary proofs to have its sentence ratified by European public opinion. Such opinion, he figured, is more accustomed to constitutional judicial forms than to summary procedures imposed by the war, by the social war more than by any other war.

Mr. Vandervelde thought that the indisputable crimes of his Social Revolutionary friends could be discussed, if not before the Russian Revolution, at least before the public opinion of the world. Certain of losing the trial at Moscow, he hoped to win it at Paris. He was haunted by the memory of the great political trials of the French Revolution....

Mr. Vandervelde knows very well that in troubled times the traitors and counter-revolutionists are able to conceal the tangible proofs of their crimes. The Convention and the Revolutionary Tribunal in France had the necessary courage for judging and condemning without these proofs. The strength of an ensemble of words, attitudes and gestures, in the ultra-sensitive atmosphere of those feverish days, was sufficient to carry into the hearts of the Jacobins, who were guided infallibly by the revolutionary instinct, the certitude of the guilt of the accused. It is thus that they guillotined Louis XVI and the Girondists, Danton and the Hebertists. And it is thus that they saved the revolution.

"Peoples do not judge like courts of law," said Robespierre. "They do not pronounce sentences; they strike thunderbolts. They do not condemn their enemies; they crush them."

Parody of justice! Judicial farce! Infamy! Assassination! answered the chorus of the spiritual brothers of the Vanderveldes of that time.

But in spite of their hypocritical mouthings posterity has ratified the words of Robespierre.

The long work of history was necessary as well as the patient searching in the archives of that time to reveal one after another against the Girondists, against Danton, and against Hebert, those proofs which seem to have been lacking to the revolutionary judges, but which, in truth, were engraved on the hearts of all the actors of the great drama.

And for almost a century international reaction used as an argument against the French Revolution the necessity which imposed itself upon it just as it imposes itself upon all revolutions—that is, the necessity of disregarding the time-honored judicial forms; it made much of the trial of the Girondists. We have seen the disgusting spectacle of tears being shed over the fate of the Girondist martyrs by the Thermidorians* and by the Versaillians,** by all the Cavaign-

*The party that overthrew Robespierre and instituted the reign of the big bourgeoisie.

**Name given to the reactionaries who in May, 1871, crushed the Paris Commune.

act† and the Gallifets,‡ by the most ferocious assassins of the working class.

The Girondist legend has lasted almost a century. Mr. Vandervelde has no such far-reaching ambitions. It will be sufficient for him if the legend of the Social Revolutionists, which he is just in the course of creating, will for a decade oppose itself to the historical truth; if during a decade he can touch to tears the sensitive aristocrats and tender bourgeois of our sweet epoch in behalf of the cause of the unjustified sufferings of the very human, the very pure, the very noble revolutionists. Mr. Vandervelde has many traits in common with the glorifiers of the Girondists. His revolutionary phraseology, his demagoguery, his wonderful mimicry, his simultaneous coquetting with the revolution and the monarchy, make him appear a worthy kinsman of the most nauseating Thermidorians. And he is too much involved in the work of counter-revolution, not to have thought of their past.

"It is the Girondists of whom one thinks....."

And when after having called the Social Revolutionists the Girondists of our epoch, Mr. Vandervelde takes their defense and identifies himself with them, we may be allowed to complete his thought and make it more explicit:

"It is of the Girondists that one thinks when one wants to place, not only the Social Revolutionists, but even Mr. Vandervelde himself, defender and accomplice of the Social Revolutionists in Russia and in the world counter-revolution."

Yes, Mr. Vandervelde, with less idealism and courage, is the natural successor of the Girondists, as he is the natural representative, with the Social Revolutionists, of the progressive petty bourgeoisie. In identifying himself with the Girondists and with the Social Revolutionists, Mr. Vandervelde breaks with the traditions of the Second International which is officially anti-Girondist. But he unveils also the historical truth. Inadvertantly, he throws off the Socialist mask and shows himself as he is: a democrat, that is, in reality, a collaborator and accomplice of the bourgeoisie.

†Commander of the forces that suppressed the June 1848 revolt of the Paris workers.

‡Commander of the Versaillians and hangman of the Commune.



Mary the Bolshevik

(In the primitive conditions of Russian village life, the peasant women were practically serfs, completely dominated by the head of the household, and without any interest or opportunity other than work in the fields and home. With the reaction against old traditions which developed during the revolutionary years, even the peasant women have become more independent in their outlook, and the following sketch, from the "Moskovsky Ponedelnik", is meant to illustrate this process. The emancipation of Mary the Bolshevik is traced, by a spectator who is supposed to be anti-feminist, from her assumption of independence against the traditional attitude of her peasant husband, up to her taking an active part in politics and administration.)

WE had one such. Tall, broad-chested, with black eye-brows that rose like arches. Her husband was no bigger than a thimble. Kozonok was the name we gave him. You felt you could hide him all under a hat, so insignificant he looked. But when he got cross with his wife—goodness gracious—he was a terror. He banged the table like the smith with his hammer, and shouted:—
"I'll murder you—squeeze your soul out of you."

But Mary was artful. She would pretend to be frightened, and would speak respectfully.

"Prokofy Mitrich! Whatever has made you so cross?"

"I'll knock your head off," he would threaten.

And she, still more sweetly:—

"I have just made some porridge. Won't you have some?"

She would fill the dish to the brim, put some butter on, and would stand bowing and entreating him in the wedding-like fashion:—

"Do help yourself, Prokofy Mitrich. I have offended you greatly—forgive me."

And Prokofy Mitrich would be pleased that a woman should try to humor him. He would toss his head, feeling himself a mighty hero.

"Don't want it."

Mary waited on him like a servant, brought water, looked for his pouch. At night she would put his head on her arm, stroke his hair, and purr sweet words into his ear like a cat.

Before, she did not show her temper very much, bearing her domestic worries secretly in her heart. But when the Bolsheviks came with their freedom and started their twaddle about women being equal to men, Mary opened her eyes, so to speak. Whenever there was speech-making she flew to the meeting. You would have thought she had lost all shame. Once she came up to an orator and, with wide-open eyes, said:—

"Come to my place, Comrade orator, and have tea with us."

Kozonok was simply dumbfounded. His eyes went dim. His nostrils swelled like bubbles. "Ah, he's going to do for her right here," we thought. But somehow he pulled himself together and walking awkwardly toward her, said curtly:—

"Home you go! Quick!"

Not her. Just to spite him, I suppose, she got on to the orator's box and turned to us with a speech.

"Fellow peasants!"

We simply burst with laughter. And even Kozonok could no longer control himself.

"Comrade orator, shove that devil of a woman down, will you?"

At home he went for her for all he was worth.

"I'll squeeze your soul out."

But Mary only kept teasing him.

"Who is it making so much noise here, Prokofy Mitrich? Is it you? It does sound terrible, but I'm not a bit afraid."

"I'll chop off the bottom of your skirt if you keep gadding about to meetings."

"It's too hard for your hatchet, dear."

Kozonok's blood was boiling. He looked for something to strike her with.

"You just touch me," flung Mary at him in a threatening voice. "You see those pots? I'll smash them all over your scrubby head."

From this it began. Kozonok tries to show his power, Mary hers. Kozonok sleeps in the bed, Mary on the stove. Kozonok goes to her, she goes from him.

Then Mary refused to have any more children. She had two and they both died. Kozonok wanted a third one, but Mary would not even hear of it. "I'm tired of this game," she said.

"What game?"

"That same one. Did you ever bear a child?"

"I'm not a woman, am I?"

"Nor am I a cow to slave every year. I will bear one when I fancy it."

This drove Kozonok mad.

"I'll knock your head off if you speak like this."

But Mary only laughed! "I won't have children," she said.

The poor fellow was no longer himself. No more jokes or high jinks with him as before. He would go to the stove and lie there like a widower. What could he do? Give her a good thrashing? But she would leave him at once. Worse still, she would drag him into the court, and the Bolsheviks were sure to find him guilty—it was their fashion to make a fuss over women. Or perhaps let her do as she liked? But this would only be bringing shame on himself, as everybody would be saying, "The man has no character, he is a coward." Twice he went to a fortune teller—but this also had no effect.

Meanwhile, Mary began to bring home books and newspapers from the club. She would spread a whole sheet on the table, and would sit like a school mistress, silently moving her lips. Kozonok, of course, only looked on and said nothing.

Better that she read at home than gadded about outside, he thought. Only now and again he would just say mockingly:—

"Holding the paper upside down, eh? A reader, heaven forbid."

Books and newspapers—they draw one like a bog. They change one, make one a different person. As a matter of fact, Mary was getting somewhat off her head. She began to poke her nose into men's business. When there was a meeting to decide some public matter, she was always there. This annoyed the men.

"Mary, go to your kitchen," they would say to her.

But she took no notice. Only looked round as if it did not concern her at all. Then she got it into her head to start a "Fem-branch"—a fancy name—goodness only knows what it really means. It did give us a shock, however, when we saw first one woman and then another, then a third, go and join Mary in that blessed branch of hers. Soon an adult school opened in Kozonok's house. Women gathered there together and rattled on and on for hours. The commissar from the village council himself began to pay visits to their meetings—all about self-education and such trash,—you know. He was one of our own men. In the old days we called him Vaska. But after he went over to the Bolsheviks he became Vasily Ivanich. Kozonok was now afraid to open his mouth. He would scarcely say a word, as from all sides there came upon him:—

"You there, you'd better hold your tongue."

The commissar, of course, was always hand in glove with the women. That was his program.

"You must not scold a woman now, Prokofy Mitrich," he would say to Kozonok, "it's revolution." But Kozonok only smiled like a fool. In his heart he would have torn all that revolution to pieces. But he was afraid to say that—it might have led him into trouble.

Mary's pranks, however, were getting worse and worse. One day she said: "I'm going to join the Communist Party."

"You must be ashamed of yourself," answered Kozonok, trying to bring her to her senses. "Haven't you got any conscience left? You'll be punished by God if you behave like this."

But Mary only sniggered.

"God? What God? Where did you find him?"

She became quite like a madwoman.

It was a time when the village had to elect a new council. Women swarmed to the meeting as if it was a fair.

"Mary! Mary Grishagina!" they shouted.

Just to tease them, one of us men said without thinking:—

"Come along, Mary. Do us the honor."

We took it just as a joke. But it turned out very serious. Women started pecking the men, like daws—a whole flock of them—widows, soldiers' wives, and what not. And our men are not over anxious to take up official jobs, particularly in

these days. So we just let them have it their way. "Mary? Well, let it be Mary. Let her burn her fingers, too."

When the votes cast for Mary were counted, they were two hundred and fifteen! The commissar, Vasily Ivanich, even made a speech congratulating her on her success.

And as to Mary, she stood solemn like, with her face just flushed and eyes grown still bigger.

"I'll do my duty, comrades," she said. "Don't condemn me if I do anything wrong. Rather come and help me."

Kozonok was much upset over all this. He was at a loss as to how to take it—whether it was a slight on him or an honor.

"How am I to speak to her?" he thought when he came home. "She is a Government official now."

To us men it also seemed rather queer. It looked like some game. A woman—and then all of a sudden she sits on the village council, decides our business.

We began to use strong language among ourselves.

"Fools, that is the word for us. How could we put a woman in a post like this?"

The old Nazerov said this straight into Mary's face:—

"I tell you, Mary, you went into the wrong gate."

She only shook her head.

"I did not choose it myself—people bid me go there."

* * *

When we came to the meeting of the council just to have a look at Mary, we could scarcely recognize her. She set a table. Put an inkstand on it, two pencils—a blue and a red one. Near by the secretary was scribbling something. And Mary, the devil-woman, even changed her voice and ran through the papers as if she had been doing that all her life.

"This refers to the food question, Comrade Eremeyev, doesn't it?"

That's how she spoke, and she would sign her name like a minister.

"Have you got our lists ready? Make haste, please."

We simply could not believe our eyes. Mary! Who would have thought that of her! And she never, even once, blushed. And everybody was a "comrade" to her. Once, the old Klimov came, and she used the same word to him. "What do you want, comrade?" she asked.

But the old man could not stick this word—it hurt him more than if you trod on his corn. So he turned on her:—

"You may be a councillor, but I'm no comrade to you."

A month later she began to wear a man's shirt and stuck a star to her cap.

Kozonok suffered all this as long as he could, but at last his patience gave out—he asked for a divorce.

"I can't stand it any longer," he said to Mary. "Relieve me of this life."

Mary only waved her hand.

"With pleasure. I have been ready for this a long time."

* * *

So she went on with her job for about five months. By this time we began to be tired of her. Whatever the Bolsheviks did she always backed them, and then other women caught from her

those new ideas. Here one sniffed, there another. Two left their husbands altogether.

And then one day Mary got into a cart, and off she went. Where she went—I can't say. People say she was seen in another village, talking at meetings, and gadding about among the women. Who knows? Perhaps it wasn't she, but another like her. There are lots of her kind nowadays.

Secretary of War Approves the Karachun Decision

By CHARLES RECHT

IN a recent* issue of this magazine we described the cause of the imprisonment of Antoni Karachun. About two years after his confinement some of his friends along the Pacific Coast began a campaign to secure his release with the result that the case was submitted to me for opinion and advice. As the prisoner was penniless, it was necessary to raise money to cover all of the expenses, and the investigation had to be delayed until at least enough funds were available to supply the cost of stenographer's minutes of the trial. Finally in the summer of this year, counsel appeared in Washington, D. C. and argued the Karachun case before officers connected with the office of the Assistant Secretary of War who had charge of the case. On July 18th, following the argument a brief was submitted which embodied some of the legal arguments mentioned in the article previously published in this magazine. It ended by suggesting to the Secretary that Karachun be deported to Soviet Russia, and the Secretary was assured that the Soviet Government would assist in the deportation and welcome Karachun to his native country.

On August 17th, Mr. J. M. Wainwright, the Assistant Secretary of War rendered an opinion in which he affirmed the 20 year sentence and denied the request for the deportation of Karachun. The substance of the Secretary's decision is contained in the following quotation from his opinion:

"Mr. Recht's contention that the arrest of Karachun was violative of his rights under international and military law, is included in his objection to the jurisdiction of the court martial. Therefore, the claim of petitioning rests solely upon the allegation of lack of jurisdiction in the court-martial.

"This plea to the jurisdiction was raised at the trial by accused, and was overruled by the court. The question was carefully considered in this office when the record of trial was reviewed herein, and the conclusion reached that the plea was properly overruled, and that the court had jurisdiction of the person of the accused. The accused was born in Russia and came to the United States in June, 1914, and took out first naturalization papers. Although he had not been naturalized, he voluntarily enlisted in the United States Army at Chicago, Illinois, on April 26th, 1917, was assigned to the 31st Infantry, and accompanied that organization to Siberia as part of the American forces in Siberia. In support of his plea to the jurisdiction before the court, the accused made a sworn statement, to the effect that he was a Russian citizen and enlisted in the Army only to get back to

Europe. Commenting upon the question of jurisdiction, the Judge-Advocate General, in his review, stated

"The declaration in this statement (of accused) 'that I enlisted in the American Army April 26th, 1917, at Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of getting back to Europe and my native country' shows that the accused voluntarily placed himself subject to the military laws of this country (A. W. 2) and therefore subject to trial by general court-martial (A. W. 12). Upon these facts it is the opinion of this office that the court properly overruled the plea to jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the court in this case is so plain under the Articles of War that it is useless to cite further authority. There is no question of international law involved. The accused was bound by his voluntary enlistment in the United States Army, whereby he subjected himself to the duties and obligations incident to his enlistment. The fact that he was removed from Russian territory against his will without extradition, is immaterial to the question of the jurisdiction of the court-martial."

"With reference to the desertion charge, there can be no doubt from an examination of the record of trial, nor does petitioner claim to the contrary, that Karachun deserted the service of the United States in the face of hostile forces, and remained absent in desertion for a period of nearly a year, when he was apprehended while a member of the Soviet forces operating against the United States Army in Siberia.

"The case of Karachun, with reference to the question of clemency, is devoid of merit. In my opinion no reason appears for his release from the penitentiary at this time, and to deport him to Soviet Russia would be to assist him in accomplishing the purpose for which he deserted from the United States Army in time of war, and in the presence of hostile forces, which he subsequently joined.

"Accordingly, it is recommended that the application of Karachun for release from the penitentiary be not favorably considered at this time, and that the question of his delivery to the immigration authorities with a view to deportation, be held in abeyance until his release from confinement."

The reasoning of Mr. Wainwright does not appeal to our conception of logic. If the United States Government has bound itself in treaties and conventions, as we pointed out in our brief, not to engage nationals in war against their co-nationals, the gravity of the violation of such obligation cannot be lessened by any act of any individual national. The undertaking is that of a sovereign nation and is based on consideration of reciprocity of humaneness and good sound military sense. In fact the so-called Karachun desertion would seem to prove the wisdom of such international usage. The violation occurred at the time when Karachun was taken into a regiment bound for Siberia and no subsequent and no prior act of

*See SOVIET RUSSIA Volume VII, No. 6, article by same author.

his can legalize the wrong committed in breaking an international convention and treaty obligation. Equally are we at loss how to reconcile the Government's proposition which after a strenuous disclaimer that the Russians were "enemies" asserts, nevertheless, that

"The case of Karachun, with reference to the question of clemency, is devoid of merit. In my opinion no reason appears for his release from the penitentiary at this time, and to deport him to Soviet Russia would be to assist him in accomplishing the purpose for which he deserted from the United States Army in time of war, and in the presence of hostile forces, which he subsequently joined."

In passing, one must realize that the bullets and poison gas used by the American troops killed the Siberians whether they were shot with or without the legalistic unctions of the juristic sophists of the War Department. You cannot take away a breath more or less from a man "hanged", by stating that he has been judicially strangled.

It is true that the deportation of Karachun would accomplish the very purpose for which he had "deserted" from the army. We contend, however, that the War Department is not in a position to take advantage of these facts because there has been no "desertion" in the legal sense of the word, and because the Department, in admitting this, concedes the prisoner's claim that he went to Siberia merely to join his country's army. The Secretary is entirely silent as to our argument that a legalistic kidnapping cannot form the basis of proper jurisdiction in this case. It should be noted also that in the selfsame paragraph, Mr. Mainwright again refers to "hostile" forces. He makes it a point to emphasize that the Russians were not enemies. Apparently shooting one's friends is the approved Wilsonian form of exchanging international amenities.

On the whole the War Department has signally failed to meet our legal arguments and we feel confident of the soundness of our position. The case will be carried into the courts by a writ of habeas corpus.

THOSE EXECUTIONS!

THE figures on executions in Russia aggregating 1,572,718 are regarded by such authorities as the British committee which investigated the Russian Revolution and officials of the American Relief Administration as a preposterous falsehood. The number published by the Soviet government and accepted as reliable by the authorities mentioned is less than twenty thousand. We should be surprised at the Atlantic Monthly's giving publicity to this lie on the authority of Madame Pona-fidine and of the Paris *Gaulois* except for the recollection that two American professors lent themselves to the attempt to palm off the Sisson documents on the American people as genuine; and that hundreds of newspapers, which probably think of themselves as honest and intelligent, circulated the story of the nationalization of women in Russia, in defiance of every rule of human probability.—(*The New Republic*, September 27, 1922)

GLEANINGS FROM AMERICAN NEWS

Recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States is the necessary first step toward a permanent European peace, Senator William E. Borah told an audience of 5,000 in Auditorium Theatre, Chicago, on October 1. His declaration was warmly applauded. The Republican Senator cited precedents for the recognition of de facto governments born of revolution, and denounced the Harding Administration for its continuance of the blind, inhuman policy toward Russia.

Col. Raymond Robins, who presided at the Chicago mass meeting, in concluding his introductory remarks about Russia, said in part: "We sympathize with a great people struggling to be free forever from the greatest tyranny of modern times. We do not forget that this nation was born in Revolution. We are weary of propaganda lies and liars, and tired of the blind and stupid policy of secret and illegal war against a people six thousand miles away. First we intervene with force, then we use the terrible and merciless blockade.... We are sick of our government being used as a stalking horse and collection agency for the imperialists of the old world."

Two days after Senator Borah reaffirmed his attitude on Russia, Senator T. H. Caraway of Arkansas, returning from a sojourn in Europe, asserted in press interviews that immediate recognition of Soviet Russia is the first prerequisite for the rehabilitation of Europe. "So long as America withholds recognition the stability of the world cannot be assured," he declared.

Isadora Duncan, queen of the modernized classic dance, returned from Russia with a young Russian poet, Serge Yessenin, as consort. Now Miss Duncan was born in California and raised on American publicity, which is title enough to full citizenship. Arriving in port as Mrs. Yessenin she was held up by the Immigration authorities for reasons that are not quite clear, except that the press talked of her "Soviet sympathies". Eventually she was permitted to enter her native land. Under recent enactments an American woman marrying an alien retains her citizenship. Did the Immigration inspectors forget this, or did they believe that Russian marriage laws (which we thought were not recognized here at all) are so extremely binding that they even override American laws?

Boris Bakhmetieff is with us again. But the "Ambassador" is dodging the spotlight. To interviewers on board the liner *Majestic* he declared that he was in America now as a "private citizen". Learning that process servers were after him with an order signed by Supreme Court Justice O'Malley, wherein he is instructed to submit himself and his records for examination, he availed himself of a private citizen's prerogative and vanished out of sight. Boris has been in consultation with anti-Soviet leaders in Paris and doubtless has some trick up his sleeve.

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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Dr. J. W. Hartmann, who was the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA from the beginning of its publication in 1919, and who has been owner of the paper since January 1, 1922, is obliged by considerations of health to relinquish both these junctions. His successor as proprietor of the paper is Elmer T. Allison; as Editor, Eugene Lyons.

SOVIET Russia has outlived the gloating prophesies of disaster of its enemies and the sincere misgivings of its friends. The most terrible famine of modern times has been, if not subdued, at least tamed. Virulent pessimism has not seriously hurt Russia; but there is reason to believe that excessive optimism may work real havoc. Remember that Russia still needs the active assistance of the workers of the entire world. Tens of thousands of children, orphaned by War and by Famine, must be cared for immediately. Basic industries must be built up with the help of the international working class. The gates of commerce must be thrown wide open for Russian import and export trade.

The Friends of Soviet Russia is prepared for another year of intensive activities. A campaign for the adoption of Russian children by American workers—through the sending of money to care for them—is being launched. Those who have no children of their own must visualize their own childhood: then recall that the appeal is not for added comforts for the destitute Russian children, for but BREAD. At the same time the F. S. R. has thrown itself into the work of selling shares for the Russian American Industrial Corporation, believing—as every thinking person must—that the economic reconstruction of Russia is what will make the Workers' Republic permanent and impregnable.

There is work for everyone! Watch the announcements of the F. S. R. and act upon them!

THE conflict in the Near East places Soviet Russia in a peculiar situation. The Soviet Republic cannot help rejoicing in the lowering of the prestige of British imperialism which with the help of Greek cannon fodder was going to convert the entire Near East into an English colony. But it is also far from full and unrestrained enthusiasm for the other contending party. The object of the struggle is not only the question whether the Straits should be controlled by the Black Sea nations or by Great Britain. Neither is it exclusively the struggle of a down-trodden Oriental nation against enslavement by European imperialism. In either of these cases Russia's sympathies would be entirely with the enemy of England. But the problem is complicated by the fact that the main backer of Turkey is France whose intentions are just as honorable as those of its "perfidious" rival. The Russian oil fields of the Caucasus are in close proximity to Turkey's North-Eastern frontier, and they have been for years the object of unsuppressed desires of German and Turkish, as well as French and English imperialists. A successful Franco-Turkish collaboration against the British might possibly have as its sequel a similar collaboration against Soviet Russia "for the liberation of the Moslem peoples from the Russian yoke" and for implanting of French capitalist rule in the Caucasus, on the Russian Black Sea shore and in Turkestan.

This is the reason why Soviet Russia, while viewing with sympathy the justified demands of Turkey, has nevertheless decided to adopt an attitude of "watchful waiting".

IN another part of the present issue we print extracts of a speech pronounced by Jacques Sadoul at the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow. The epithet of "accomplices and helpers of the bourgeoisie" which the French revolutionist bestowed on that occasion on the "Socialist" defenders of the Russian enemies of the November Revolution might have sounded paradoxical a decade ago. The war and the subsequent revolutions have changed the paradox into a commonplace. Having become the last support of the bourgeois system the Socialists have also taken over its entire technique of shaping public opinion, as intentional and systematic distortion of facts is usually called. The latest example of this technique was just produced in the sensational news about the suicide of Timofeyev, one of the main personages among the accused Social Revolutionists, and about the hunger strike of the other prisoners. This news item first printed by the *Golos Rossiya* of Berlin, the organ of Victor Chernov, chief exponent of the "Social Revolutionists", immediately made the rounds of the world. The Socialist press of America, as in all other countries, has of course not neglected to give this report due prominence. A few days later it was unmistakably established that the report was entirely invented, that Timofeyev did not attempt any suicide and that there was no hunger strike. But the impression of the cruelty of the Soviet regime has already implanted

itself in the minds of the readers, and when the moment came to print the official disavowal of the spurious "news", it was done—if at all—in a few lines in a remote corner where no one could discover it. It was obviously not "fit to print".

It seems that the Japanese are really serious in their professed intentions to evacuate Siberia—at least as far as the mainland is concerned, and that after some more haggling they may even abandon their pretensions to the Northern part of Sakhalin Island. Many reasons have been adduced to explain this astonishing action. One of them has it that a great part of the public opinion of Japan is opposed to the continuance of the adventure which sooner or later would precipitate a war the costs of which would be far greater than the benefits derived from the occupation. But the main reason seems to reside in the report that the Japanese soldiers stationed in Siberia usually returned to their country gravely infected with subversive ideas which somehow penetrated them even in "White" territory. If this report be true, one might be tempted to regret that the Japanese have decided to withdraw. A few years more of occupation might have meant a serious undermining of the magnificent "morale" of the submissive tools of the bully of Asia and the loosening of his grip on the subject nations of the Far East.

WHEN news of the catastrophic famine reached Europe last year, there was great rejoicing in the camp of the counter-revolutionary émigrés. The fall of the Bolsheviks seemed so near. Some of the most outspoken of their enemies frankly pronounced themselves against any help to the starving, for this might delay the collapse of the hated regime. But while the embittered émigrés were openly taking this cynical attitude, their more "civilized" sympathizers were cautiously refraining from any such expressions of their sentiments. And it was not until last month that we came across such a frank utterance in the American press for the first time. It was in the *American Federationist*, official organ of the American Federation of Labor, edited by Mr. Gompers himself. In an article entitled "European Labor at War against the Russian Soviets" Mr. English Walling not only endorses the *Forward's* attacks on the Friends of Soviet Russia but goes much further. He actually opposes any help to the famine stricken population, even if there were absolutely no doubt about the assistance reaching the proper destination. Incredible as it sounds, he really writes on page 655 of the September issue:

"But even if the money or supplies reaching the Soviet Government should be fairly distributed (an utterly absurd supposition) they would take the place of similar sums or supplies which the soviets might be compelled to expend to keep their subjects and serfs from starvation and death. The temporary rulers of Russia certainly cannot desire to see their working cattle exterminated. Therefore, any money or food that gets into their hands means the release of just exactly that amount for the use of the Red army, the army of secret police and spies which hunt down the Russian working people and peasant-

ry, and for the propaganda which seeks to destroy organized labor and democratic government throughout the world."

To those who know Mr. Walling's anti-Bolshevik obsession it is not astonishing that he is willing to sacrifice fifteen million Russians in order to hurt the Soviet Government. But it is astonishing that he did not push his consistency a little further, implicating Mr. Hoover and the entire Republican Administration as "tools and dupes" of the Bolsheviks. For did not the American Relief Administration with the help of its millions "release exactly that amount for the use of the Red Army"?

After quoting some spurious data concerning the fantastic sum of 683,000,000 gold rubles which the Soviet Government is to spend for military purposes in 1922, Mr. Walling speaks of the catastrophic condition of Europe, which he attributes wholly to the Red Army.

"This Red army is of vast interest to Europe without it would be able to reduce all military expenditures at least 50 per cent and relieve the working people of a large part of the burdens that are crushing them. It is of interest to all the Poles of the world since it compels Poland also to crush itself with a correspondingly large army. It is of importance.....since the bolshevists are furnishing the arms by which the Turks are slaughtering the Syrians and Greeks."

We are sorry for Mr. Walling, that his zeal made him overshoot the mark. His readers might have perhaps forgotten that it was the Poles who in 1920 invaded the Ukraine and started a war for a "Greater Poland" from the Baltic to the Black Sea; they might have forgotten the repeated disarmament proposals of Chicherin, at Genoa and directly to the Baltic States; but that they should be expected to believe that in the present situation it is the Russians and not the French who are supplying the Turks with ammunition, and that all newspaper reports to the contrary are paid Bolshevik propaganda, is, to put it mildly, going a little too far.

The complete report of the Investigating Committee of Five, which is probing the charges made against the F. S. R. by the *Forward*, will appear in the next issue. Roger Baldwin, chairman of the Committee, expresses his regrets that owing to the care with which the question is being studied, the report is not ready in time for inclusion in the present number.



Nihilists "Old" and "New"

By STEPNIAK

An interesting study of Russian revolutionary thought of the sixties and seventies of the past century. With this instalment we are bringing to a close the reprints from "Underground Russia".

TURGENIEV, the novelist, who will certainly live in his writings for many generations, has rendered himself immortal by a single word. It was he who invented "Nihilism". At first the word was used in a contemptuous sense, but afterwards was accepted from party pride by those against whom it was employed, as so frequently has occurred in history.

There would be no need to mention this but for the fact that the party called by this name in Europe was not identical with that thus called in Russia, but another completely different.

The genuine Nihilism was a philosophical and literary movement, which flourished in the first decade after the Emancipation of the Serfs, that is to say, between 1860 and 1870. It is now absolutely extinct, and only a few traces are left of it, which are rapidly disappearing; for, with the feverish life of the last few years, a decade in Russia may really be considered as a period of at least from thirty to fifty years.

Nihilism was a struggle for the emancipation of intelligence from every kind of dependence, and it advanced side by side with that for the emancipation of the laboring classes from serfdom.

The fundamental principle of Nihilism, properly so called, was absolute individualism. It was the negation, in the name of individual liberty, of all the obligations imposed upon the individual by society, by family life, and by religion. Nihilism was a passionate and powerful reaction, not against political despotism, but against the moral despotism that weighs upon the private and inner life of the individual.

But it must be confessed that our predecessors, at least in the earlier days, introduced into this highly pacific struggle the same spirit of rebellion and almost the same fanaticism that characterizes the present movement.* I will here indicate the general character of this struggle, because it is really a prelude to the great drama, the last act of which is being enacted in the Empire of the Night.

The first battle was fought in the domain of religion. But this was neither long nor obstinate. It was gained, so to speak, in a single assault; for there is no country in the world where, among the cultivated classes, religion has such little root as in Russia. The past generation was partly Christian by custom, and partly atheist by culture. But when once this band of young writers, armed with the natural sciences and positive philosophy, full of talent, of fire, and of the ardor of proselytism, was impelled to the assault, Christianity fell like an old, decaying hovel, which remains

standing because no one touches it.

The materialist* propaganda was carried on in two modes, which by turns supplemented and supported each other. Indirectly by means of the press, works were translated or written which furnished the most irrefutable arguments against every religious system, against free-will, and against the supernatural. In order to avoid the clutches of the censorship, passages which were too clear were veiled under certain obscure words which, with an ardent and attentive reader, brought out the ideas even more distinctly.

The oral propaganda, employing the arguments developed by the instructed, drew from them their logical consequences, flinging aside the reticence imposed upon the writers. Atheism excited people like a new religion. The zealous went about, like veritable missionaries, in search of living souls, in order to cleanse them from the "abomination of Christianity". The secret press was even set to work, and Büchner's book "Force and Matter", in which the German philosopher directly attacks the Christian theology, was translated and lithographed. The book was secretly circulated, not without a certain amount of danger, and was highly successful. Some pushed their ardor so far as to carry on the propaganda among the young pupils of the schools.

One day there fell into my hands an "open letter" of B. Zaitsev, one of the contributors to the "Russkoye Slovo", a widely popular paper of that period. In this "letter", intended for the secret press, the author, speaking of that time, and of the charges brought against the Nihilists of those days by the Nihilists of the present day,† says, "I swear to you by everything which I hold sacred, that we were not egotists as you call us. It was an error, I admit, but we were profoundly convinced that we were fighting for the happiness of human nature, and every one of us would have gone to the scaffold and would have laid down his life for Moleschott or Darwin." The remark made me smile. The reader, also, will perhaps smile at it, but it is profoundly sincere and truthful. Had things reached such an extremity, the world would perhaps have seen a spectacle at once tragic and comical; martyrdom to prove that Darwin was right and Cuvier wrong, as two centuries previously the priest Avvakum and his disciples went to the stake, and mounted the scaffold, in support of their view that "Jesus" should be written with one s instead of two, as in Greek; and that the Halleluiahs should be sung three times and not twice, as in the State Church. It is a fact, highly characteristic of the Russian mind, this tendency to become excited to the point of fana-

*The author means the terrorist struggle against the Tsar, of the late seventies and eighties; "Underground Russia" was written in 1881.

*Using the word in its philosophical sense.—Ed.

†Meaning the terrorists of the seventies and eighties.

ticism about certain things which would simply meet with mild approval or disapproval from a man of Western Europe.

But in the case to which we are referring things went very smoothly. There was no one to defend the altars of the gods. Among us, fortunately, the clergy never had any spiritual influence, being extremely ignorant and completely absorbed in family affairs, the priests being married men. What could the Government do against a purely intellectual movement which found expression in no external act?

The battle was gained almost without trouble, and without effort; definitely, absolutely gained. Among people in Russia with any education at all, a man now who is not a materialist, a thorough materialist, would really be a curiosity.

The victory was of the highest importance. Absolute atheism is the sole inheritance that has been preserved intact by the new generation, and I need scarcely point out how much advantage the modern revolutionary movement has derived from it.

But Nihilism proclaimed war not only against religion, but against everything that was not based upon pure and positive reason. This tendency, right enough in itself, was carried by the Nihilists of 1860 to such lengths that it became absurd. Art, as one of the manifestations of idealism, was absolutely renounced by the Nihilists, together with everything that stimulates appreciation of the beautiful.

This was one of the fiercest conflicts in which the old Nihilism was engaged. One of their fanatics launched the famous aphorism that "a shoemaker is superior to Raphael because the former makes useful things, while the latter makes things that are of no use at all." To an orthodox Nihilist, Nature herself was a mere furnisher of materials for chemistry and technology. I say nothing of many other similar things, which would take too long to enumerate.

II.

But there was one question on which Nihilism rendered great service to its country. It was the important question of woman. Nihilism recognized her as having equal rights with man. The intimacy of social intercourse in Russia, where there are neither cafés nor clubs, and where the drawing-room necessarily becomes the sole place of meeting, and even more perhaps the new economic position of the nobles, resulting from the emancipation of the serfs, gave to the question of the emancipation of woman an important development, and secured for her an almost complete victory.

Woman is subjugated through love. Every time, therefore, that she arises to claim her rights, it is only natural that she should commence by asking for the liberty of love. It was thus in ancient days; it was thus in the France of the eighteenth century, and of George Sand; it was thus also in Russia.

But with us the question of the emancipation of woman was not confined to the petty right

of "free love", which is nothing more than the right of always selecting her master. It was soon understood that the important thing is to have liberty itself, leaving the question of love to individual will; and as there is no liberty without economic independence, the struggle changed its aspect, and became one for acquiring free access to superior instruction and to the professions followed by educated men. The struggle was long and arduous, for our barbarous and mediæval family life stood in the way. It was maintained very bravely by our women, and had the same passionate character as most of our recent social struggles. The women finally vanquished. The Government itself was compelled to recognize it.

No father now threatens to cut off the hair of his daughter if she wishes to go to St. Petersburg to study medicine, or follow the higher courses there of the other sciences. A young girl is no longer compelled to fly from her father's home, and the Nihilists no longer need to have recourse to "fictitious marriages" in order to render her her own mistress.

Nihilism had conquered all along the line.

The Nihilist had now only to rest upon his laurels. The first two persons of the trinity of his ideal, as prescribed by the "What are we to do?"* — independence of mind and intelligent female company, were within his reach. The third, an occupation in accordance with his tastes, is lacking, but as he is intelligent, and Russia is wanting in educated people, he will find it easily.

"Well, and what will happen afterwards?" asks a young man full of ardor, who has just arrived from some distant province; and came to visit his old master.

"I am happy," replies the latter.

"Yes," the young man will say to him, "you are happy, I see. But how can you be happy when in the country where you were born people are dying of hunger, where the Government takes from the people their last farthing and compels them to go forth and beg for a crust of bread? Perhaps you do not know this; and if you know it, what have you done for your brethren? Did you not tell me years ago that you wished to combat 'for the happiness of human nature?'"

And the model Nihilist, the Nihilist of Turgenev, will be troubled by that look which knows nothing of compromise; for the enthusiasm and the faith that animated him in the early years of the struggle have vanished with victory. He is nothing more than an intelligent and refined epicure, and his blood circulates languidly in his plump body.

And the young man will go away full of sadness, asking himself with an accent of despair the terrible question, "What are we to do?"

We are now at the year 1871. Through those marvellous inventions by means of which the man of modern days may be called omnipresent, the picture is placed before him of an immense city which has risen for a grand idea, that of

*Title of the famous book written at that time by N. Chernyshevsky.

claiming the rights of the people. He follows with breathless interest all the vicissitudes of the terrible drama which is being enacted upon the banks of the Seine. He sees blood flow; he hears the agonizing cries of women and children slaughtered upon the boulevards. But for what are they dying? For what are they weeping? For the emancipation of the workingman; for the great social idea!

And at the same time there falls upon his ear the plaintive song of the Russian peasant; all wailing and lamentation, in which so many ages of suffering seem concentrated. His squalid misery, his whole life stands forth full of sorrow, of suffering, of outrage. Look at him; exhausted by hunger, broken down by toil, the eternal slave of the privileged classes, working without pause, without hope of redemption; for the Government purposely keeps him ignorant, and every one robs him, every one tramples on him, and no one stretches out a hand to assist him. No one? Not so. The young man knows now "what to do". He will stretch forth his hand. He will tell the peasant how to free himself and become happy. His heart throbs for this poor sufferer, who can only weep. The flush of enthusiasm mounts to his brow and with burning glances he takes in his heart a solemn oath to consecrate all his life, all his strength, all his thoughts, to the liberation of this population, which drains its life-blood in order that he, the favored son of privilege, may live at ease, study, and instruct himself.

He will tear off the fine clothes that burnt into his very flesh; he will put on the rough coat and the wooden shoes of the peasant, and, abandoning the splendid paternal palace, which oppresses him like the reproach of a crime, he will go forth "among the people" in some remote district, and there, the slender and delicate descendant of a noble race, he will do the hard work of the peasant, enduring every privation in order to carry to him the words of redemption, the Gospel of our age—Socialism. What matters it to him if the cut-throats of the Government lay hands upon him? What to him are exile, Siberia, death? Full of his sublime idea, clear, splendid, vivifying as the mid-day sun, he defies suffering, and would meet death with a glance of enthusiasm and a smile of happiness.

It was thus that the Revolutionary Socialist of 1872-1874 arose. It was thus that his precursors of 1866 arose, the unfortunate *karakozovtsi*,* a small nucleus of high intellectual character which developed under the immediate influence of the nascent "International",† but had only a brief life, and left no traces behind it.

Here then are the two types that represent the Russian intellectual movement: The first, that of the decade 1860-1870; the second, that from 1871 onwards.

What a contrast!

*Named after Karakozov, who in 1866 made an unsuccessful attempt at the life of Tsar Alexander II.—Ed.

†The First International founded in 1864.—Ed.

The Nihilist seeks his own happiness at whatever cost. His ideal is a "reasonable" and "realistic" life. The Revolutionist seeks the happiness of others at whatever cost, sacrificing for it his own. His ideal is a life full of suffering and a martyr's death.

And yet Fate decreed that the former, who was not known and who could not be known in any other country than his own, should have no name in Europe, and that the latter, having acquired a terrible reputation, should be called by the name of the other. What irony!

Facts and Fancies

THE *Christian Science Monitor*, usually a rather well informed and serious paper, seems to have deemed it necessary to add to the gaiety of the nations by reprinting in its issue of September 20, 1922, a "document" that has "just reached the Greek legation here which is said to prove conclusively the working of an alliance between Turkey, Russia and Germany". The most interesting point in this "document" is that the

"Angora Government.... secured the right to deal directly with the following 12 Moslem states, whose foreign affairs were indirectly placed under the tutelage of Mustapha Kamal Pasha. These states follow:

"Republic of Azerbaijan, Republic of Daghestan, Republic of Trans-Caucasia, Republic of Ikazia (Abkhazia?), Republic of the Kalmuks, Republic of Tataristan, Republic of Kaskir (Bashkir?), Republic of Kirghiz-Kazaks, Republic of Turkestan, Republic of Crimea."

We were wondering why the Soviet Government did not push its generosity a little further by donating to Kemal half a dozen more Moslem republics included in the Soviet Federation, such as the territory of the Chuvashes, the Cheremisses, etc., when we came across a Constantinople cable in the *N. Y. Globe* of September 21 announcing that

"Moscow has recognized the republic of Turkestan comprising the former principalities of Jara (probably Bukhara) and Khiva, with Enver Pasha as President. The latter is trying to extend his sway over all of Turkestan."

This practically amounts to a despicable double-crossing of Kemal in favor of his worst personal enemy and rival, but Kemal may after all forgive the Bolsheviks in view of the fact that only a few weeks ago that very same Enver Pasha was killed in battle by the Red Army.....

Quite in line with this liberality in donating large territories, is the report of the London *Morning Post* about the seven million gold rubles spent by the Bolsheviks "in supporting and maintaining the revolutionary spirit amongst Mr. Gandhi's adherents in India". Which report is supplemented by a Hindu paper with the following remarks:

"One tame Bolshevik emissary suggests that the clever Russian propagandists have fostered 'the revolutionary spirit' in India by laying out the money like this: Half of it was subscribed to the Dyer Fund,* and the rest

*A fund collected by British "patriots" to honor General Dyer, the originator of the hideous massacre of Amritsar, where more than 500 peacefully assembled Hindus were killed and thousands wounded by the British soldiery.—Ed.

went to pay Greek propagandists and to purchase munitions for the Greeks. Naturally, Indians resented both the Dyer Fund and the assistance to the Greeks and the 'revolutionary spirit' was thereby kept fixzing in the hearts of Indians."

Speaking of the Greeks we may mention in this connection that in reply to the Soviet Government's representations concerning its participation in deciding the fate of the Straits, the British press stated the position of the English government would be that

"All that Russia will have to do in order to share in the benefits will be to become civilized and join the League."

Which would be a hard thing for the Soviet Government for it never aspired to be as "civilized" as the perpetrators of the massacres of Amritsar, or as the "Black and Tans" and the heroes who from their aeroplanes mowed down hundreds of Bondel Hottentots for refusing to pay the British a "dog tax" which was higher than their entire annual produce.

To read the official press of England, and even utterances of such labor leaders as Mr. Thomas of the Labor Party one would hardly believe that the present conflict in the Near East had anything to do with Britain's imperialistic aspirations but solely with its solicittude for the "freedom" of the Straits. A similar victim of malicious slander as to "imperialist designs" seems to be Poland. In a statement made by Mr. Manning, head of the department of Slavonic languages at Columbia University (*N. Y. Times*, September 26) we read that

"Each nationality charges the others with imperialistic ambitions," he explained, "and of course Poland is the nation oftenest attacked. But Poland is not really imperialistic; she simply wants as the other nations do—what she believes is rightfully hers."

And of course, as large Russian and Ukrainian areas way back in history once belonged to Poland, she believes "they are rightfully hers", just as the Fascisti are convinced that all the countries surrounding the Mediterranean are "rightfully" Italy's, for they once formed part of the Roman Empire; but of course only a slanderer could charge them with "imperialistic ambitions".

Speaking of slanders we may be forgiven our lack of chivalrous respect due the venerable lady whose book reviews in the *New York Globe* often serve us—going on the rule of contraries—as a guide on what to read and what to avoid. (The *Globe* probably prints her copy as a sop for those hundred per cent reactionaries who might be offended by the occasionally liberal tone of its editorials.) In the issue of September 28, she reviews Denikin's "The Russian Turmoil". Leaving aside her constant reference to the Commissar of War as "Bronstein-Trotsky" (she certainly would never refer to the leader of the Mensheviks as "Zederbaum-Martov") we may quote the following paragraph of her review:

"Denikin quotes, what cannot be quoted too often, General Ludendorff's amazingly blunt confession in his book: 'In sending Lenin to Russia our government assumed an enormous responsibility! This journey was justified

from a military point of view; it was necessary that Russia should fall. But our government should have taken measures that this should not happen to Germany."

We have not seen the book of Ludendorff, but it is significant that the refined lady who still suffers with the rabies anti-teutonica in fashion in 1918, gives more credence to the words of the bloodiest scoundrel of the German militarist camp (who still aspires to lead an all-European military crusade against Soviet Russia) than to the opinion of the whole anti-Bolshevist world which long ago discarded the silly stories of "German agents".

The "German agents" and "nationalization of women" stories having been discarded, the "1,766,118 executions of the Cheka" seem definitely to have taken their place for a few months to come, as chief "argument" in the "spiritual" struggle against Soviet Russia. The *Dearborn Independents* of September 23, has an editorial on this subject beginning with the following paragraph:

"Almost incredible are the official Bolshevist reports of the number of persons put to death in the name of liberty. Dispatches to the London *Times* from Riga indicate that the total number of those executed by the orders of the Cheka is 1,766,118."

The invention of the royalist *Gaulois* of Paris becomes thus transformed into "official Bolshevist reports". From the viewpoint of lying craftsmanship this is not a bad piece of work; which is not surprising in a publication of Mr. Ford, who, as he once declared before the Court in Chicago, employs only "specialists" in all his undertakings. As far as we know, he has two "specialists" who are supplying him with his anti-Jewish and anti-Bolshevist material, Boris Brasol, leader of the Russian Monarchists in America, and Cherep-Spiridovich, formerly General in the old Russian gendarmerie (special uniformed police for hunting political offenders) and commander of the Tsar's Court Guard. Ford's "specialists" being of such highly "liberal" material it is not a little amusing to read in another issue of the same publication (September 9) regretful remarks about "Lenin" being "mistought, misdirected, by the greatest enemy of progress that ever lived, Karl Marx".....

From the former General of the Tsar's gendarmerie we are not far to Mr. Boris Bakhmetiev who according to the *New York Times* of September 26, has made in Paris interesting disclosures about the future of Russia, and the "present peasant movement" in Russia. "The basis of the present peasant movement was the right of property and respect for law," he said, according to the Associated Press report. The kind of "respect of law" with which that movement is imbued is indicated about fifteen lines above in the same item, where he says that "Collectors sent out by the Soviets to take the tax in kind often do not return. Something happens to them. They simply disappear." The word "disappear" is a decidedly euphemistic expression. What a pity that Mr. Bakhmetiev would not remain just as mild and gently euphemistic if some of his friends who are instigating those mysterious "disappearances" would be dealt in a similar way.

Books Reviewed

A. I. DENIKIN, *The Russian Turmoil; Memoirs: Military, Social, and Political.* E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1922. 344 pages.

PAUL N. MILIUKOV, *Russia, Today and Tomorrow.* Macmillan Company, New York, 1922. 392 pages.

There is gradually amassing a wealth of material for the student of "white" psychology, enough already for a volume by some William James on "The Varieties of Counter-Revolutionary Experience." The Kerenskys, the Kalpashnikova, the Denikins and Miliukovs have given their testimony in memoir and apologia. It remains only for the scientist to sort and classify these types, to show by what routes they came to their respective stations on the battle-front of the class struggle. It would be a useful work. It is not enough to apply some simple Marxian rule of thumb and say that such and such will inevitably be among the enemies of the Revolution. The simple rules of economic determinism have been amply justified during the last five years; yet a finer discrimination would be of the greatest importance, an expert analysis of human behavior, indicating just what influence, what crucial incident in the rush of events, will cast this or that one to the right or to the left. For example, in August 1917, the Russian forces on the Dvina were under General Parsky, Army Commander, and General Boldyrev, Corps Commander. "Both experienced Generals," in the opinion of General Denikin, "and certainly not inclined to counter-revolution." Subsequently General Parsky occupied an important post in the Red Army and General Boldyrev commanded the anti-Soviet front on the Volga. Why?

The "Turmoil" which General Denikin describes in his memoirs is that which ensued between the abdication of the Tsar and the arrest of Kornilov—and incidentally of Denikin. His later adventures are reserved for another volume. In this period of revolutionary confusion the General found these psychological factors, to which I have alluded above, of the gravest importance. "Owing to the technical unpreparedness of the positions, the chiefs had to perform the arduous and unnatural task of making tactical considerations subservient to the qualities of the commanding officers.... The degree of the demoralization of the different units and the consideration of different sectors of a given firing line, purely accidental, had also to be taken into account." It was just their complete inability to cope with the "arduous and unnatural task" of subordinating tactical considerations to the qualities of their leaders which subsequently contributed largely to the debacle of the armed counter-revolution. Yet it is a necessity imposed equally upon both sides in the struggle. It is important to have well-prepared technical positions; but it is equally important to know what sort of men you are going to send into them. It was not altogether intelligent, for instance, for Kerensky to have appointed Kornilov to the Supreme Command. This is perhaps an extreme case, yet it doubly emphasizes the importance of a scientific study of counter-revolutionary psychology. The more we know about both Kornilovs and Kerenskys the better.

General Denikin would undoubtedly wish to be classified among those whom he calls "men of solid military tradition—mistakenly identified with Monarchist reaction." He had been a soldier all his life, the son of a soldier. He welcomed the overthrow of the Tsar for the good of the army. All the gossip about Rasputin and the Tsarina had been demoralizing to officers and men. He was no blind reactionary. In his youth, with his first command, he had even gone in for army reforms. "I put an end to the system of striking the soldiers and made an unsuccessful experiment in 'conscious discipline.'" He recognized the "unwholesome" relations between the ranks and the officers. "For this the Russian officers, as well as the intellectuals, were undoubtedly responsible. Their misdeeds resulted in the idea gaining ground that the *barin*

and the officers were opposed to the *muzhik* and the soldier. A favorable atmosphere was thus created for the work of destructive forces." The Revolution was to restore the morale of the Army and make all things possible—the defeat of the Germans, the taking of Constantinople, or whatever else loyalty to the Allies and "sound military strategy" might direct. But the Revolution did quite the reverse. And General Denikin, who might have made a serviceable officer for a disciplined Red Army under Trotsky, broke down in utter bewilderment under Kerensky. The removal of the dynasty presented perplexing questions to "men of solid military tradition". "Who represents the Supreme Power in Russia?" was one question. "Is it the temporary Committee which created the Provisional Government, or is it the latter? I sent an inquiry, but received no answer. The Provisional Government itself, apparently, had no clear notion of the essence of its power. For whom should we pray at Divine Service? Should we sing the National Anthem and 'O God, Save Thy People!' (a prayer in which the Emperor was mentioned)?" You can see how such uncertainties "interfered with established military routine". After some delay an oath of allegiance was forthcoming—to "the Provisional Government pending the expression of popular will through the medium of the Constituent Assembly". Yet even this mouth-filling formula did not fulfill the "idyllic hopes of the Commanding Officers". "There was no uplifting of the spirit and perturbed minds were not quieted," relates Denikin, "The Commander of one of the Corps on the Rumanian front died of heart-failure during the ceremony." Then came Order No. 1 for the "democratization of the army," a devastating blow to the military caste. Then came the military committees and the commissars, and finally the "Declaration of the Rights of the Soldier". Demoralization was complete; the "brave heroes" of the ranks became "licentious soldiery"; for Denikin, as for Kerensky, there was but one resource: Kornilov.

No doubt the publishers insisted on the forward-looking title for Professor Miliukov's volume, "Russia, Today and Tomorrow". A more accurate, though less saleable name, would have been "Russia, Day before Yesterday". Professor Miliukov has performed a rather clumsy autopsy upon the dead body of the Russian counter-revolution. He has exhumed a long line of "mistakes" which contributed to the final dissolution. "It was a mistake on the part of the moderate groups not to pay enough attention to the consequences of their conscientious but dilatory methods," meaning that the Cadets and their social-patriotic colleagues were swept into oblivion by the impatience of the masses. The military and foreign policies of the Provisional Governments, Miliukov now sees, were fatal; they expected too much of the peasant, "to ask him first to fight on to the bitter end, with the risk of being killed, and then await the decision of a Constituent Assembly on the momentous question of land." Miliukov does not relate just how egregious his own blundering in this respect had been. According to General Denikin, Miliukov, then Foreign Minister, "repeatedly negotiated with Alexiev and tried to persuade him to undertake an independent operation for the conquest of Constantinople, which he considered likely to be successful, and which would confront the Revolutionary Democracy, which was protesting against annexations, with an accomplished fact." The Russian General Staff knew the thing was impossible. Miliukov was so insistent, however, that "General Alexiev deemed it necessary to give him an object-lesson." A small expedition was planned to the coast of Asia Minor. The troops mutinied.

The Miliukovs learn only by experience, and then but slowly. It was not until 1920 that the Professor finally abandoned hope of "liberating" Russia by armed force. He gives three reasons for his change of view. The Allies gave insufficient aid; the military "liberators" proved themselves incompetent reactionaries; and the Russian masses showed a distinct distaste for liberation. "This," says Miliukov, "is where many of us had to change

and improve our view of the masses. We had thought that the attitude of the popular masses toward the 'white' movement would be, if not sympathetic, at least passively neutral. But it was not. The uneducated Russian masses, who were thought to be groping in the darkness, proved to be the first to understand the situation as it really was.... The Russian people themselves, the great silent masses, proved to be not at all willing to be liberated by the reactionaries in whose ranks they recognized their former landlords."

Having made this profound discovery, Miliukov abandons armed intervention and sits back to wait a "change of mind in the masses"—meaning one knows not what schemes of counter-revolution plotted from abroad. This is a thoroughly dishonest book, an attempt to conceal political incompetence under the characteristic liberal pose of "facing the facts"—after the event. By comparison, General Denikin's chronicle is a frank confession of bewilderment and failure. K. D.

News Items from Russia

MOSCOW.—Russia's plea for world disarmament having been turned down by the capitalist nations of the world, compulsory military service has been re-established by the Soviet Government. The plans are still incomplete and the first group will not be called probably for some time. As the matter has been in preparation for several months it cannot be considered as related to any recent Near and Far East developments. All male citizens between the ages of 20 and 40 will be liable to service in the event of mobilization.

Following the rumor in the international capitalist press that General Slashcheff, formerly prominent on Wrangel's staff, had been shot in Russia, the general himself was moved to a vigorous denial in the Moscow press. The denial proves him to be very much alive and even ready to fight, but this time for Soviet Russia, not against it. "I serve notice," his letter said in part, "that I am prepared to defend Soviet Russia and that in the event of an attack on her, I am ready to prove my loyalty."

Petty handicraft and household industries are being organized nationally through the "Chief Kustar Industry Committee". Branches have been set up through the southern, Volga and southeastern regions. Tools and materials are supplied to household workers and products are exchanged with the aid of the co-operatives. Fine laces, for which the Russian peasants have long been noted, lead among the Kustar products.

The Workers and Peasants Government of Russia has demonstrated once again that it can defend itself against capitalist fraud. The Krupp Works of Germany had entered into an agreement to work a 56,000-acre farm in Rostov with modern machinery, for which it would receive in the next 25 years 40 per cent. of the net profit, 60 per cent going to the Government. Shortly after, the Krupp organization announced that it had changed its mind about the proposition, whereupon the Soviet Government instituted damage proceedings. Twenty-

four hours later Krupp changed its mind once more and agreed to maintain the contract.

Fifty defendants were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal charged with espionage for Esthonia. The proceedings revealed that numerous members of the Mission maintained in Russia by the White Esthonian Republic, and enjoying special diplomatic privileges, engaged in spying, speculation, alcohol traffic, theft. The machinations of the Mission were conducted through agents recruited among the petty officials in the Russian Army and Navy, petty bourgeois, and others. The incoming baggage of Esthonian representatives was found to be laden with alcohol and instructions to spies, and the outgoing baggage carried back military instructions, valuables taken from the requisitions made for famine sufferers, etc.

The recruiting agent, A. Wessart, was condemned to death, together with several others convicted of delivering secret documents, among them the plans of the Red Navy for the coming year.

BATUM.—Several Russian steamers belonging to the Russian fleet before the revolution were arrested when they arrived in Batum recently flying British flags. These steamers had been taken out of the port of Odessa when the city was captured by the Red Army in 1920, despite the fact that under the decree nationalizing the commercial fleet they were Government property. The ships were sold by their captains to Seambry Brothers, British subjects, and navigated on the Black Sea under British flags.

Such disposal of ships belonging to the Russian Government is not only in violation of the decree of nationalization, but contrary to International Law, which provides that neither merchantman nor man-of-war can be sold without the consent of the Government in control of the port where the ship is registered. The title of possession signed by the British Consul at Constantinople is also contrary to the Trade Agreement concluded between the Soviet Government and Britain.

ROME.—In response to an inquiry from Italy, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture indicated that plans for foreign settlers would be made in the near future, but that at the moment the idea was impossible. Italian agricultural groups are preparing to take advantage of the arrangements for settlers as soon as completed.

Volume VI of Soviet Russia

includes all the issues that appeared from the beginning of January to the end of June this year, (344 pages, with many illustrations, maps, and charts). Also, you will find in these pages a full account of the F. S. R. activities together with a list of all contributions received from January 1 to May 31, 1922. Bound in durable cloth, \$3.

SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

Farming School to Aid Soviet Russia

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia has announced the organization of the Russian Institute of Technology, at 231 East 37th Street, New York City, to teach the theory and practice of the modern science of agriculture. The school is housed in a five-story building fully equipped with tractors, and other farm machinery, as well as the best available instruments for the study of physics and chemistry.

With the founding of the Institute a decisive step has been taken to meet a big problem in a big way. The prospectus of courses and conditions reveals the motivating force behind the undertaking: immediate service to the Russian workers in their heroic struggle to establish a Workers' Republic. The Institute is designed to help those desirous to acquire and use modern agricultural knowledge in as short a time as possible.

The courses of study fall under four general heads, the announcement shows, as follows: Tractors, Agricultural machinery, the Bases of Agriculture and Agricultural Structures and Roads. The subjects, however, are so co-ordinated that they tend to a complete and unified knowledge of the whole problem.

The school is open to all members of the Society for Technical Aid, regardless of preliminary training. For those not sufficiently trained to undertake the Institute studies there is a preparatory school attached to the New York Branch of the Society. If there are vacancies admission will also be open to non-members of the Society.

The average duration of the course is figured at three months, classes being conducted in the evening, unless there are enough applicants for day-time study to make it worth while. The length of the course, however, will depend in large measure on the needs of the students. For Agricultural Communes leaving for Russia the course will be abridged to meet the needs of the groups, while for those living in New York, the study may be longer and more leisurely.

The following is an outline of the work planned in its briefest form:

1. Bases of Agriculture: Including the fundamentals of biology and botany, with special reference to the soil, its composition, etc., draining and irrigation of land, the most used seeds and the systems of agriculture.

2. Tractors: An entire floor of the school building is occupied by the latest tractors, which will be studied directly, as well as through stereoscope and cinematographic demonstrations. The practical problems of locating defects and installing new parts will be a chief object of study.

3. Machines—Agricultural Implements: An intensive course about plows, harrows, sowing, reaping and thrashing machines. All these machines are exhibited in the school, and lessons will be supplemented with practical exercises.

4. Agricultural Structures and Roads: Of special importance in Russia's present reconstruction problem.

5. Practical Physics: Dealing with such elements of the subject as every agriculturist should know in his every-day work, particularly in handling machinery.

6. Elements of Chemistry: Dealing with the nourishing process of plants, the choice of manures and also the combustible process in the tractor.

The importance of the undertaking is too apparent to need discussion. The restoration of the destroyed economy of Soviet Russia is a task for the workers themselves. The first step in the rebuilding of the country is the restoration of agriculture. The Institute of Technology aims to disseminate among the friends of Soviet Russia the knowledge upon which productiveness is based.

The Friends of Soviet Russia extends its fraternal greetings to the new school and its personnel. The undertaking is in line with the policy of the F. S. R., which is to give all possible assistance to Russia in its effort to become economically self-sustaining.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912 OF SOVIET RUSSIA, published semi-monthly, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1922.
State of New York, [Seal]
County of New York [Seal]

Before me, a Notary, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the owner of "Soviet Russia" and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:—

Name of— Post Office address—
Publisher: Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.
Editor: Eugene Lyons, 201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor: Eugene Lyons, 201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.
Business Manager: None.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

Elmer T. Allison, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)
None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is— (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ELMER T. ALLISON.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of October, 1922.
(Seal) CAROL WEISS KING
KAROL WEISS KING Notary Public, New York Co. Clerk's No. 310
Notary Public New York County Register's No. 4303
New York County Commission Expires March 30, 1924.

Friends of Soviet Russia

National Office:
201 WEST 13TH STREET,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Statement "A"

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From the date of organization, August 9, 1921 to August 31, 1922.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from F. S. R. Locals and other Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received, and published in detail. For the first fiscal year, ended July 31, 1922 there was received and reported, Receipt Nos. 1 to 12115 \$ 7,164.78

For the first month of the second fiscal year, August 1922, receipt numbers 12116 to 12675 are published in detail in our official organ, "Soviet Russia", dated Sept. 1 and 15, 1922, a total of 4,918.49

	Tool Drive	General
	7,164.78	\$727,757.92
	4,918.49	9,591.26
	12,083.27	737,349.18
		12,083.27
Total received and acknowledged		\$749,432.45
The above income was deposited in a bank account and before it was withdrawn for relief there was received INTEREST amounting to, for first fiscal year		876.96
Making a TOTAL INCOME of		\$750,311.41
From which is DEDUCTED the following:		
For first fiscal year, previously deducted	\$ 5,448.01	
For August 1922, items previously deducted, now added	72.46	5,375.55
Leaving INCOME RECEIVED by NATIONAL OFFICE		\$744,935.86

HOW THE FUNDS AND CLOTHES WERE COLLECTED:

In order to assist Locals and other Workers' Organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and furnished supplies for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for these purposes is explained in detail in statements herewith referred to. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals, making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. Also it is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred these expenses themselves. Instead of charging these expenses to Locals they are deducted from the amount which is sent in by Locals and other Workers' Organizations in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after the deduction of all expenses, whether paid by Locals or whether publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office; thus:

For first fiscal year, previously detailed	\$ 93,888.71	
For August 1922, detailed in Statement "B" below	5,580.43	99,469.14

Leaving INCOME received by National Office LESS COST OF RAISING FUNDS AND CLOTHES		\$645,466.72
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BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals and spending the money for relief the National Office needs a secretary, office employes and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are:

For the first fiscal year, previously detailed	\$ 29,222.40	
For August 1922, detailed in Statement "C" below	2,374.00	31,596.40

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF and AID of Soviet Russia of		\$613,870.32
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Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF, as follows:

**American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for the F. S. R. for food and equipment	\$512,640.12	
Tool Drive Purchases: Tractors	787.00	
Remitted to Arbeiterhilfe, Auslandskomitee, Berlin (The Workers' Aid—Foreign Committee)	54,787.50	
Food Shipments, direct	2,185.73	
Russian Red Cross, Medical Unit No. 2, specific contribution remitted	1,987.50	
Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I. L. G. W. U.	2,288.94	
Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia—Subsidy for training technicians for Agricultural Relief Unit	4,200.00	
Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage and shipping charges on old clothes contributed	8,923.01	
Federated, International & Russian Conference expenses	15,301.72	603,101.52

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of		\$ 10,768.80
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**From the date of organization to May 31, 1922, each \$100 of relief funds received by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee from the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations was expended for the following purposes:

Office expense	\$ 1.00	
Extending its affiliations	2.00	
Relief	97.00	

\$100.00

Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF, but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or for EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank	\$ 7,074.48
Petty Cash on Hand	920.43
Charges on Toys in transit from Russia to be offered for sale	709.65
Advances to Publications — for advertising, translating and publishing	183.40
Advances to Speakers and Official Organ	520.18
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost less depreciation)	2,184.12
Deposits for Electricity, Gas & Lease	145.00
Books and Busts purchased for sale, less sold.....	624.45
	<hr/>
	12,361.71

DEDUCT:

Funds held awaiting definite instructions	\$592.91
Funds reserved for payment of traveling expenses incurred	1,000.00
	<hr/>
	1,592.91
	<hr/>
	\$10,768.80

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES
For August, 1922, of the Second Fiscal Year

Statement "B"

***Wages:**

Speakers and Organizers	\$ 50.00
Addressers	1,280.40
Publicity: Writers, Translator, and Movie Director.....	653.75
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers	222.68
Postages	1,437.80
Envelopes and Wrappers	50.90
Official Organ, "Soviet Russia"—subsidy.....	200.00
Advertisements	581.55
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed.....	201.50
Motion Picture and Stereoptican Equipment	704.63
Cuts, Mats, Cartoons, etc.	178.41
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.	306.20
	<hr/>
	5,867.82
Less Sale of and Refunds on Pamphlets and Cards.....	287.39
	<hr/>
	\$5,580.43

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES
For August, 1922, of the Second Fiscal Year

Statement "C"

***Wages:**

Secretary	\$ 160.00
Office Staff	1,425.00
Office Rent	190.00
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat	27.70
Office Supplies, etc.	92.50
Printing and Stationery	48.00
Telegrams	48.28
Telephone	24.00
Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc.	43.80
Auditor's charges	314.72
	<hr/>
	\$2,374.00

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the first fiscal year, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1922 and for August 1922 of the second fiscal year.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. In general expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included, and some expenses paid in August 1922 related to the first fiscal year.

The above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

20 Nassau Street,
New York, N. Y.
October 7, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

Relief Contributions, September 16-30, 1922

The following abbreviations are used: F. S. C., *Famine Scout Clubs*; F. S. R., *Friends of Soviet Russia*; RC, *Roll Call contribution*; TD, *Tool Drive contribution*; W. S. and D. B. F., *Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund*.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
12811	P. Perry, Coll., TD, Nootka, BC	6.93	12867	Mrs. J. Mikkola, Rockland, Cal.	7.45	12909	Aug. Adamck, RC, Eastington, Pa.	6.00
12812	John Strid, RC, Coll., Battleview, N. Dakota	6.00	12868	K. Chodinsky, Franklin, Mass.	4.00	12910	Fred Peterson, Coll. TD, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00
12813	FSR Branch, Newark, N. J.	200.00	12869	S. E. Coble, TD, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	12911	Websters Corners Children, TD, Websters Corners, B. C.	2.55
12814	J. Tabban, Coll., TD, N. Y. C.	10.50	12870	C. A. Kaley, Huntington, Ind.	2.00	12912	Waino Laine, RC & TD, Ironwood, Mich.	11.00
12815	Sara Douglas, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	12871	W. J. Conarty, TD, Hammond, Ind.	2.00	12913	Thomas Teikkaenen, TD, New Dorp, S. I.	6.00
12816	A. Martrangelo, RC, N. Y. C.	2.35	12872	E. Puustinen, RC, Inwood, L.I.	1.25	12914	Ellen A. Freeman, Troy, NY	5.00
12817	Eitro Ishigaki, Coll., Japanese Excursion, TD, N. Y. C.	45.75	12873	F. Fontaine, Coll., TD, Pender Harbor, B. C.	16.50	12915	FSC No. 115 Harry Solomon, Leader, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.20
12818	Wm. F. Janke, TD, Milwaukee, Wis.	2.00	12874	Bernard Raymond, TD, Columbus, Ohio	10.00	12916	FSC No. 67, Sylvia Finkelstein, leader, Malden, Mass.	15.00
12819	A. R. Nickalychuk, TD, Milwaukee, Wis.	2.00	12875	V. Wendzinaki, TD, Cristobal, Canal Zone	10.00	12917	John D. Poorman, TD, Framingham, Mass.	10.00
12820	FSR Branch, TD, Sioux City, Iowa	150.00	12876	FSR Branch, TD, Youngstown, Ohio	15.00	12918	Mike Egumoff, TD, Mountdeville, W. Va.	16.00
12821	P. Kucycki, TD, Glacier, BC	19.75	12877	Samuel Levy, TD, Brooklyn	1.00	12919	A. Wolnesty, RC, Portland, Ore.	10.00
12822	FSR Branch, Gary, Ind.	17.00	12878	Joe Staffon, RC, New Bedford, Mass.	38.00	12920	Chester W. Martin, Coll., TD, Tonawanda, N. Y.	7.00
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November 1 DON'T FAIL TO GET November 1

The November Revolution Anniversary Issue

of

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

Many new Articles, Illustrations and Special Features.

TELL YOUR FRIENDS ABOUT IT

AN INVITATION

*The Friends of Soviet Russia has received a very important invitation—
It also contains a message for you—Read it!*

*Friends of Soviet Russia,
201 West 13th Street,
New York City, New York.*

Greetings:-

We wish to obtain your aid and cooperation in a matter touching the ideals for which your movement was organized. It is the project for the participation of all workers of America in the economic reconstruction of Russia.

The immense results of your efforts for famine relief should command the admiration of all. We do not wish in the least to diminish that form of relief work.

But as you know, donations of food cannot permanently solve the economic distress of the new Russian Republic. You have shown your appreciation of this fact by widening your efforts to include the sending of agricultural machinery so as to provide against further famine in the coming year. This phase of the work is ever growing larger.

Recognizing that action by Labor might help break the deadlock between the international bankers and the Russian Soviet Government, and would afford some measure of economic re-

lief, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America took the initiative. At its Biennial Convention last May, in Chicago, at the instance of President Hillman, who visited Russia last year and obtained a very favorable confession, the Amalgamated authorized the formation of the Russian American Industrial Corporation and subscribed out of its treasury for Fifty Thousand Dollars worth of stock.

The Russian American Industrial Corporation has since been chartered under the laws of the State of Delaware with a capitalization of a million dollars, in shares of ten dollars each.

This Corporation now invites you, as well as all other labor and fraternal organizations to join hands in the drive to sell the Million Dollar of stock for the industrial reconstruction of Russia. We believe it is your duty, as friends of Russia, to extend whatever help may be in your power and we are confident that you will lend your full cooperation in this great task which is holding out so much hope to Russia.

*Fraternally and Cordially yours,
RUSSIAN AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION
(Signed) Jacob S. Potofsky,
Secretary-Treasurer.*

WE ACCEPT

We accept this invitation, enthusiastically, whole-heartedly, earnestly. We now call upon our hundreds of branches, city conferences, affiliated organizations and our thousands of adherants and sympathizers to join in the work of selling shares of stock in the Russian American Industrial Corporation.

*THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.*

Make all remittances to the

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31 Union Square, New York City

PER SHARE
\$10

Soviet Russia has partnership in the R. A. I. C. Your purchase of stock will make you a partner of Soviet Russia.

Russian American Industrial Corporation,
31 Union Square,
New York City.

Find enclosed \$.....for.....shares
of stock. I promise to solicit others to purchase.

Name
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State

Anniversary Number

Fifteen Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

Semi-Monthly Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia

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November 1, 1922

No. 9



AFTER FIVE YEARS

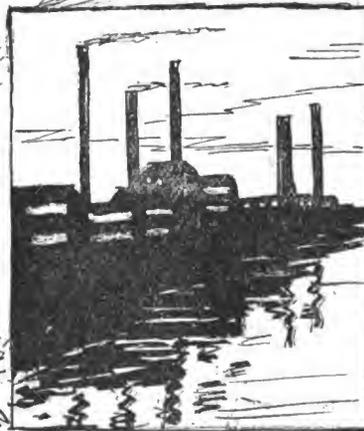
A Chronicle of the Russian Revolution

A PROGRAM
of RECONSTRUCTION

By A. A. HELLER

PLOUGHING UP
KOLCHAK'S TRENCHES

By A. C. FREEMAN



SOVIET RUSSIA .

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After Five Years

A Chronicle of the Russian Revolution.

THE Soviet Republic celebrates the fifth anniversary of its birth this month. It looks back upon five years of heroic struggle and great sufferings almost without parallel in the history of nations. A whole generation of class conscious Russian workers has died on the battle fields or through privations growing out of the struggles. The future development of all human history will be determined in a measure by the events that have transpired, and the structure that is in the building in Russia.

These five years have been so crowded, so kaleidoscopic, the scene of action so big, the conflict of ideas and systems so intense, that observers are often confused, always hazy on the sequence of developments. An outsider, no matter how sympathetic he may be, finds it hard to form an idea of the magnitude of the task confronting the active participants in the drama, let alone a consistent understanding of the main occurrences.

In this sketch we give, in the tersest form, the most significant happenings in the history of the Revolution and Civil War since November 7, 1917.

1917

Beginning of November.—The Bolsheviks being sure of a majority in the All-Russian Soviet Congress decide to overthrow the bourgeois democratic government of Kerensky, at the moment of the opening of that congress.

November 7.—The revolt put into effect by the Red garrison of Petrograd is successful and all authority passes into the hands of the Military Revolutionary Committee which is to hand over the power to the Government of the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, as soon as it is created. Kerensky after fleeing from Petrograd, attempts a counter-attack with a few Cossack regiments under the command of General Krassnov and is beaten back by the Petrograd armed workers. Simultaneously an anti-Bolhevist revolt of the military cadets breaks out in Moscow and is suppressed after violent fighting.

Middle of November.—Civil war starts on the border regions of Russia. Don Cossacks under Kaledin, Ural Cossacks under Dutov, Ukrainian

nationalists under Petlura and Vinnichenko, Monarchists under Semionov in Eastern Siberia, start a struggle on various fronts. By January 1918 nearly all of these attacks are repulsed.

December.—Peace negotiations with the Central Powers, at Brest-Litovsk begin. The Constituent Assembly convenes in January and is immediately dissolved after refusing to ratify the agrarian law and to recognize the Soviet Government.

1918

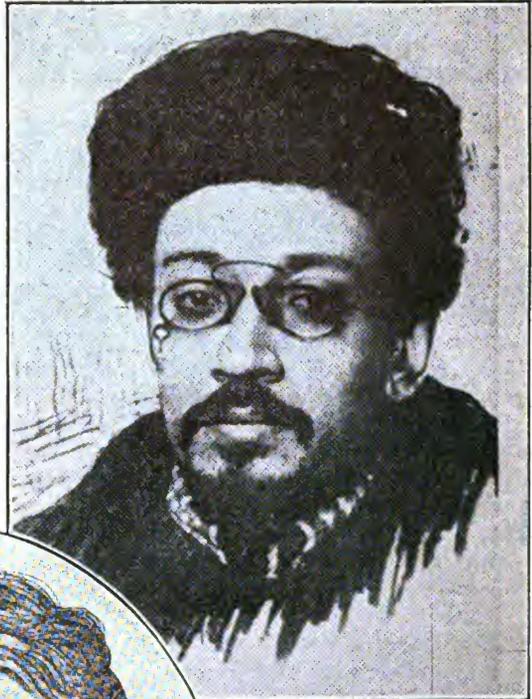
February.—There is a break in the peace negotiations. Germans advance eastward, take Dvinsk, Pskov and menace Petrograd. Soldiers of the old Russian army retreat without fighting. Decree issued on the organization of the Red Army.

March 3.—Brest-Litovsk peace signed. Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, Ukraine occupied by Germans. In Georgia and Baku the Mensheviks with the help of the British take charge of affairs.

May.—Beginning of the uprising of the Czechoslovak prisoners of war, abetted by Czechoslovak politicians and the French General Staff. All counter-revolutionary elements join them under the banner of the dissolved Constituent Assembly. They take many cities and on July 28 occupy Kasan on the Volga where they capture an important part of the Russian gold reserve and large ammunition stores. A few weeks later Anglo-American detachments land in the North on the Murmansk coast on the White Sea. Revolt starts at Yaroslav (Northern Russia) organized by Savinkov, former Social Revolutionist, former Minister of War under Kerensky, agent of the General Staff of the Entente. The revolt is crushed by Red Guards. City greatly damaged.

July.—The "Social Revolutionists of the Left" (former associates of the Bolsheviks, who had withdrawn from the Government on account of the Brest-Litovsk peace) kill the German ambassador Mirbach and organize an unsuccessful insurrection in Moscow in order to take over the government and to renew the war against the Germans.

End of August.—Assassination of Uritsky, Chairman of the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission



Above: V. Volodarsky, People's Commissar of the Press, assassinated in 1918.

Below: M. Uritsky, Chairman of the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission, assassinated in 1918.

Center: John Reed, died in Russia in 1920.

Above: J. Sverdlov, First Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; died of consumption caused by overwork.

Below: General A. P. Nikolayev, hanged by the Whites in 1919 for not betraying the Red Army.



MARTYRS OF THE REVOLUTION

("Cheka") and attempt made on the life of Lenin. Beginning of mass repressions against the counter-revolutionists. At the same time America and Japan start intervention in Siberia.

Late summer and autumn. — The reorganized Red Army, composed mostly of Petrograd and Moscow workers, repulses the Czecho-Slovaks and Cossacks.

Toward the end of November.—The German troops after the German revolution evacuate Russian territory. Esthonia, Latvia, White Russia and Ukrainia occupied by the Red Army. At the same time, in Siberia the Russian-British Admiral Kolchak disperses the remnants of the Constituent Assembly that had gathered at Ufa (in the Ural Region), arrests and executes some of its members and proclaims himself Supreme Ruler of Russia. With the help of Britain, France, America and Japan he organizes a White army out of forcibly drafted Siberian peasants and prepares a big spring (1919) offensive towards Moscow.

1919

In the beginning of 1919 British and American troops in a new aggression occupy Archangelsk and proceed southward along the railroad lines and the Dvina river. Letts, Esthonians and Poles, supplied by the French and British advance from the West take Riga, Narva, Pinsk, Baranovichi and Wilno.

Spring of 1919.—Calling of the Prinkipo Conference to which Soviet Russia is invited. The first reports of the success of Kolchak, who in March started a big advance towards the Volga, causes the Allies to abandon the project of the conference.

May.—In the South Denikin starting from Kuban (north of Caucasus) supplants Krassnov, organizes a big Cossack and "Volunteer" army of former officers and forcibly drafted peasants and advances towards the North, endeavoring to effect a junction with Kolchak to the East and the Poles on the West. General Yudenich with Balakhovich and Krassnov organize the "North-Western Russian Government" in Esthonia, for an attack against Petrograd.

April 25.—Kolchak meets with his first great defeat, in the battle at Buguruslan in the lower Volga region. This marks the beginning of his retreat ending with his capture and execution in Irkutsk on February 7, 1920 by Red partisans in Siberia.

Denikin advances rapidly northward. His cavalry under General Mamontov devastates all of Central Russia and approaches Tula, the main industrial center for arms and ammunitions in Russia, less than 150 miles from Moscow. Budenny organizes the Red Cavalry.

October.—Budenny destroys Mamontov's mounted troops, forcing Denikin to retreat on the whole line. In the beginning of 1920 Denikin resigns and relinquishes the command to Wrangel who concentrates in the Crimea under the protection of the Entente fleet. In July Russian White soldiers on Archangelsk front mutiny and join Red Army.

In September British decide to withdraw, owing to complete defeat of Kolchak.

November 1.—Yudenich, who was already approaching Petrograd, is crushed decisively by the Petrograd armed workers and retreats to Esthonia where the remainder of his troops is disarmed on demand of the Soviet Government.

Availing itself of the breathing space afforded by the crushing of Denikin and Kolchak, the Soviet Government undertakes the organization of Labor Armies which are to help in the industrial and agricultural reconstruction of Russia.

1920

Spring of 1920.—The Poles undertake the great offensive against the Ukraine and Western Russia (called "White Russia") with the intention of creating a "Greater Poland" from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Russian counter-offensive repulses the Poles to the very walls of Warsaw, but is stopped in August by the reinforcements received by the Polish army under the command of French officers. Part of the Russian Red Army is compelled to cross over to German territory and the entire Russian army is driven back approximately to the present Polish-Russian frontier.

While the Polish war is on the White General Wrangel begins to advance from the Crimea over South Russia. To finish once for all with Wrangel the Red Army concludes armistice with Poland on October 19, 1920. In November Wrangel is completely defeated and the remnants of his army flee on French ships.

1921

March.—After a short period of internal reconstruction the revolt of Kronstadt again awakens the hopes of Russian and international counter-revolution. France and America (through the Red Cross) offer help to the insurgents. The revolt is crushed on March 18. The revolt was to a great extent the expression of the discontent of the peasants with the policy of requisitions, and one of the main demands was "free trade".

Shortly after the Kronstadt revolt the new economic policy is inaugurated. While internal reconstruction goes on along the new lines, the great famine thwarts all plans of the government and forces it to concentrate all efforts on alleviating the misery caused by the terrible disaster.

1922

Spring of 1922. — England, finally convinced that the Soviet Government cannot be crushed, and realizing the necessity of Russia's participation in the economic life of Europe invites the Soviet Government to the Conference of Genoa and later at the Hague. Both these conferences turn out to be attempts at blackmailing Russia into accepting complete servitude to European capitalism—but fail completely in their purpose. A comparatively good crop this summer enables us to hope for a victory over the last and most dangerous ally of international counter-revolution—the famine.

Comrade Lenin Recovered

By G. ZINOVIEV

The following article by Comrade Zinoviev was published in a special supplement of the "Pravda" devoted to Comrade Lenin. The working class of Russia, together with the proletariat of the whole world, greets its foremost leader, who has returned to renewed activity after a brief interruption.

AT every meeting the workers shower us with questions about the state of Comrade Lenin's health and his mode of life during convalescence. Proletarian Russia desires and has a right to be informed regarding the progress of Comrade Lenin's recovery, regarding the daily life, work and convalescence of the man in whom the broadest popular masses of the greatest country repose the most sincere and complete confidence.

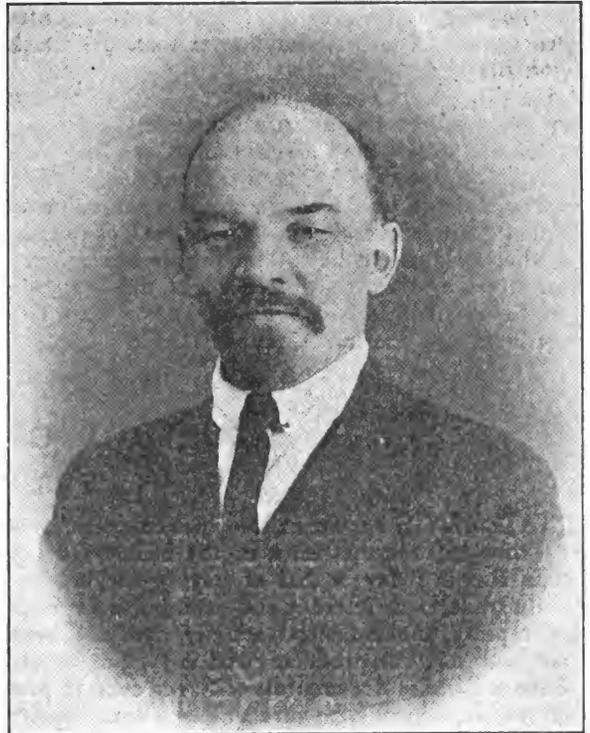
That Comrade Lenin knows how to *work* as no one else does, is generally known. But Comrade Lenin understands equally well how to *recuperate*. His work is generally regular and, even in the case of the severest effort, systematically divided. His recreation is simple and healthful. His recreation practically always expresses itself in a desire to remain alone with nature. From the stories of those comrades who lived with Vladimir Ilyich* in the boundless Siberian solitudes we know that Comrade Lenin is a passionate tourist. Even the most strenuous literary activity did not prevent him from taking walks scores of versts long.

In Switzerland, where Vladimir Ilyich lived in exile for a long time, there are few beautiful spots which he did not visit either on foot or on a bicycle. The environs of Geneva are known to him as to few Swiss. Before the final decision of the question concerning the split which the Mensheviks, during those critical weeks in which the Gordian knot had to be cut, Vladimir Ilyich retired for a few weeks to the mountains and there laid the plans for the campaign. After the defeat of the first revolution in 1906 Vladimir Ilyich stayed for several weeks in Kuokalla (a station on the Finnish railroad, not far from Petrograd), where many of our leading party workers were with him at all times. There, too, Vladimir Ilyich understood how to make use of every free moment for the enjoyment of the beauties of Finnish landscapes, and especially of the seashore.

After the days of July† we spent almost three weeks with Vladimir Ilyich in a small barn not far from Sestroretsk on the bank of the so-called Rasliv. Bathing in those waters was at that time rather dangerous. Whoever remembers the conditions of that period, when everybody in Petrograd, from Kerensky and Tseretelli down to the lowest police sleuth, was preoccupied with trailing down the "German spy" Lenin, knows that we do not exaggerate. Yet the desire to take a walk, to bathe, to fish, was stronger than all the considerations of danger.

*Lenin's real name is Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov.—Ed.

†The July (1917) revolt of the Bolsheviks against Kerensky which failed.—Ed.



Lenin's Passport Picture, Zurich, 1911.

At the order of the party's executive committee Comrade Lenin left this hiding place and, in the face of many perils, went to Finland. There Vladimir Ilyich lived in the strictest seclusion.

During the five years of Soviet Russia's existence, and particularly during the last three or four years, Vladimir Ilyich had almost no chance at all for a rest. Only during the course of this summer, on account of a grave malady, was Comrade Lenin relieved of the cares of the day. Yes, and even during our last meeting with Vladimir Ilyich it turned out that though "he reads almost no papers whatever", somehow he was yet very well posted on all the most important events. He found it possible to express the opinion of a "man who is almost not posted at all" in such a way that it could be accepted by the leading party institutions as advice that fits the political situation exactly. After this illness and the long convalescence Comrade Lenin will in the near future again return to his former work. Again and again the world will have to convince itself how false were the malicious reports of the entire anti-Soviet camp from the Monarchists to the Mensheviks and

Social Revolutionists. The fortnight in 1918 when Comrade Lenin lay gravely wounded and struggled with death brought his name a million times nearer to the popular masses than before. Whoever takes part at present in the workers' meetings and sees the attitude taken by the simple, non-party workers toward the illness and recovery of Comrade Lenin, will clearly understand that Comrade Lenin's illness and the hostile campaign of the counter-revolutionists have brought him even nearer to the popular masses than the attack upon his life in 1918.

How contemptible in the eyes of the Russian working masses will appear all these petty slanders by the Miliukovs, the Chernovs, the Dans and company, who the whole summer long, with their vicious feelings unhidden, rejoiced in the columns of their papers over Lenin's "hopeless" condition. In what a ridiculous light these people have placed themselves by their subtle reports of the "struggle for power" which had split our party into two hostile camps during Comrade Lenin's illness!

How absurd has Miliukov made himself by publishing scholarly medical diagnoses in the editorial columns of his Parisian paper. Indeed, some of the "works" of Miliukov, Dan and company on the illness of Lenin and matters connected therewith have every chance of becoming immortalized in the history of humorous literature. The gigantic campaign of lies by the whole bourgeois press on the sickness of Lenin embodies in itself all the falsehoods that have been produced during the past five years against the Soviet power.

After his recovery the captain returns to the bridge and the whole crew is inspired with new courage. This is no exaggeration. Not only our entire party, but the best elements of the working class and of the peasantry as well, greet the return of Vladimir Ilyich to practical work with the greatest joy. A sigh of relief rises from the breasts of the class-conscious workers of the whole world. Some new curses fall from the lips of the enraged bourgeoisie and its lackeys who have been disappointed by the issue of the illness.

A Program of Reconstruction

By A. A. HELLER

STATEMENTS appear in the Russian press from time to time that most of the business going on in Russia today is that of buying and selling. While trade, both internal and external is developing rapidly, the industrial activity does not keep pace with it. The producing end is lagging, many of the industries not exceeding 25 per cent of pre-war production. To be sure this is a considerable improvement over the industrial situation in 1921, and denotes a healthy, if slow, industrial revival. A speedy recovery of productive industry could hardly have been expected in the last twelve months, in view of the extremely difficult economic situation of the country. The famine, terrible and wholly unexpected as it was, consumed a great share of the Government resources, compelling the curtailment of the industrial program. No new capital had been created in the country, and none came in from the outside, to permit of investment in industry.

People take up trading because of the quick turnover. But manufacturing is not a quick process; time and capital are required to put up a plant, to get it into running condition, to obtain raw materials, to turn these into a finished product, and finally to find a market for these products. For lack of necessary capital the newly organized "trusts" or other State enterprises are producing but a fraction of what they should and private owners, to whom their establishments were turned back, under the New Economic Policy, cannot put them in operation for the same reason.

Russia Counts on Its Own Strength

Deplorable as this fact is in itself, it has produced a remarkable reaction in Russia, and may

prove of inestimable value: Soviet Russia has ceased to look abroad for capital to rehabilitate her industries, but is resolutely turning to her own strength and resources for the reconstruction of the country. The meager results of the Genoa and Hague Conferences have convinced the Soviet Government that no help is to be expected from the ruling powers either in Europe or America. In the recent remarks of the Soviet leaders this realization is clearly indicated. Lenin, in his letter to the Fifth Congress of Trade Unions, says: "In capitalist countries the industrial rehabilitation is carried out with the aid of credits.... Such credits we cannot obtain.... As long as we remain alone, the task of reconstructing our national economy falls heavily on our shoulders." Likewise Trotsky, in his interview with Paxton Hibben (*Times Magazine*, October 5, 1922), says: "...Russia is slowly recovering. She will be the stronger for having owed the bases of that recovery to her own efforts. There is no Russian who does not know that what Soviet Russia is, the workers and the peasants of Russia have themselves created from the wreckage left by the old regime and its capitalistic war."

Without foreign aid in the shape of loans, concessions and mortgaging of the country's resources, Russian economic recovery will be no doubt slower, but it will be more far-reaching and more secure; especially since the slower process accords well with the national trait of "less speed and more progress".

This changed attitude of Russia will permit the development of the country from within, and because of that will offer endless opportunities to those who participate in this development. In an

earlier article, speaking of the vast opportunities that Soviet Russia offers, I had occasion to remark that a modern Horace Greeley's advice would be: "Young man, go to Soviet Russia! and grow up with the country!" There is a New State in the process of construction. There is a vast amount of work to be done, in agriculture, in industry, in commerce; in every endeavor there is opportunity to create, to develop; how are these opportunities to be exploited, especially from this end, from America?

Work Being Done in America

In several ways:

The one way is the work which is now being done by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, viz., the organizing of groups of workers to go to Russia, for the purpose of establishing agricultural communes, or industrial cooperatives; these groups equipping themselves, at their own cost, with the necessary machinery and tools, tractors, trucks, etc., and provisions for a certain period of time; and obtaining from the Soviet Government suitable lands or industrial enterprises to exploit. A number of such groups have already settled in Russia, and reports received from them are full of enthusiastic appreciation. Many more groups are in process of organization, ready to go over at the opening of the season, early in spring.

Another way is that undertaken by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, through its President, Mr. Sidney Hillman, who organized the Russian American Industrial Corporation with a capital of \$1,000,000 divided into shares of ten dollars each; the Union subscribing at the outset fifty thousand dollars and appropriating ten thousand dollars for the expenses of the Corporation. The purposes of the Corporation are stated in the Resolution adopted at the Chicago Convention of the Clothing Workers: "to enter into arrangements with the Soviet Government of Russia for the manufacture of Clothing and for carrying on such other industrial enterprises as shall seem best." And Mr. Hillman, in his speech before the Convention stated: "The Russian Government will turn over to this Corporation, on a partnership basis, nine clothing and textile factories, employing today about 7000 people. The actual value of the property....is perhaps from five to ten million gold rubles, or from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000 dollars. All we would be asked to do is to put into that enterprise one million dollars. That will make it possible for the five million dollars to begin to work."

Mr. Hillman is at present in Russia arranging the details of the organization. This plan has met with merited success in America, and the stock subscriptions, I understand, are well on the way to the desired goal. Recently the Friends of Soviet Russia has accepted an invitation to co-operate in the sale of stock.

A third way to make these opportunities avail-

able to interested Americans, for their benefit, and for the benefit of Soviet Russia as well, is through the providing of facilities for various Russian enterprises to become self-supporting and prosperous. This can be done through a Russian-American banking or developing institution to be organized by individuals interested in Russia, and prepared to take an active part in Russian industrial life. It would have to be a corporation with a subscribed capital dividend into shares of 50 or 100 dollars face value. The initial capital need not be large, perhaps two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, sufficient to begin operations on a modest scale, in accordance with a definite plan. Many American corporations can serve as a type for the proposed institution—the large international banking and development corporations with which the reader is perhaps familiar; but yet somewhat different, to serve the particular purpose of this proposition.

An Opportunity for Profitable Service

The plan of operation for this institution would be, primarily, to participate in existing industrial establishments in Russia, either State or private. I have in mind now a number of such establishments, and shall cite the following three as examples.

1. State Electric Lamp Works in Petrograd.

Plant built before the war, occupies spacious buildings, has valuable equipment; requires additional machinery and working capital to the extent of \$200,000. Product can be manufactured at low cost, and there is an active demand for entire output of the plant.

2. Chinaware factory near Moscow, private.

Successful establishment before the Revolution; buildings and equipment worth \$100,000; has on hand considerable stocks of raw materials. Requires repairs and operating capital of \$20,000. Product—medium quality chinaware, unlimited demand at profitable prices.

3. Boot and shoe factory in Ukraine, private.

One of the largest mechanical shoe factories in Russia; prior to the war manufactured 3000 pair shoes daily; is well located with reference to raw material and consumers. Plant can be rehabilitated and put in operation, including liquid capital, for the sum of \$25,000.

The investment of such funds in these enterprises would give under present condition substantial holdings in them, and would warrant handsome dividends on the capital invested.

The management of the properties would remain in the hands of the former managers where this course seems the most desirable, or would be placed in the hands of a directorate chosen in accordance with existing rules, always subject to the laws and regulations of the Government. In case of a State enterprise, a so-called "mixed" company would be formed, the Government participating to the extent of its appraised holdings.

This is but an indication of what an institution such as described could do; its field of usefulness

in Soviet Russia would be limited only by its capital, and by the technical skill at its disposal; its usefulness to American business men desiring to develop trade or investment relations with Russia would be exceptionally valuable; while the shareholders of the Corporation, wherever they might be located, would profit by the substantial returns of the enterprise, and would have the satisfaction in assisting the industrial recovery of Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Government will celebrate, within a few days, its fifth anniversary. In those eventful

five years, full of struggle against what seemed insurmountable obstacles, the Soviet Power has proven its ability to live and to function. The Russian people, through the Soviet Power, have gained immensely: they have gained in mental stature, in intelligence, in a new attitude to life. The turbulent years of the Revolution are over; the ground is cleared for slow, patient, peaceful endeavor. There is room in this period of Reconstruction for every resource of modern technique, for all men of good will and honest intent.

Ploughing Up Kolchak's Trenches

By A. C. FREEMAN

THREE years ago the counter-revolutionist leader Admiral Kolchak, aided by the liberal supplies of munitions which he received from the great capitalist powers, pushed out of Siberia beyond the Urals and entrenched himself in the rolling country west of Perm. Today the very trenches from which Kolchak was finally driven by the Red Army are being ploughed up and sowed with grain by American and Russian workers who have been supplied with the most modern agricultural machinery by the Friends of Soviet Russia. In the twenty tractors which they have sent to their suffering comrades in Russia the class-conscious workers of America are making the best possible answer to the international capitalists who were so generous in outfitting Kolchak with cannon and shells and tanks. It is not only in the ploughing up of Kolchak's trenches that the revolutionary symbolism of the work of the American unit is made clear. Nearly all the grain raised on the forty-thousand acre Soviet farm which has been turned over to the unit for development will go to the feeding of the Kisel Kop miners, whose heroic stand against Kolchak contributed a great deal to the White dictator's downfall.

I have just returned from a visit to the American workers' camp, which is located sixty miles from the railroad and more than a hundred miles away from Perm, the nearest large town. The very existence of the camp was no small tribute to the efficiency with which the enterprise has been conducted. First of all there was difficulty about getting the material through Latvia. Then there were delays before a suitable piece of land could be picked out and before a plan of operation could be decided on. Then, after the farm had been assigned to the unit and the material had been shipped to Vereshchagino, the nearest railroad point, there was the problem of transporting the tractors and other machinery, together with large quantities of benzine, food, building material and tools over sixty miles of almost impassable Russian roads. The unit has been compelled to depend on its own resources for everything. Operat-

ing in a region which is still suffering from the effects of last year's famine the American workers have been living on the food which was brought from America. If a machine breaks down it cannot be sent to the nearest factory for overhauling. It has to be repaired on the spot.

In the light of these handicaps the success of the unit has been nothing short of amazing. Because of the various delays which were encountered it was impossible to start work before the beginning of August. Within a month four thousand acres had been ploughed. While I was in the camp the planting machinery was operating full speed from dawn to sunset, sowing the ploughed area with rye. At the time I left the planting was practically over; and the boys in the camp were confident that another three thousand acres would be ploughed for spring sowing before the frost set in.

The camp is serving as a practical school for Russian workers and peasants. The actual operation of the tractors is now being almost entirely turned over to Russian students who are expected to carry on the work of the farm after the Americans leave. The unit has brought the first conceptions of modern agriculture to thousands of peasants in the Perm province. Every day some bearded peasants with their wooden carts drive into the camp to inspect the strange new machines; and the demonstrations in the use of the machinery which have been given by the unit attracted large audiences of muzhiks from all the surrounding country. By offering to plough only for collective groups and not for individual peasants the unit has stimulated the formation of two new agricultural communes and saved the existence of another which was on the point of dissolution.

The spirit of the eight American boys in the unit is splendid. Working long hours without a cent of pay and living on the plainest food, with scarcely a taste of meat, they are all full of enthusiasm for the work and eager to return next year to see to the harvesting of the crop which they have sowed. One of them said to me:

"This spring I went on strike with the miners

for a six hour day instead of an eight-hour day. Now I'm working fourteen hours a day,—eight and six hours put together."

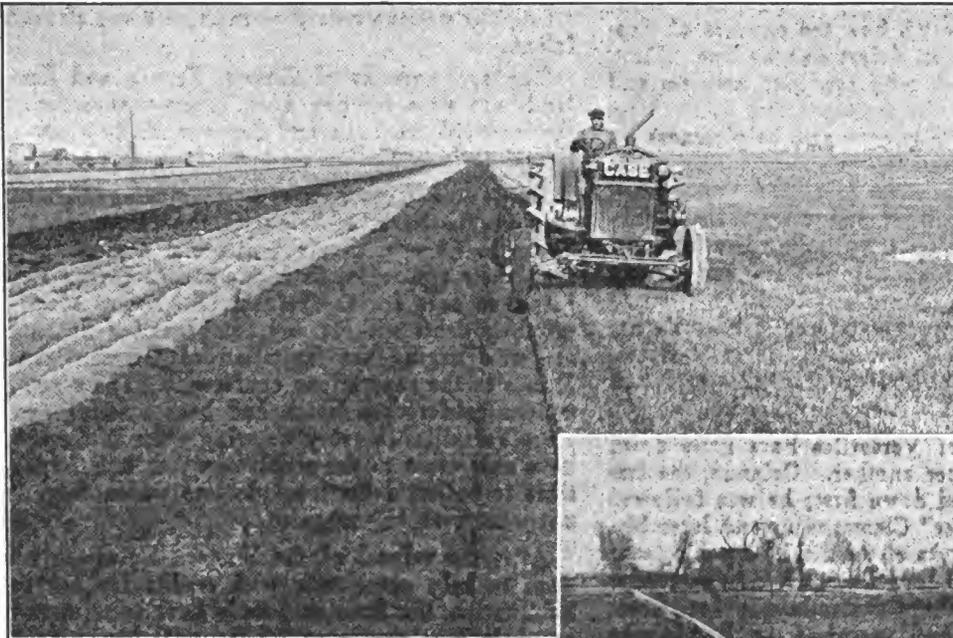
Neither this man nor any of the others ever gave a suggestion of grumbling. In fact a visit to the tractor unit is calculated to create a healthy scepticism about the stories of discontent and desertion which the capitalist press is always so anxious to circulate about groups of American workers in Russia. As a matter of fact Soviet Russia in its early stages of reconstruction, with its many features of a rough pioneer country, offers far fewer shocks to workers who are used to knocking about than to sensitive and temperamental intellectuals.

It is safe to say that nothing which the Friends of Soviet Russia have done in the way of relief work has been so cordially appreciated by the government and the workers of Russia as the enterprise carried out by the tractor unit. It is generally recognized that the peril of such fearful famines as the one which devastated the Volga Valley last year can never be altogether removed until modern machinery supplants the antiquated wooden ploughs and hand sickles with which the peasant now scratches the soil and gathers his scanty crop. Moreover, the project of feeding the Kisel Kop miners with the products of the farm which is now being cultivated by the tractor unit opens up extensive possibilities in the way of reviving industry by developing Soviet farms in connection with every large mine and factory. Finally, the introduction of the tractors is un-

questionably the best practical method of overcoming the narrow individualistic psychology of the Russian peasant. Even the stupidest and most conservative of the muzhiks can scarcely fail to be impressed by the advantages of the machine which does fifty to a hundred times the work of a man and horse far more efficiently in the same amount of time. No peasant in Russia today is rich enough to own and operate a set of modern agricultural machinery himself. The increased use of tractors means the formation of Soviet farms and agricultural communes, and the spread of the collectivist spirit from the cities and towns to the villages.

As a result of the successful development of the Soviet farm by the tractor unit an agricultural trust has been formed for the efficient working of all the Soviet farms in the province of Perm. Comrade Ware, the head of the unit, has been offered a place on the governing board of this trust, which also includes representatives of the Workers' Aid, the provincial government of Perm and the Kisel-Kop miners. The tractor unit has met with the heartiest co-operation from the local Soviet authorities; and its work is looked on as one of the most hopeful signs of reconstruction in the Perm province.

Only one thing is needed to make this demonstration of American working class sympathy with the revolutionary workers of Russia a complete success. The unit went out equipped only with machinery for ploughing and planting. It had no corresponding supply of binders, reapers and



—
 Pictures from the
 Province of Perm,
 where the American
 Tractor Unit is at
 work.
 —



A SIGNIFICANT CONTRAST

Above, field ploughed by tractor sent by American workers through F. S. R.; below, the primitive wooden plough which it replaced.

harvesting machinery in general. Unless this machinery is supplied from America part of the crop which was planted this year will almost certainly be lost; for it will require an enormous expenditure of labor power to harvest hundreds of thousands of bushels of rye with hand sickles; and it is very unlikely that this labor power will be available for the Soviet farm. The peasants in the neighborhood will be busy with their own crops. Under these circumstances, if the Kisel-Kop miners are to get the bread which has been promised them, it is absolutely necessary that the tractor unit receive a sufficient quantity of binders, reapers and other agricultural machinery, to match their present outfit of ploughs and planting machines. There is also a need for road scrapers,—as any one who has travelled the sixty miles from Vereshchagino to the camp and back again can testify—and for sawmills, in view of the ex-

tensive building operations which are planned for next year. No one who has not been there can fully realize how the country has been stripped bare of the simplest and most essential articles by the imperialist war, the intervention and the blockade, and how necessary it is for every unit of American workers to be equipped with all the essential tools and machinery, if efficient work is to be done. A piece of work that has been so well begun must not be allowed to fail for lack of the moderate amount of further support which is needed to establish it on a firm basis.

Given harvesting machinery, sawmills and road-scrapers, everyone at the camp is confident that the farm will flourish on a self-supporting basis for years to come. It will remain an enduring monument to the practical help which the class-conscious workers of America gave to their Russian comrades in their hour of greatest need.

The Test of Time

By J. G. O.

THE new Republic of Russia, born in the pangs of war and revolution, has stood the severest tests ever inflicted by history upon a new nation. Blockade, economic isolation, political conspiracies, both international and national, famine and pestilence and, on top of it, slander and abuse—all of these obstacles failed to check the growth and development of the new Russian Republic.

It is peculiar to watch how the enemies of Russia have gone down in defeat one by one. First, the German war lords who ran over helpless and disarmed Russia in the beginning of 1918, were reduced themselves to misery and helplessness by the end of 1918. Then fell the overbearing Allies who dictated the shameless treaty of Versailles—a treaty which humiliated and dissected not only Germany, but also Russia, excluding her from all European and international politics and taking away her territories. We do not want to mention the famous buffer states carved out of Russia's living body, but we recall the giving away of Bessarabia to Roumania and of the Far East to Japan by powers who did not own these lands.

The evil spirits of Versailles have gone down with a crash one after another. Orlando, the Italian Premier, stepped down first; he was followed by the terrible "Tiger" Clemenceau, and later Mr. Wilson joined the ranks of the disabled politicians; it appears that even Lloyd George had to surrender before he could take Constantinople for Great Britain, which he had promised to Russia,—to tsarist Russia, be it remembered.

The imperialistic Japanese are withdrawing slowly, but definitely, their troops of occupation from the Far-Eastern Republic, and are followed on their heels by the Russian Red troops. While the Japanese tool—the Chinese general Chang-

Tzo-Lin is still attempting to organize the White forces in Manchuria against Russia, other Chinese generals are on most friendly terms with Soviet Russia, and Wu-Pei-Fu seems willing to cooperate with the Red Army. The famous Russian peace-maker Adolph Joffe is being acclaimed in China as the representative of the greatest power in Europe and Asia, a power whom all Asiatic nations regard as their true and staunch friend.

The arch-enemies of Russia, France and England, are now fighting each other—one wearing the mask of the Turk and the other hiding in the Greek horse.

While the French are now opening Moslem Mosques in Paris to celebrate the return of the Turks to Europe, they are also not neglecting to send their emissaries to Moscow. And even Belgians, so sore for the refusal of Moscow to pay off their debts without any compensating benefits, are now urging the invitation of Germany and Russia to the reparations conference. These reparations conferences which had been meeting ever since Versailles in every watering place in Europe, have now come to the conclusion that it is impossible to collect debts from debtors whom they do not want even to recognize....

After the refusal of the Western European nations to help out Russia with credits for her rehabilitation, the Russian people have been thrown on their own resources. They will have to get along as best they can with their two and a half billion pood harvest of this year which constitutes only half of the normal pre-war crops. Russian industries are still running only from 10 per cent to 20 per cent pre-war capacity. However, in spite of the fact that Russia may still have several mil-

lion people needing assistance to keep them from starvation next winter, she is making great strides on the way to economic recovery. Her railroads are running on schedule time though at half the speed of American railroads. The streets and houses of her cities are being repaired, street cars are already running and electric power stations are being put into operation. Her coal mines are furnishing twice as much coal as they did a year ago, and the peat and lumber supply is ample enough now to protect the people from cold next winter.

The 90 million population of farmers are now virtually the owners of their holdings, and they can freely sell their produce in the open market after having paid off the grain tax, which is very moderate indeed, being from 5 to 10 poods per dessiatin (from 1 to 2 bushels per acre) or about ten per cent of the crops. Smaller shops and stores are being gradually opened in all cities of Russia.

The new economic policy has forced Russia to resume banking. The State Bank has now branches and agencies in more than two score cities of Russia, and more are being opened. Private mutual credit associations have already been chartered in several provinces.

There are unmistakable signs of Russia's increasing purchasing power. A casual visit to the city markets and railroad stations shows that the farmers are offering for sale all kinds of produce, such as milk and butter, apples and potatoes, mushrooms and pigs all kinds of grain and other food-stuffs. For the money received they buy in the city shops clothing, shoes, tools and hardware of all kinds, kitchen utensils, farm implements, books, and other things. Before the new economic policy, everybody tried to hide his goods. Now they are displayed freely and even perfumes and toilet soaps and other articles of luxury can be seen in shop windows.

Russia's paper money while still very unstable is a whole lot better medium of exchange than, for instance, the German or the Austrian mark. This year Russia knocked off four zeros from her millions and an American dollar was valued in June something like 350 rubles instead of the old 3½ million. In September the same American dollar was quoted at 600 Russian rubles of the 1922 issue. During that same period the German mark was quoted at 320 to the dollar in June and at 1600 to the dollar in September. That is to say that while the Russian paper currency had depreciated twice, the German had fallen five times. It is the purpose of the Russian Government to bring the paper ruble near to the value of the gold ruble. The newly issued paper ducats (of one thousand ruble value) will be backed with 25 per cent gold. The Soviet paper money is accepted in Russia without objection by everybody.

Whatever the future may have in store for Russia she is able to face it with courage and confidence.

Lenin to Russian Unions

This letter was addressed by Lenin to the Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress. It has been reprinted in brief by other papers. The following, however, is the complete text:

Dear Comrades:

For the first time after my long illness I have the opportunity of addressing a congress if only in writing. Allow me, therefore, to restrict myself to expressing my warmest greetings and to saying a few words upon the situation and upon the tasks of our industries in our republic.

We are in a very difficult situation, because we have no means for the replacement of stock, of machines, tools, buildings, etc., although this branch of industry, the so-called *heavy industry* forms the foundation of Socialism. In the capitalist state this stock is usually set up by means of credit. No credit will be granted to us until we restore the property of the capitalists and of the land owners, *and that we cannot and shall not do*. There only remains to us the exceedingly difficult and long way: to gradually accumulate savings, to increase the taxes in order to be able to replace the destroyed railways, machines, buildings, etc. Up to now we are the only state in which the toiling peasants are building up Socialism under the leadership of the workers and energetically reject the leadership of the capitalists, who under the cloak of all sorts of fine phrases about "democracy", "freedom", etc., in reality only consolidate the private property of the capitalists and landlords, and secure the rule of a few rich who share the whole globe among themselves and who fight one another for the booty, for the oppression of hundreds of millions and for the subjugation of all the weaker and backward peoples.

So long as we remain alone, the task of reconstructing our national economy presses extremely hard upon our shoulders. The greatest exertion of the energy of all peasants and all workers is necessary, and the improvement of our state apparatus which is still very poor, is necessary in order to better the condition of the workers and to rebuild, if only quite slowly, our industrial life, destroyed through the imperialist and civil wars.

Let every intelligent peasant and worker who despairs on account of the hard conditions of life, or on account of the extreme slowness in the development of our state, recollect the recent past,—the regime of the capitalist and the land owner. Such a recollection will bring back to him his desire to work. To increase and to better the work with all energy and from all sides—therein lies the only salvation of the workers' and peasants' power.

With proletarian greetings

V. ULIANOV (*Lenin*).

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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WE direct attention to the report of the Investigating Committee of Five on another page of this issue. The farthest reach of calumny and malice can hardly touch the integrity of the men who accepted our invitation to probe the charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia. The context of the report, in its detailed, systematic and utterly dispassionate disposition of the questions investigated, is a clear index to the fitness of the Committee for the task and the value of the report.

Upon its release to the public, such publications as the *N. Y. Call* and the *N. Y. Times* ran over the story headlines to the effect that the F. S. R. had been "cleared". Such, unquestionably, is the purport of the report as anyone may determine by reading it. Only the *Jewish Daily Forward*, inspired by its hatred for Soviet Russia, having launched the unfounded charges, proceeded to misinterpret the report as a "confirmation" of the charges. It is significant, however, that though it gave many columns to vituperative interpretation, it did not dare to give the report itself, which surely would have enabled its readers to judge for themselves.

With essential work to be done here for the rehabilitation of Russia, it is a crime that the energies of the organization should have been deliberately diverted by attacks. The Committee's statement constitutes a complete vindication. It is an answer to open lies and whispered insinuations. And now let us get on the job! There is work for every true friend of the Russian proletariat. The whole-hearted co-operation of every worker in America is wanted for a year of activities so magnificently successful that even last year's inspiring accomplishments will be outdone!

The Friends of Soviet Russia, in the work it has done since its inception and in the work planned for the immediate future, plays true to

its name: Friends of Soviet Russia. Relief for the starving, tractors to work the country's soil, American aid in the industrial upbuilding of the country have been among the expressions of that friendship. But—and it is a decisive "but"—these things not merely as ends in themselves but as help in the creation of the first Socialist State by the working class of Russia.

THE celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Republic takes place under different auspices than a year ago. Last year's celebration had the tone almost of a funeral ceremony. The Workers' Republic seemed near its death—the blow struck by the drought and the ensuing famine was more serious than all the combined attacks of national and international counter-revolution. But Soviet Russia, having become accustomed to suffering after four years of incessant struggles, survived even this calamity, to the surprise of her friends and enemies alike. The present anniversary finds Soviet Russia stronger than ever in the course of the last five years. True, in order to reestablish its industry it has had to make certain concessions to the outside world. Yet we feel hopeful that it will not have to go too far in this respect. Soviet Russia, after five years of war, surrounded by enemies, denied credit, attacked on all sides, still remains the hope of the revolutionary workers of the world. All help extended to the country of the first proletarian revolution is help rendered to the cause of working class emancipation.

IN our previous issue, under the title of "Nihilists, Old and New", we printed a chapter of Stepniak's "Underground Russia" — that epic of Russian revolutionary life of more than a generation ago. In that chapter the great terrorist of the seventies draws a parallel between the purely individualist "Nihilist" of the sixties, the type for whose designation the word was coined by Turgenev, and the revolutionary type of the seventies and eighties whose courageous deeds had won him perennial fame and to whom misunderstanding had attached the name of his predecessor. The type of the sixties is for Stepniak the refined egotist, who seeks only his own happiness and aspires to "independence of mind and intelligent female company." And Stepniak adds: "These first two persons of the trinity of his ideal are finally within his reach. The third, an occupation in accordance with his tastes, is lacking, but as he is intelligent, and Russia is wanting in educated people, he will find it easily." The revolutionary, on the other hand, the intellectual of the seventies and eighties is a pure idealist who only "seeks the happiness of others."

On its face this characterization seems striking and convincing enough. Nevertheless it contains a deep untruth which the author, being himself one of the "seekers of happiness of others" failed to realize. The line between egoism and altruism is unduly drawn. Had the Russian intellectual been in a position to "find easily an

occupation in accordance with his tastes", history would not have witnessed that tremendous movement in which hundreds of thousands of educated youths sacrificed themselves on the altar of the revolution. Exceptional individuals may be prompted to their activities by purely altruistic motives, but where idealism becomes a mass phenomenon as in the case of the Russian intelligentsia, more prosaic motives must be looked for. Were it otherwise, modern Russian history would force us to revalue our internationalist ideas and make of the Russian a kind of idealistic superman.

The fact of the matter is that it was for the Russian intellectual *not* "easy to find an occupation according to his tastes." Absolutism does not give that opportunity to the intellectual. It is exactly for this reason that the intelligentsia as a *class* (not speaking of idealistic *individuals*) had undertaken the struggle against Tsarism. It was, under modified and more difficult circumstances a repetition of the revolutionary struggle of the French and German intellectuals before the Revolution of 1848. And in the same way as the French and German intellectual became a reactionary, or at best a moderate pink-yellow socialist after the establishment of bourgeois democracy—his ideal of "freedom", so the Russian intellectual after the democratic Revolution of 1917 became a self-satisfied bourgeois similar to his Western-European prototype. With the outbreak of the proletarian November Revolution he openly joined the counter-revolution. His class interest was stronger than all his sentimental memories of his glorious struggles for bourgeois "freedom".

* * *

ACCORDING to Associated Press reports of October 24, the Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople have dispatched an appeal to the Angora Government asking it to spare the lives of those Greek soldiers taken prisoner who were formerly Turkish subjects. Those prisoners are charged with high treason and face mass execution. The appeal of the High Commissioners is certainly very humane. But it is really a pity that the representatives of the Allies have been so late in their conversion to this gospel of forgiveness. Two years ago they would have had a similar opportunity to vindicate the principles of humanity and civilization. It was at the time of the Polish-Russian war in the fall of 1920 when the tide turned against the Red Army and the army of Pilsudski captured a great number of Polish subjects—Poles, Jews and Ukrainians—who had enlisted in the army of their Russian comrades and liberators. The prisoners were mercilessly executed and we did not read of any appeals addressed by the Allies to their Polish mercenaries.

The Associated Press of the same date reports about the convention of the Fascisti quoting the following from a speech by their chief, Mussolini:

"Democracy was useful during the nineteenth century but now it must be substituted by super-democracy which must create a new powerful political structure in closer harmony with national needs."

Which in plain language means that "democratic" stage-play has to make place for an unveiled dictatorship of the capitalists exercising their power directly through their army of labor-baiting thugs. This doctrine reminds one of a similar attitude of the Bolsheviks who, too, scouted the principles of "democracy" and to the open or hidden dictatorship of the bourgeoisie opposed the dictatorship of the working class. But while the Bolsheviks are attacked as tyrants and usurpers, Mussolini and his armed ruffians are the beloved and admired darlings of the international bourgeoisie, and their challenge to the sacred principle of "majority rule" is registered without any attempt at sanctimonious protest. Well—it makes a lot of difference whose dog is hit.

* * *

IN its conclusion concerning the charges brought against our editorial policy the Investigating Committee made the following statement:

The committee finds that "Soviet Russia" is published openly as an official organ, and believes that an official organ of this character is a proper expense. The cost to the organization is moderate. The policy of the magazine is not communist in the sense that it promotes the communist movement in the United States or political propaganda here or abroad. It is of course friendly to the Soviet Government of Russia, as would be expected of a publication owned by an organization calling itself "The Friends of Soviet Russia". It is natural and proper that such an organization should state its friendship for and approval of the working-class government of Russia.

Replying to this statement Mr. Cahan of the *Forward* in the *N. Y. Call* of October 19, takes the position that by "attacking the *Forward* and the *N. Y. Call* and praising rival papers that take the Communist side of the argument" (we never praised any Communist papers) "*Soviet Russia...* has been in fact partial to the Communists and prejudiced against the Socialists."

Our magazine never claimed to be "impartial". It was always partial, not "to the Communists", of course, but to the Soviet Republic, defending it against all attacks whether they came from the *Times*, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the *N. Y. Call*, or the *American Federationist*. The Pilsudskis, Noakes, Kautskys, Chernovs, Gomperses and other arch-enemies of the Soviet Republic seem to enjoy the special favor of our critic, for he resents our attitude towards them as "attacks upon the Socialist and labor movement", and he would probably expect that we should use their organs as our sources of information about Russian conditions instead of the International Press Correspondence and other agencies favorably inclined toward Soviet Russia.

The Friends of Soviet Russia has announced the resignation of Jacob W. Hartmann as treasurer of the organization. Dr. Hartmann was preparing to retire from his various activities in the service of the F. S. R. at the time the *Jewish Daily Forward* launched its attack upon the organization. He consented at that time to retain his position until the Investigating Committee of Five should have done its work.

Allen S. Broma, who has been active in the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia since its inception, is the new treasurer.

Report of the Investigating Committee of Five

TO THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Realizing that the attacks on the F. S. R. were inspired by political hatred, the organization designated an Investigating Committee which could have no political bias in the controversy. Not even the authors of the original attack question the integrity of the five men. Roger N. Baldwin heads the American Civil Liberties Union. Norman M. Thomas, formerly on The Nation and The World Tomorrow editorial staffs, is now with the League of Industrial Democracy. Robert Morris Lovett is one of the editors of The New Republic. Timothy Healy is President of the Stationary Firemen's Union. Walter Nelles is an attorney.

In response to your request to investigate the charges made against your organization the undersigned committee, appointed August 10, has examined every charge with the utmost care. We submit the following, dealing fully and frankly with all of the charges, in the hope that the actual facts will be entirely clear to every person interested in American relief for the Russian people.

The Charges

Charges of irregularity and extravagance in handling funds, and of the use of relief funds for communist propaganda were made publicly against the Friends of Soviet Russia in The Jewish Daily Forward, New York City, on July 26, August 1, August 4 and August 12. The important charges were made in the form of editorial articles. Others appeared as news items. They were followed by a repetition of essentially the same points in other papers. The standing of The Forward and its devotion to working-class interests gave them a weight too great to be ignored.

The lengthy statements of the charges were boiled down by our committee and submitted to the editor, Mr. Abraham Cahan, in the form we put them below. Mr. Cahan has politely declined to deal with the committee in any way, on the ground that while he does not doubt its integrity, it was appointed by the organization against which the charges are brought. The committee issued through The New York Call and The Forward a public invitation to any one to submit other charges, but none has been received. It is fair to assume, therefore, that the charges we deal with here include everything essential that can be alleged against the management of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The committee has gone into even the most unimportant of the charges with great care because of the importance of Russian relief work, and the seriousness of the charge that money collected for famine relief has been diverted to political agitation. The committee has not been moved by any factional or political interest whatever. None of its members belongs to the Workers' Party. Only one of its five members has been a member of the Socialist Party. One is a trade union official. The others are not identified with any political or labor group. The committee approached its examination without prejudice of any sort, and with the sole object of getting at the truth and stating it. What we state are facts, not our opinions.

The committee knows that its method of appointment and its work are opposed by those who made the charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia. The reason for that opposition is that the committee is appointed by the very body against whom the charges are made, and not by its critics. The members of the committee agree that it perhaps would have been better to permit a full investigation by a committee independently appointed, but on the other hand, we appreciate the reasons which prompted the Friends of Soviet Russia to get away from what they regard as factional political conflict. The good faith of the organization is evident in the fact that practically all of the committee are opposed to the political practices of the Russian Soviet Government and to most of the communist tactics in the United States. Insofar as the charges involve the Friends of Soviet Russia in American communist politics the committee would be as vigorous in condemning the organization as those who brought the charges.

We secured these facts from an examination of the certified audit of the Friends of Soviet Russia, checked

by an independent examination by Mr. Stuart Chase of the Labor Bureau, Inc., a certified public accountant. For facts not proven by the figures we corresponded directly with the persons or organizations involved. We have also examined the files of "Soviet Russia" and have statements from Dr. Jacob W. Hartmann, the Treasurer, on points not otherwise covered.

We give herewith each charge and the facts about it. The charges appear in three groups:

1. Relating to the use of funds for communist propaganda.
2. Extravagance.
3. Irregularities.

1. Charges relating to the Use of Funds for Communist Propaganda.

1. It is charged that the Friends of Soviet Russia are using funds collected for relief, for the maintenance of an official organ, "Soviet Russia", which is in fact a communist paper.

"Soviet Russia" has been published every two weeks since January 31, 1922 as the official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Before that time the magazine was published independently. The Friends of Soviet Russia at first published its reports in bulletin form at considerable expense, and took over the magazine in the belief that an official organ, appearing regularly, would furnish a better means of reaching all contributors and others interested in this work, and at relatively less expense for the results achieved.

The total cost to the Friends of Soviet Russia for the eight months up to May 31, during which they published the magazine was \$7600 for fifteen issues, which makes the cost of each issue to the organization a little over \$500. Of the total expense of the magazine the organization bears less than half (40%). Subscriptions and dealers' sales make up the rest.

CONCLUSION. *The committee finds that "Soviet Russia" is published openly as an official organ, and believes that an official organ of this character is a proper expense. The cost to the organization is moderate. The policy of the magazine is not communist in the sense that it promotes the communist movement in the United States or political propaganda here or abroad. It is of course friendly to the Soviet Government of Russia, as would be expected of a publication owned by an organization calling itself "The Friends of Soviet Russia". It is natural and proper that such an organization should state its friendship for and approval of the working-class government of Russia.*

2. It is charged that the Friends of Soviet Russia virtually subsidized communist papers through advertising.

The Committee has been furnished with a list of all papers in which the organization has carried paid advertisements, together with the amounts and dates of payments. The total amount spent for advertising in periodicals up to June 30 is \$16,719.63, which seems to the committee a moderate amount as related to other expenditures. That covered a period of 11 months and averaged, therefore, \$1519.16 a month. It is obvious that that is not enough, even at best, to subsidize more than

a few small papers. As a matter of fact it was distributed over 27 papers, of which 14 were published in English and 13 in foreign languages. Out of 27 papers in which the advertisements appeared 6 are liberal, religious or labor periodicals without political connections, 4 are socialist and 11 are communist or have communist tendencies. By that we do not necessarily mean that they are official organs of the Communist Party, but that their obvious political and economic bias is communist. The politics of 6 small foreign-language papers have not been ascertained by the committee.

Judging by the number of communist papers in this list it would appear that an undue proportion of the advertising had gone to them, but an examination of the cost of advertising in the various papers shows that they received less than \$5,000 of the total of almost \$17,000 spent in advertising. The largest amounts went to the non-political liberal, labor and religious periodicals printed in English. The largest amount paid to any one of the communist papers was \$1,255.90 paid to a daily, which is of course a small amount for advertising in a daily paper.

CONCLUSION. *It seems to the committee natural that the Friends of Soviet Russia should have distributed its advertising as it has, in view of the people whom it is endeavoring to reach with its appeal for funds. The organization considered that the liberals and the radical working-class groups were those most likely to help, and placed their advertising accordingly. The committee does not know what discriminations may have been made among the foreign-language papers, but they are unimportant. It is perfectly clear that no communist paper was subsidized by advertising and that the communist press as a whole received but a small and proportionate share of the total amount spent in advertising.*

3. It is charged that the agents of the Friends of Soviet Russia engaged in communist or Workers' Party activities while on speaking or organizing trips paid for in the interests of famine relief.

The committee has secured a complete list of the organizers for the Friends of Soviet Russia. It comprises forty-one names. Most of the persons on the list are members of the Workers' Party or are known as sympathizers. This, by the way, is also true of the executive and advisory committees of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The organization is frank to admit that it is pro-soviet and that its activities are carried on by those who politically share in general the views of the present government in Russia. This fact in itself would not be cause for any charge against the organization. Such persons could properly collect funds for famine relief without any political significance whatever. What is charged is that they used their connections with the Workers' Party to promote the interests of that party, and presumably also the underground propaganda. Our inquiry of Dr. Hartmann on this point brings the reply that any organizers were at liberty to engage in political work in their "free time", after discharging all their functions as employees. Dr. Hartmann maintains that the organization has no right to interfere with their personal liberty in that respect if they render full service to the organization in the work for which they are paid. Workers who were not successful in raising funds for famine relief were promptly discharged.

There is no evidence offered to show that any one of the organizers of the Friends of Soviet Russia did not faithfully discharge his duties in collecting funds for famine relief and in turning in all such funds to the organization. There is no evidence that any one of them diverted such funds collected for famine relief to political purposes. It is clear, as Dr. Hartmann suggests, that organizers for the Friends of Soviet Russia did engage in Workers' Party activities in what he calls their "free time". Being partisans, there necessarily has been this confusion between a disinterested general work for relief abroad and the promotion of a political program in this country. Indeed, Dr. Hartmann states that "if it had not

been for the active cooperation of the members of the Workers' Party in the collection of funds for the Friends of Soviet Russia it is very probable that the sum collected would have aggregated far less than the present figure—about \$750,000."

The confusion which has resulted from appointing leaders in the Workers' Party as organizers for the Friends of Soviet Russia, and from allowing organizers to engage in political activities, seems to the committee chiefly responsible for the charges. We do not see how similar difficulties can be avoided in the future as long as this condition obtains. We suggest that the Friends of Soviet Russia in the future prohibit its representatives from engaging in political activities while employed by the organization, and that it make a public declaration of such a change in policy. This will interfere with the personal freedom of some representatives, but it is the only remedy for the unfortunate confusion of political and relief functions.

Under this head a specific charge was made in an article in *The Forward* that certain agents of the Friends of Soviet Russia in Canada worked among the coal miners in the interest of the Workers' Party and against the One Big Union. The committee examined the correspondence concerning this and other matters which passed between the Toronto office of the Friends of Soviet Russia and the Winnipeg Central Labor Council of the One Big Union, and has received a detailed statement from the Secretary of that Council. The agent charged with engaging in Workers' Party activities has not denied them and in view of the policy of the Friends of Soviet Russia they may well be true. The substance of the charges in Canada, however, concerns local difficulties between Russian famine relief bodies in Winnipeg. They are based upon the political activities of representatives of the Friends of Soviet Russia in their "free time", and apparently undertaken solely on their personal responsibility.

CONCLUSION.—*The above constitute the specific charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia on the ground of a diversion of money and effort to communist propaganda. The facts about each have been stated. In general the committee finds that the charges are not borne out by the facts, although it is perfectly clear to any one who looks at the letterhead of the Friends of Soviet Russia that it is pro-soviet and controlled by members of the Workers' Party. But it must be remembered that the organization is committed by its very name to the Soviet regime in Russia. The nature of the Friends of Soviet Russia has been so clear all along that any one who objected to giving to an organization friendly to the Russian Government could easily have gotten the facts. Those who gave should not now criticize its motives. Its work has been conducted with real and single-minded devotion to the cause of famine relief.*

II. Charges of Extravagance.

1. It is charged that the reports published by the Friends of Soviet Russia do not show the accounts of the two hundred or more branches, while giving the impression that the National Office expenses include the expenses of branches as well.

The financial reports published in "Soviet Russia" clearly state that they are for the national organization. The only expenses of the branches carried by the National Office are those concerning publicity. The committee does not find that the reports give the impression that the expenses of the branches are included. Each branch, as is customary with national organizations, keeps its own accounts, forwarding to the National Office the funds collected, less expenses. With more than two hundred local branches, most of them conducted by volunteers, it is inevitable that they should be managed according to varying standards—some well and some badly. No national organization can control the conduct of so many branches. There may have been irregularities. There may even have been in some instances a diversion of funds for

other than famine relief. We find no charges or evidence to serve as a basis for investigating any particular branches. The National Office has made every possible effort to secure a businesslike handling of money by local branches and has secured commendable results, particularly when it is considered that many of the branches are in the hands of untrained workers speaking various languages.

2. Attention is called to very large expenditures for the tenth month of the published reports, dated May 31, 1922, as compared with the preceding nine months.

The charge is made that the monthly expenses increased from \$8500 to \$26000 for May. As a matter of fact the accounts do show that there was an increase in ordinary expenditures during the month, due to advertising in more costly papers, to the inclusion of some back expenses and to an increase in office wages and the employment of addressers for a drive to purchase tools and machinery for Russia. But the chief reason for the heavy expenses in May was due to an item of \$9500 for "federated, international and Russian conference expenses". This is a large expenditure and as described under that heading carried no specific explanation. The organization was not prepared to explain it at the time because \$7500 of it was a fee to Frank P. Walsh for a confidential trip to Russia in the interest of the future work of the organization. That fee, under the circumstances, was very moderate. The other \$2000 was for participation in relief conferences abroad.

The criticism of the Friends of Soviet Russia for the financial statement of this month was perhaps not unnatural in view of the exceptional circumstances which gave rise to them. They have since been fully explained in public statements and to this committee.

3. Attention is called to an abnormal increase in telephone expenses, to a discrepancy in expenditures for lawyer and bail and in two items dealing with "information service" and "envelopes and wrappers".

The increase in telephone expenses was due to the installation of a switchboard. The discrepancies in the expenditures for lawyer and bail is due to a bookkeeping procedure which shows expenditure for bail through a lawyer, the bail being later refunded. The figures were perhaps not clear to any one who did not understand the transaction. The discrepancy in the "information service" and the "envelopes and wrappers" accounts was due entirely to a transposition of figures through a typographical error which was perfectly clear on comparing the April and May reports.

*CONCLUSION. The charges of extravagance insofar as they are specifically made, are not borne out by an examination of the facts. The committee went further, however, than the charges, in order to find out how much it is costing the Friends of Soviet Russia to raise their famine funds. We were anxious to find out how much of every dollar contributed in the United States got to the famine sufferers in Russia. We not only had an analysis made of the books of the organization but compared the figures with other Russian relief organizations. It appears from this examination that an average of about 20c to 25c on every dollar has gone to the overhead expenses of raising the money and shipping the food. This covers the whole period. At times the expenses ran a little over 25c on the dollar. For a new organization undertaking an emergency campaign this percentage is not high, and it is not high compared with other Russian relief organizations. If the contributions of clothing were taken into consideration the percentage would be considerably less.**

III. Irregularities.

1. It is charged that no explanation is given as to the personnel of The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee to whom money was given for the purchase

*Including a moderate evaluation of clothing, the "overhead" expenses are reduced to about 14 per cent.—Ed.

of foodstuffs, nor was any explanation given as to the methods of this committee in making its purchases. It is also charged that only a small part of the money sent to Russia is definitely reported.

The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee is a purchasing agency which was designed particularly to meet the criticism that the Friends of Soviet Russia was not representative enough of all the working-class interests in the United States. Its controlling committee was therefore chosen from quite different groups. The committee has, however, not functioned actively and its chief use has been to furnish an office as a purchasing agency for goods for Russia. A separate purchasing agency was necessary in any case. The original plan of the committee to have a more representative committee did not work out because of lack of interest on the part of groups outside of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The personnel of the committee appears on the letterheads which were available at any time to any inquirer.

More important is the financial report of the Federated Committee which has been set forth in a fully audited statement, reporting all moneys received and all expenditures made for food and clothing. Mr. Stuart Chase, who examined the accounts for the committee, says: "The final disposition of relief moneys seems to be adequately set forth."

2. It is stated that the National Information Bureau of 1 Madison Avenue, New York City, an organization which endorses organizations making public appeals, did not endorse the business practices of the Friends of Soviet Russia, and that the Friends of Soviet Russia alone among Russian relief organizations did not participate in their investigation of all the Russian relief work by a committee sent to Russia.

The National Information Bureau writes us that they did not endorse the Friends of Soviet Russia for two reasons: first, because at the time the request came for endorsement no audited statement of the Federated Committee mentioned above was submitted; secondly, because of the political nature of the appeal made by the Friends of Soviet Russia,—referring of course to their partisanship of the Soviet Government.

The Bureau states that the Friends of Soviet Russia were given an opportunity to join in the investigation of relief work, but declined to do so on the ground that they would not participate in the efforts of an organization which refused to endorse them. These facts speak for themselves.

3. It is charged that Dr. Jacob W. Hartmann, Treasurer of the Friends of Soviet Russia, made misstatements as to the manner of transmission of relief funds to Berlin.

The specific charge is that Dr. Hartmann stated to a *Forward* reporter that the organization had stopped sending money to Berlin, and that he thereafter reported upward of \$50,000 as "in process of transmission to Berlin". Both statements are correct. The organization had stopped sending the money, but \$50,000 was on the way at the time the statement was made. An examination of the accounts fails to show any misstatement. The published financial statement, compared with the charges made, shows that there was no discrepancy or mistake made, and that any misunderstanding was due to a failure to read the transactions intelligently. Mr. Stuart Chase reports to the committee that "statements as to the transmission of funds to Berlin are clear and in accord with the books."

4. It is charged that agents of the Friends of Soviet Russia in Canada in some instances collected funds without giving receipts.

We have seen the correspondence and statements on which these statements in a Canadian newspaper were based, and while they are specific enough, evidence to prove them is lacking. The amounts involved were small

5. It is stated that the name of Mr. Morris Berman was used as a member of the Executive Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia without his permission.

The fact is that Mr. Berman's name was used not on the committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia, but on the Federated Committee as a representative of The New York Call. Mr. Berman denies that he gave permission to have his name used and the organization is unable to produce any evidence that he did. This is a kind of carelessness all too common in organization work. It is obviously not due to anything more than carelessness.

6. It is charged that assets of \$4500 invested in furniture and books for sale appear without corresponding expenditures.

This charge is due to a misunderstanding of bookkeeping. Stuart Chase comments as follows: "Whoever made it is utterly unacquainted with the most elementary principles of bookkeeping." It is obviously not worth attention in detail.

7. Although no specific charge was made, some question has been raised as to the manner in which the Friends of Soviet Russia has banked its funds.

According to Mr. Stuart Chase some of the methods followed in the early months of the organization were careless and complicated, but there is no evidence of the mishandling of any funds. No question has been raised as to the diversion of any funds to other than relief purposes through any banking methods. It is merely a question of system.

CONCLUSION. *The charges of irregularities are, as the facts above show, due to misunderstandings of the complicated business of the organization and have no basis in fact. The committee is convinced that the business practices of the organization are considerably above the average, and that not as much ground for criticism can be found as with the average organization making public appeals for funds. Mr. Chase, in commenting on the methods of auditing and reporting, says, "I would like to state that Mr. Wood's published reports dealing with the finances of the Friends of Soviet Russia have set a new high level in the technique of report writing. I know of no other charitable or relief organization the country over which is furnished with statements of a like character and excellence."*

The committee was impressed with the soundness of Mr. Chase's observation after going over the reports in "Soviet Russia", and having in mind the reports of most such organizations.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The committee regards the charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia as the product of the unfortunate conflicts in radical working-class movements throughout the world. When men are moved by factional interests it is difficult for them to see clearly even the good work of their opponents. Their feeling is frequently more bitter and their prejudices more profound than against their common enemies. While none of the members of the committee has any factional interest in these conflicts, they believe that such conflicts have played a large part in promoting these charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia, which is naturally open to attack on political grounds because of its partisanship for the Soviet Government and its identification with the Workers' Party, unofficial and indefinite, to be sure, but none the less real. We recommend that the organization minimize the difficulties of that connection by prohibiting its agents from engaging in political activities.

It is clear that the organization has conducted an effective campaign for relief funds, raising over three quarters of a million dollars at a reasonable cost. It has raised it in quarters where no other agency would be likely to meet with success. It has harnessed the enthusi-

asm and zeal of hundreds of workers determined to relieve the terrible conditions of distress among their comrades in Russia. We have no evidence of the diversion of funds into other channels. There was no showing of extravagance or of irregularities which offer any ground for real criticism. We attach a summary statement of the important figures, showing the money raised and spent.*

The committee regrets the length of this report, but regards the importance of dealing fully with the charges as too great to omit any essential fact, in the belief that those who really care to get the truth will welcome it.

We can only hope that this statement, made impartially by men who have no interest whatever in the fortunes of the organization nor of those who have made charges against it, may result in clearing the atmosphere for continued service to a people not yet recovered from the terrible scourge of famine and the chaos of war.

Mr. Walter Nelles, who was appointed a member of this investigating committee, does not sign the report because he feels that it would be improper to subscribe to the conclusions, in view of the fact that one of his law partners has recently been employed as counsel by the Friends of Soviet Russia. He has examined the material and subscribed to all of the findings of fact.

(Signed) ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
TIMOTHY HEALY
NORMAN M. THOMAS
ROGER N. BALDWIN, Chairman.

MR. CAHAN LOSES HIS TEMPER

Following the release of the above report to the public, Abraham Cahan, editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, and author of the charges, indulged in a public exhibition of bad temper. He devoted many columns to vituperation directed against the committee, its report and the organization. He mutilated passages in a way that completely distorted the meaning of the report. But he found no space for the report itself, although that would have been a conclusive test of what the investigators did or did not say.

In answer to Mr. Cahan, Roger Baldwin, as chairman of the committee, issued a short statement. It read in part as follows:

"The members of the investigating committee appointed by the Friends of Soviet Russia have read with considerable surprise Mr. Abraham Cahan's attack upon their report. Mr. Cahan, we understand, published this attack in his paper, *The Forward*, without publishing the report itself, which seems to us obviously unfair both to the committee and to his readers. *We think the report itself is the best answer to Mr. Cahan's interpretation of it.*

"It would be improper for this committee to enter into any political controversy with Mr. Cahan or anyone else. But the chairman, in consultation with the other members, is authorized to say in the interest of a fair understanding of the exact facts that Mr. Cahan's strictures are beside the point and obviously dictated more by partisan feeling and political considerations than an interest in famine relief. No such display of feeling as he voices could be based upon a disinterested examination of the facts."

*The statement referred to being merely a resumé of statements printed at length in previous issues, it has been thought unnecessary to give it again.

Volume VI of Soviet Russia

includes all the issues that appeared from the beginning of January to the end of June this year, (344 pages, with many illustrations, maps, and charts). Bound in durable cloth, \$3.

SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

The Engineer in Soviet Russia

By FRIEDRICH

We reprint this sketch from the Berlin "Rote Fahne". It is written from one of the South Russian industrial centers by a correspondent of the publication now traveling through Russia.

A "RED MANAGER," a worker without technical school education at the head of every large Russian enterprise! On reading this, a bourgeois engineer in any country whatever will begin to tear his hair and exclaim, "What a fine state of affairs that must be! How can Jim, the fireman from the boiler room, know anything about a Martin furnace?" But the facts are the best answer.

Naturally, only the most capable workers are put into such high positions—and at present everywhere there is a class-conscious proletariat at the head of each enterprise. The workers are his comrades, not his slaves; and the "spets" (the engineers and technicians) are under his control.

What do the engineers in Russia say to this? How do they work under the new management?

Here in Yenakievo are located the Petrov State Works, which are connected with the Southern Trust. Before the war 9,000 workers were employed at this plant; today there are 6,000. The technical management is in the hands of the engineer Makarenko, and second to him stands Finner, engineer in machine construction, — the names are mentioned merely to forestall a denial of the facts by bourgeois litterateurs. While we were going through the plant with them, they made the following statements:

"How does production stand now? About 25 to 35 per cent in comparison with production before the war. Only one of the five blast furnaces is in operation today; of the four Martin furnaces only two are working. However, conditions have improved during the past few months and productivity is increasing.

"What are the difficulties? We should have more bread for the workers, but above all machinery is lacking. Our gas motors are thirty years old and can be run at only 40 per cent of their real capacity. The same is true of the electric motors. The boiler room has also been out of date for a long time. Moreover, we need highly skilled workers: boilermakers, smiths, locksmiths, lathe hands, all of the first class.

"Are we engineers hampered in any way in our technical plans? Quite the contrary! We are cooperating excellently with the worker-managers, just as well as with any other worker. They are assisting us in every respect. If conditions are bad in many ways, it is not the fault of the workers.

"What is the real trouble? It is the result of the war and the blockade: the old machines have been worn out and new ones have not been imported. The November Revolution had nothing to do with the impairment of the establishment; the civil

war with Denikin and the White bands did the damage. This place, Yenakievo, changed hands fifteen times between the Reds and the Whites. Not only was there bombardment, but the Whites wantonly destroyed the machinery, tore up the rails and blew up the buildings. Everything had to be reconstructed at great pains. And only since recently can we really speak of an actual resumption of work.

"How have the communists behaved in this matter? We are not communists, but we know—and every one else knows it, too, whether he be a communist or not—that the communists have been doing constructive work everywhere and intend to continue it everywhere. True, there are obstacles to their intentions, such as lack of material, lack of skilled labor, etc. We are on very good terms with the communists. If only new possibilities for further development would appear, such as a good harvest, more bread for the workers, increased demand, new machinery, the communists would help us out in every way."

In fact, every worker confirms that he is much satisfied with the work and the attitude of both engineers. The position of these two engineers may be compared with that of the officers whom the Red Army has taken over from the tsar's army: They have changed their minds. They know that the important thing is not a high profit, but the highest possible production. Their entire energy is given to the establishment, and they are happy to witness its growth.

True, there is also the other kind of engineer in Russia. These are the "old ones" who do not want to have anything to do with the "bolshevist youngsters". In their innermost soul they despise the proletarian power. They all wail over the provisions for the protection of labor. These engineers put in their eight hours mechanically and in general display no real interest in anything. They are more fitted to play the part of supervisors than to concern themselves with new technical methods.

Both kinds of engineers are today still found side by side, but their attitude towards each other is hostile. The ones have made themselves at home and are laboring hand in hand with the workers in the plants; as to the others, the proletariat will tolerate their presence only so long as they are absolutely necessary. There is a sufficient number of technical schools in which younger men, all of them workers, are being equipped with the knowledge an engineer must have. Within a few years these new forces will push aside the "old" engineers.

Russian Peasant Products to Aid Orphans

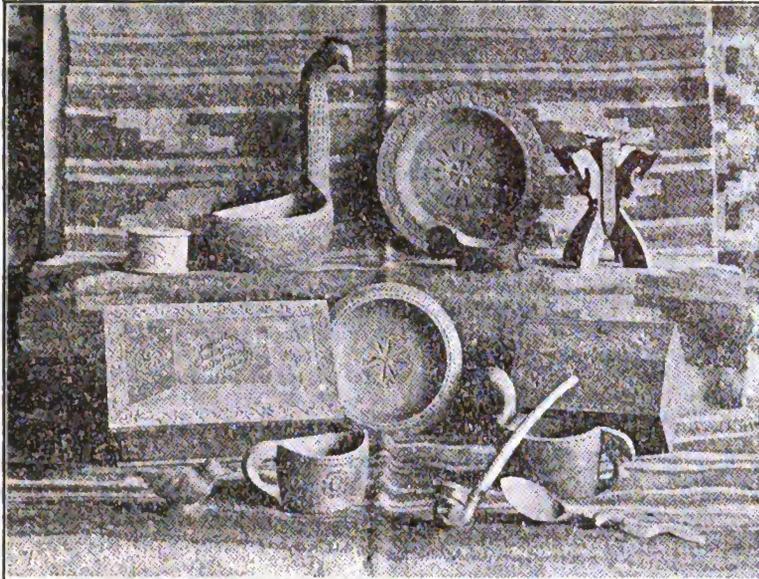
The Friends of Soviet Russia has received a large assortment of interesting products of Russian handicraft: 260 cases in all, containing about 50,000 separate articles in about 200 varieties. The selection of products in wood and cloth and bone, with its primitive colors and the aura of

Many cities in the United States will have the opportunity to see these peasant products, as it is the plan of the organization to encourage Thanksgiving Day bazaars wherever possible, with these objects as nuclei, and the funds netted to go for Russian orphans. F. S. R. secretaries have been

advised to proceed with the arrangement of such bazaars, informing the national office as to the amount of Russian material they can use.

In transmitting the shipments to America, an accompanying message expresses the gratitude of Russia for the relief provided by the workers here through the Friends of Soviet Russia. It is no more than fitting that art products sent in such a spirit should be used in connection with Thanksgiving Day undertakings.

A protracted bazaar is planned in New York, too, to be handled by the New York



romance that attaches to handiwork from distant places, is an engaging sight. There are trays and bowls and boxes and toys elaborately carved and richly painted by hand, each bearing the imprint of originality. There are dolls and colorful fabrics and innumerable little novelties fashioned by peasants in the Soviet Republic.

The toys and other articles, some of which are reproduced on this page, have an interest attached to them over and above their visible artistic value. Many of them were made in the famine district during the terrible year just past. They have been sent especially to the F. S. R. by the artisans as an expression of thankfulness for food that has arrived from American workers.

Different towns specialize in specific kinds of toys. Sons and daughters acquire the knack from their parents, from generation to generation. They have in this manner developed a degree of skill that makes us of the machine countries marvel. Two objects, let us say boxes, may look alike, in color and size and carvings. Yet, when the lid of one is tried onto the body of the other it is instantly apparent from the variations that the work has been done by hand.



local. Theatrical entertainment and other unique features will make it an event that will be remembered long. Those who have caught a glimpse of the collection are looking forward impatiently to the big display. It is guaranteed to make Russians homesick and to give everybody else the "wanderlust".

ART TREASURES IN RUSSIA

An interesting study of "Art Treasures under the Bolsheviki" by Francois Boucher will be among the leading articles in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

An Invitation Accepted

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation, organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, extended an invitation to the Friends of Soviet Russia to co-operate in the sale of stock. The letter of invitation was given in full on the back page of the last issue. The letter of acceptance is printed below. It shows clearly that both organizations are agreed as to the pressing need for immediate industrial aid to Russia. It also recounts the reasons why the F. S. R. joins the established enterprise instead of starting an independent corporation at this time.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation,
31 Union Square, New York City.

Greetings!

Receipt of your communication of October 10th, inviting our aid and cooperation in your project to secure the aid and the interest of American workers for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia, is hereby acknowledged.

We enthusiastically accept this invitation and promise you our best and most earnest efforts in the campaign you now have under way to sell one million dollars' worth of stock for the laudable purpose of Russia's regeneration.

That donations of food cannot permanently solve the economic distress of this first Workers' Republic is admitted, and yet we feel it our duty to answer the call for food and clothes and medicaments for the tens of thousands of Russia's orphans robbed of their parents by the serious famine of last winter. This call, just received by us, we feel sure will touch the hearts of all sympathetic Americans.

However, assisting in economic reconstruction does mean permanent and lasting relief. Having realized this from the very start of our work, not only did we send to Soviet Russia the agricultural unit of twenty-one tractors and accessories referred to by you in your letter, but the International Workers' Relief Committee, at its Third World Congress last July, organized an International Workers' Corporation in Berlin which, upon a program similar to yours, is now interesting the workers of all countries in aiding Soviet Russia fundamentally by helping in the restoration of its economic life.

This International Corporation is now floating a workers' loan of three million dollars, interest at five per cent, repayment in gold being guaranteed by the Soviet Government of Russia. The Friends of Soviet Russia is organically affiliated with the International Workers' Relief Committee and is therefore vitally interested in the success of the loan. A cablegram received recently from the International Corporation reads in part: "Soviet Government offers International Workers' Relief Committee reconstruction of steel industry with coal and iron concessions. Large capital necessary. Coalition of workers' relief organizations under International Workers' Relief Committee essential. This new decision of the Soviet Government an unparalleled opportunity."

The national executive committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia has decided not to distract attention from your splendid efforts by injecting, at this time, the project of the International Workers' Corporation. But our organization sincerely hopes that at a very early date such unity of your project and our projects may be effected as will make it possible for us jointly to offer to all American workers' organizations and sympathizers the privilege of participating in one gigantic undertaking for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

Until such unity of effort is attained, we shall give you our most energetic assistance. It gives us deep satisfaction to cooperate in a work such as that undertaken

by the Russian-American Industrial Corporation with a labor union as progressive and humanitarian as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. We would suggest to you that special efforts should be made to make plain that all labor unions and other working class organizations are equally welcome in this enterprise.

Again, greetings and best wishes for the success of your corporation, for indeed, in the great task you have undertaken you are holding out much hope to Soviet Russia, yes, and to the workers of the world.

Very fraternally yours,

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

SOVIET ALTERS RELIEF MACHINERY

Soviet decrees published in the Moscow *Izvestia* indicate a reorganization of famine relief machinery in Russia following the improved conditions. On August 30 the Central Commission for the Relief of the Famine Stricken decided:

1. To propose to the famine relief commissions in the famine-stricken provinces the reduction of the public feeding, and its continuation only for those who were left without any other means of living as a result of the famine year.

2. To propose to all famine relief commissions the reduction of their staffs by 40 per cent and also the gradual reduction of the auxiliary organs.

The Commission pointed out, however, that the work must be continued, especially with the purpose of overcoming the effects of the famine and rebuilding the destroyed economy in the stricken regions.

A decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee emphasized the pressing need for restorative measures, and announced this change in the organization which has functioned since 1921:

1. The Central Commission for the Relief of the Famine-Stricken of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee established on June 21, 1921, and its local organs shall adjourn from October 15, 1922.

2. For the liquidation of the effects of the famine, to create a commission of the All-Russian C. E. C. to be composed of the Chairman, Comrade Kalinin, and the members of the All-Russian C. E. C., Comrades Vinokurov and Smidovich.

The newly established Commission, it was further decided, was to take over both the means and the obligations of the dissolved body. A circular letter signed by M. Kalinin and T. Saprionov, addressed to all Famine Relief Commissions, put these decisions into effect.

OIL CONCESSIONS

The State Department at Washington has been asked by the International Barnsdall Corporation to approve a concession obtained by the Corporation in the Caucasus region of Russia. As the concession covers properties formerly belonging to the imperial family of Russia, the American organization claims that it does not fall under the ban the department has placed on Americans getting concessions to property expropriated from private individuals. No ruling has as yet been made.

Culled From American News

A solemn tribute to the memory of John Reed was paid by a gathering of his comrades at Park Palace, New York, on October 18, the second anniversary of the American revolutionist's death in Russia. The hall was so crowded that many had to be turned away. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn recounted Reed's services to the American labor movement, beginning with his part in the big Paterson strike of 1912. Paxton Hibben told of Reed's work in Russia and of the esteem in which his memory is held there. Fred G. Biedenkapp, of the Friends of Soviet Russia, urged the audience to be true to the ideals of John Reed and continue to aid Russia in its struggle.

Frank P. Walsh, former chairman of the war labor board, recently returned from a business trip to Russia for the Friends of Soviet Russia, says that the masses of the country are wholeheartedly behind the Soviet Government. The following are a few notable extracts from a statement made by Mr. Walsh to the Federated Press:

"I traveled 600 miles into the Volga valley, and found the rich harvests almost gathered. These Volga lands are equal to the best Mississippi bottom lands—black soil that produces heavy yields. Yet, because the famine last year resulted in the killing for food of all domestic animals, even to the dogs, not enough land could be cultivated by hand this season, and there will be suffering before the next harvest.

"Factories are being reopened. A cotton textile mill in Moscow that had 8,500 employees before the war now employs 6,000 people. They have taken the big white palace of the former owner, up on the hill, and administer and maintain it through a house committee of tenants. The hovels from which these mill workers moved to the palace were the worst I ever saw—except perhaps "back of the yards" in Chicago.

"Organized labor is the basis of everything over there. You can vote only through a union, but the law enables everyone to belong to a union. For instance, 1,000 doctors in Moscow can belong to the sanitary workers' union, which includes some 5,000 street cleaners and sewer constructors as well. Russia is a poor place for lawyers, but they are not discriminated against; 15 per cent of the judges are now lawyers."

Acting upon his own request, the Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia has released Comrade A. A. Heller from his position as its Representative here. Comrade Heller's office is now closed, and all inquiries about industrial and agricultural emigration to Russia should be addressed to the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, at Room 603, 110 West 40th Street, New York. A letter from Moscow signed by O. Boldvin, Manager, Department of Industrial Immigration reads in part:

"Dear Comrade Heller: In answer to the letter of August 3, we beg to advise you that we received all your telegrams and we requested you telegraphically to retain your position. But since you insisted we agree to your request. We hope you will continue to help us with your advice in the matter of Industrial Immigration."

Items From Russia

The Indo-European Cable is being rapidly repaired to establish direct communication with Poland, England, Persia, India, and the countries of the Near East. It is anticipated to connect Odessa for direct wires with London, Manchester, Varna, Teheran, Kertch, and Tiflis. All work will be completed by the Spring.

The Putilov, Lessner, Atlas, and other factories have increased the production of agricultural machinery tenfold since the beginning of the year. The Petrograd factories have obtained large orders from the Volkhov electrification works. Locomotive construction has been resumed. The Putilov works is finishing 34 new locomotives, and carrying out capital repairs on 238. The Nevsky factory is completing the construction of 9 locomotives, and executing capital repairs on 126. The number of workers in these two factories has been increased by 5,000. The Shipbuilding Trust is undertaking the repair of large sea transports, and is also constructing new boilers and tug-boats for the Marinsky system. The electro-machine construction industry is approaching 100 per cent of its program.

The Commission for Internal Trade has announced that all public, national and private enterprises are permitted to adopt trade marks which will be protected by the Government. Trade mark privileges to organizations outside of Soviet Russia will depend on conventions entered into with the various countries.

Two Russian moving picture films released by the Petrograd Cinematograph Committee, entitled "Infinite Sadness" and "The Miracle", have been sold in Berlin with exploitation rights throughout the world.

Commenting on the editorial indignation of certain American newspapers at the Russian reply to the proposal for an American Commission of Inquiry, the official organ, *Izvestia*, says:

"The American Government participated in armed anti-Soviet intervention at Archangel and in Siberia, and also contributed considerably to the failures at Genoa and The Hague. American famine relief efforts helped us to forget the evils caused to Russia through intervention, but this does not entitle America yet to consider Soviet Russia as a public hostelry. Soviet Russia aims at an agreement with America, but agreement is possible only upon a basis of equality. Russia desires to get into contact with the American market, just as America desires contact with the Russian market. The demand for equality cannot be considered as a challenge."

“Out of Their Own Mouths”

In its desire to variegate the mental diet with which it provides its readers the capitalist press sometimes brings news which is not exactly in keeping with its general policy. This is especially noticeable in the impartial news about Soviet Russia which from time to time gets into even the most reactionary sheets. Although it is possible that these occasional “leakages” are not due to oversight, but to the growing conviction that sooner or later the Soviet Government will have to be recognized, and that it is better to prepare one’s readers in time for the new situation.

The following interesting correspondence was published recently in the conservative Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* about the Russian Children’s and Recreation homes:

“On another day I took a little trip to the *Islands* and looked at the elegant villas there. Only a few of them are now inhabited by their former owners. Most of them were surrendered during the period of class struggle and were later on established by the Soviet authorities as children’s homes and recreation houses for workers, employees and officials. I entered one of these luxurious villas. In the kitchen dinner was just being prepared: meat, potatoes, apple juice. Exemplary order and cleanliness prevailed. The hostess leads me to the dining room, where about twenty men are sitting in their working blouses. They are not in the least disturbed by the fact that I am passing through the rooms, but I am highly astonished at the refined behavior and quiet that prevails there. In the billiard room there is life, too. No traces of destruction are noticeable on the furniture or rugs. The workers are allowed to spend a few days of vacation in these recreation homes. I also made a little trip to Peterhof in the Southwest to visit the same children’s home that I saw in 1920. The children gathered around my motorcycle. Some of them really recognize me, and the little eighteen year old manageress shows me the rooms. I did not find that it looked just as nice and clean as in 1920, but the beds were in order and the children were just as gay and neat as at that time. But they tell me that their board has become worse in the course of recent time as a natural consequence of the government’s economizing policy. However, not a single one of the children had suffered from hunger. They have cows, horses, pigs and chickens, which they raise. In a few days the oldest children, that is, those sixteen years of age, are to leave the school and begin their life struggle.”

Not less interesting are the impressions of a certain Baron von Medem printed in the ultra-capitalist *Börsenzeitung* of Berlin. The following excerpts may interest our readers:

On the Red Army:

“It is necessary to destroy the fairy tale that wishes and hopes have built up around the Red

army. In this powerful instrument of the Soviet Government the old tsarist officers possess neither the majority nor the leading role. Eighty per cent of the line officers have originated from workers and peasants. They get their education in Trotsky’s Officers’ Schools and are brought up in obedience to the Soviet Government. The Red Army is not an ornamental military piece, but it is a weapon. It is permeated with discipline. The human material is young. The Red Army has been organized anew from the very bottom. It has no traditions other than those of its victories over the White Guardist intervention armies.”

On the trial of the Social Revolutionists:

“Having taken part in the last phase of the Social-Revolutionists’ trial in Moscow and having obtained a clear idea of the records of the case, I must say, at the risk of being attacked from many quarters, that the facts in this trial were not quite as they were presented outside of Russia. Apart from the fact that the Social-Revolutionary Party inspired terroristic attempts which partially succeeded and whose perpetrators were arraigned before the Moscow Court, there was absolutely irrefutable evidence at hand proving that the Social-Revolutionaries inside of Russia carried on propaganda with French money in connection with the military operations of the Wrangel and Denikin armies, which were also paid with Entente money. Thus, the Soviet Government, which claims for itself the right to keep the power of the state, had to deal with an outspoken case of high treason; and the delay in the execution of the death sentence is only to be explained by the attitude of Lenin, who, after the result of the trial of the Social-Revolutionists and its effect upon Russian public opinion, is reported to have expressed himself as follows: ‘It is needless to put to death physically men who have been morally killed.’”

On the peasantry:

“The strongest safeguard for the Soviet Government seems to me to be its agrarian policy. To enable the Russian peasant to produce, to colonize him in single farms and co-operatives, where the famine catastrophes have again reduced him to a nomadic life, is the biggest agrarian program that Russian history can show. Wherever it may originate, a Russian government that put this program into effect creates for itself an unshakable foundation of power.”

IRRIGATION OF THE STEPPES

The River Ural and other rivers of the steppes may be used for irrigation purposes, if the report of a scientific expedition to the territory undertaken by the Commissariat for Agriculture warrants it. Should an irrigation project be found feasible, it will open a tremendous tract of country for intensive development.

IMMEDIATE PROGRAM OF THE F. S. R.

The workers of America, having demonstrated their capacity for self-sacrifice and their sympathy for the Workers' Republic by their inspiring response to the appeals for famine relief in the past year, can be counted upon to continue in the task of aiding Russia. Now that the first fervor of emotion roused by the famine has abated, the response to the new activities being launched will be a significant test of the sincerity of the American workers' interest in their Russian brothers. It rests upon those whose active support made last year's campaigns fruitful, and upon new recruits, to exert the whole of their energy to assure success of the projects.

Two undertakings, both of incalculable importance to Soviet Russia, have been announced by The Friends of Soviet Russia. The first is a drive for the "adoption" by Americans—individuals and organizations—of destitute Russian children. The second is a campaign to promote the sale of shares of the Russian American Industrial Corporation, founded recently by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and deserving the full support of all workers.

Tens of thousands of children in Russia are destitute, starving, condemned to annihilation unless help arrives quickly from the outside world. The International Workers Aid, of which the F. S. R. is the American branch, has assumed the task of providing homes, clothing, food and the possibility of an education for these children. It is in effect an undertaking with nothing less in view than the saving of an entire generation. Great masses of boys and girls have been orphaned by the cumulative catastrophes that assailed Russia: the blockade, war, famine. Either they have seen their fathers and mothers die before their eyes or they have been left with the last available crust of bread while the elders went off to search for food—and never returned.

America's responsibility in this effort to save the children of Russia from extermination is greatest because its

ability to give is greatest. The Soviet Government has set aside many large buildings which will be converted into Children's Homes caring for thousands just as soon as the money to equip them and to keep them running is available. *Two dollars will keep a Russian child fed, clothed and comfortable for an entire month!* Twenty-four dollars will keep a Russian boy or girl alive for a year! There are thousands of American workers in every community who will gladly pledge the sum when they realize the full significance of their contribution. The job is big. For the care of ten thousand children—the least that America should provide — twenty thousand dollars a month must be raised. In addition a large sum will be necessary for the preliminary equipment of the Homes.

The other enterprise, too, deserves thoroughgoing co-operation. If Russia is to establish the Workers' Republic on a permanent self-sustaining basis, its industries must be built up. The Russian American Industrial Corporation is doing a fundamental piece of work. Its rich concessions in Russia will be worked and extended, with the rehabilitation of Soviet Russia as the object in view. Shares should be bought in as large numbers as possible, by labor unions, other organizations and by individuals. Arrangements are being made whereby shares can be purchased on an instalment basis by those who cannot make an outlay at once.

Fred G. Biedenkapp, who is one of the best known figures in the labor movement of the east, has been designated to direct the F. S. R. work in connection with the Russian-American Industrial Corporation drive. He will start soon on an extended tour through the country under direction of the F. S. R., the local Conferences of the organization arranging both mass meetings and member gatherings for him. Biedenkapp has been much before the American workers in the last years because of his activities in the defense of persecuted labor men. He is an effective organizer and a fine speaker.

Relief Contributions, October 1-15, 1922

The following abbreviations are used: F. S. C., Famine Scout Clubs; F. S. R., Friends of Soviet Russia; RC, Roll Call contribution; TD, Tool Drive contribution; W. S. and D. B. F., Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund.

Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributors	Amount
12946	FSR Branch, Detroit, Mich...	500.00	12977	Richard Boecker, Rochester...	1.00	13004	Russian Technical Society, thr	
12947	FSR Branch, Grand Rapids, Mich.	125.00		N. Y.	1.00		FSR Branch, Lawrence, Mass.	22.87
12948	A. Kotilo, Coll., TD, Lady-smith, BC.	31.27	12978	Wm. Gustke, Rochester, N.Y.	1.00	13005	Cancelled.	
12949	FSR Branch, Mt. Vernon, Wash.	9.90	12979	M. A. Rothmund in memory of B. M. R., Rochester, N. Y.	1.00	13006	Walter Paananen, Penzance, N. H.	6.45
12950	Joseph Huml, TD, Cleveland, O	5.00	12980	Laura P. Brown, Warren, O.	10.00	13007	Chas. Lembin, Livengood, Alaska	5.00
12951	Bruno Richter, Portland, Ore.	2.00	12981	FSR Branch, Erie, Pa.	10.00	13008	Joe Kostevich, Coll TD, Newport, N. H.	5.00
12952	Julius Soos, Canton, O	1.00	12982	Julius Creidenberg, N. Y. C.	8.00	13009	S. E. Coble, TD, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
12953	L. G. Kosma, TD, N.Y.C.	1.00	12983	Sam Levinson, TD, B'klyn.	2.00	13010	C. A. Kaley, TD, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
12954	A.M.W.Pennypacker, TT, Philadelphia, Pa.	1.60	12984	Ed. Brandkifer, Coll. TD, N. Y. C.	2.00	13011	W.J.Conarty, TD, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
12955	FSR Branch, TD, Superior, Wis.	37.00	12985	FSR Branch (J. H.), Amsterdam, N. Y.	1.00	13012	Herman Heininen, Coll TD, Greenville, N. H.	3.00
12956	R.G.Davies, Santa Monica, Cal	5.00	12986	F. F. Zawlocki, Toledo, O.	1.00	13013	Jack Rantro, Sherwood, Ore...	5.00
12957	"Rusky Golos", Coll. N. Y. C.	948.76	12987	FSR Branch, RC, Pittsburg, Pa	125.00	13014	Gust Taura, RC, Cloquet, Minn.	14.50
12958	John Urganinac, TD, Palmer, Mass.	5.00	12988	Harry Greenberg, RC, Fort Wayne, Ind.	16.00	13015	E. Muller, Los Angeles, Cal...	1.00
12959	FSR Branch (Lith.), Pittsburg, Pa., RC, Cont. & Lists	25.00	12989	Alex Silvanen, Coll TD, B'klyn	56.50	13016	Mrs. Finley, Oakland, Cal.	.50
12960	Workers of Minna St., Coll., San Francisco, Cal.	3.00	12990	John Crawford, Coll TD, Phoenix, Ariz.	19.75	13017	Mrs. Osluberg, Oakland, Cal...	.50
12961	FSR Branch, Baltimore, Md.	100.00	12991	Jacob Becker, Coll RC, Glendale, L. I.	10.00	13018	James M. Calhoun, Oakland, Cal	.50
12962	Bakers Local No. 1, (Amal. Food, Workers), N. Y. C., TD	20.50	12992	Finnish Socialist Federation, Chicago, Ill.	27.40	13019	R. C. Holbrook, New Kamlicha, Wash. TD	2.50
12963	I. A. Van Canteren, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone	20.00	12993	FSR Branch, (Women's Div.), Everett, Wash.	10.00	13020	J. Soltysik, Coll. TD, N. Y. C.	2.35
12964	Wm. Krecok, RC, N. Y. C.	13.00	12994	Ahna Juantunen, Coll TD, Grand Rapids, Mich	6.25	13021	Sawwa Grinkaw, Coll TD, Wheeling, W. Va.	9.50
12965	Morris Aronofsky, FSC 98, B'klyn	1.50	12995	L. I. Fortin, San Francisco, Cal	5.00	13022	Peter Wolchok, Coll TD, Toronto, Ont.	2.00
12966	Finnish Branch, W. P. TD, New Rochelle, N. Y.	8.50	12996	Carl & Laura Brannia, Dallas, Tex.	5.00	13023	Geo. Camrчук, Coll TD, Utica, N. Y.	9.50
12967	Anton Kasulis, RC, Chicago, Ill	8.00	12997	FSR Branch, El Paso, Tex.	1.25	13024	Russian Dramatic Club, Coll. Haverhill, Mass.	19.75
12968	James Woods, TD, Port Hardy, Van Island, Canada	5.00	12998	Mrs. Ida Jackson, No. Hibbing, Minn.	1.00	13025	Society of Russian Brotherhoods, Woonsocket, R. I.	12.50
12969	Auston Bonddraian, TD, Attleboro, Mass	5.00	12999	Alber Hoglund, RC, N. Y. C.	12.00	13026	Mrs. Binchkowaky, N. Y. C.	5.00
12970	N. Siegel, TD, Evanston, Ill.	2.50	13000	R. V. Warner, TD, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00	13027	FSR Branch, TD, East Chicago, Ind.	24.25
12971	Geo. Boetel, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	13001	Children of Mr. & Mrs. Sotillo, Costa Rica, (San Jose)	2.50	13028	Mr. & Mrs. M. E. Carberry, TD, Castle Rock, Wash.	12.00
12972	I Crohman, Thane, Alaska	.50	13002	Robert H. Johnson, RC, West Haven, Conn.	1.00	13029	Geo. Gutekinat, TD, Castle Rock, Wash.	3.00
12973	Daniel Roininen, Coll TD, San Francisco, Cal.	4.10	13003	A. L. Cremasco, TD, Mona Lake, Cal.	2.00	13030	John Draka, TD, Coll, N. Y. C.	6.00
12974	Annie Keininen, Lists, N.Y.C.	20.50						
12975	E. Sonntag, Coll TD, N.Y.C.	18.00						
12976	Chas. Eisenberg, Rochester, N.Y.	1.25						

***Soviet Russia Speaks--
And The One Word It Utters Is--***

“ O R P H A N S ”

ANOTHER CALL FOR RELIEF goes out to you from Soviet Russia.
THE CUMULATIVE CATASTROPHES that have assailed this workers' republic—war, blockade, famine—have left hundreds of thousands of children homeless, starving, in broken health.
FATHERS WHO WENT TO DEFEND the Soviet Government against the Kolchaks, Denikins and Wrangels never returned.
AND THEN CAME THE FAMINE, and parents, giving the last crust of bread to their children, went in search of food and never returned.
THE PROBLEM THIS HAS CREATED IN RUSSIA IS COLOSSAL! Hundreds of thousands of the coming generation, future heritors of the Russian Revolution, are threatened with extinction.
THE WALL STREETS OF THE WORLD DON'T CARE! Billionaires and millionaires look on and shrug their shoulders. Soviet Russia is their foe.
BUT WE, AMERICAN WORKERS AND FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, DO CARE! Upon us rests a heavy responsibility. Soviet Russia must live. It is an outpost in the battle of the workers for freedom.
IF SOVIET RUSSIA IS TO LIVE, ITS CHILDREN MUST LIVE. The future is built upon children. It becomes our duty to adopt thousands of these orphans, to give them homes and food and care.
TO THIS TASK WE ASK YOU TO GIVE TIME AND MONEY. First: Adopt an orphan yourself. Second: Get other individuals and families to adopt an orphan. Third: Get your labor union, your fraternal, social, benefit organization to adopt a group of orphans. To work at once!
POOR, LONESOME, HUNGRY LITTLE CHILDREN PLEAD WITH YOU FOR COMFORTING ARMS AND A BITE TO EAT—YOUR DOLLARS WILL WORK WONDERS AND WE PLEAD WITH YOU TO PUT YOUR DOLLARS TO WORK IN THIS GREAT CAUSE!

PLAN: Soviet Russia will give the buildings for Children's Homes. In many cases these buildings will be the homes of the former nobility. Soviet Russia is helping mightily. Hundreds of homes are already in operation. But Soviet Russia needs help. The plan is to outfit homes to contain one hundred children each. Ten such homes will constitute a children's colony. Each colony will have one hospital. The cost per child to outfit homes is \$5. The maintenance cost per child is \$2 per month. Help all you can. Give what you can.

**THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
201 West 13th Street, New York City.**

Friends of Soviet Russia,
201 West 13th St., New York City.

Enclosed find the sum of \$..... to be used to equip homes for Russian orphans.

I promise to pay the sum of \$..... per month for their care.

Name

Address

City

(Soviet Russia—11/1/22)

November 15, 1922

NOV 15 1922

Fifteen Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

Semi-Monthly Official Organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia



HAIL THE 6TH YEAR

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"The Terror of the World Bourgeoisie"

By A. C. FREEMAN

THE unique character of the Russian Red Army was vividly illustrated by an episode at the opening session of the recent All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. General Budenny, the famous cavalry leader who played such a brilliant part in the campaigns against Denikin and against the Poles, appeared on the platform and delivered a report on the condition of his division, which has been placed under the direct supervision of the Trade Union Congress. Budenny received a tremendous ovation; and the Red Army, represented in his person, was hailed as "the terror of the world bourgeoisie".

The phrase was well chosen. The Red Army, as it is organized at the present time, is the strong right arm of the Russian workers in their struggle against international capitalism. It is a people's army in the fullest sense of the term; and it is identified with the workers and peasants in a way which would be simply inconceivable in any country except Russia at the present time. In every other European army the officers form a special caste, drawn chiefly from the propertied classes and strongly predisposed to reaction by every association of birth and training.

In Russia this process is completely reversed. There are 140 military schools, which are training 80,000 future officers of the Red Army. The men in these schools are practically all recruited from the workers and peasants, who are always given preference over the bourgeoisie in the selection of candidates. This means that practically all the officers in the Red Army, including even the highest will some day be held by men who come from working class and peasant families. In order to draw the bonds between the army and the workers still closer, every military school is placed under the protection of some government institution or factory, which supplies the military students with extra delicacies in addition to the food and clothing which they receive from the state. There is constant fraternization between the

government and factory workers and the military students who are, to a certain extent, under their protection. This relationship alone would be a sufficient guarantee that the Red Army can never be used against the workers.

Moreover, the whole spirit of the schools is calculated to keep alive revolutionary ideals in the minds of the workers. I visited three of the large *kursanty** schools on the outskirts of Moscow. They were designed for the training of infantry, artillery and engineering officers. In all three the walls were covered with revolutionary mottoes and inscriptions. Here are some of the mottoes which I found inscribed on banners or simply written on the walls:

"Long live the Third International!"

"The Revolution is a storm that sweeps away everything that stands in its way."

"Lenin, our beloved leader, born to us in the fire of revolution."

"Guard in love what you have conquered with your blood."

And everywhere the famous appeal: "Workers of all lands, unite."

In one of the schools there was a Karl Liebknecht reading-room. Here, beneath the pictures of the martyred German revolutionists, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, was written in German: "Your seed has borne good fruit."

Along with these mottoes and inscriptions the schools were full of memorials to those who fell in Russia's long struggle against invasion and counter-revolution. Near one end of a huge room in the infantry school a very small young soldier, with a rifle larger than he was, stood stiff and erect, guarding the banners of the school and the precious tablets on which were written the names of those who had fallen and the names of those who had distinguished themselves in the struggle.

*Russian name for the military cadets of the Red Army; the cadets of the old army were called "yunkers".—Ed.

In another part of the room there was a wooden memorial to one of the *kursanty* from the school who had died on the Yudenich front; and here one of the students had scrawled some rough verses, beginning:

"Here on this grave the toiling people bend their heads and, with flaming hearts and free souls, sing your eternal glory."

The infantry school had been an officers' school under the Tsar; and it was only captured after hard fighting in the November Revolution. The Tsar's portrait, which formerly occupied the most prominent place in the large room, has now been replaced by a vivid painting of two workers, man and woman, who are shown moving forward to take possession of the country which is now theirs. And this change is symbolic of the transformation which has come over the whole school. The portrait of Grand Dukes and Tsarist generals have been replaced by pictures of Marx and Lenin and the great Russian writers, Tolstoy, Turgeniev, Pushkin and Gogol. The old teaching of history along imperialist lines has given way to courses in the Marxist materialistic interpretation of history. The reading-rooms and libraries are full of working class books and magazines.

One of the foremost ideals of the Revolution, the care and protection of children, receives very practical application in the *kursanty* schools. Every school supports a children's home, where little boys and girls, saved from the Volga famine, are housed and fed and educated.

One cannot visit a *kursanty* school and see the remarkably democratic relations between officers and students and meet young *kursanty* who have already won the Order of the Red Star for conspicuous courage in the fight against counter-revolution without feeling that the gains of the Revolution have been made safe. The head of the infantry school said to me: "Some of us in the school are Communists and some are not. But we are all ready to defend the Russian Republic with our lives. The Soviet power can absolutely rely on us."

The *kursanty* schools provide one year's training for reserve officers and three or four years' training for students who wish to become officers in the regular army. During the winter two hours a day are devoted to military training, while the rest of the time is taken up with scientific and general studies. This disposition of time is reversed during the summer months. The candidates for the schools are chosen from the applicants who obtain the highest ratings in physical, character and intelligence tests; and preference is always shown working class and peasant boys. There are now one hundred and forty schools, training eighty thousand *kursanty*. It can safely be said that no other country in the world offers the highest military and academic training free to so large a number of students picked from the masses.

The Red Army is not only an agency of defense; it is a very powerful agency of enlightenment. One of the first duties of a Red Army officer is

to see that illiteracy is wiped out among the men under his charge. The difference between the old and the new regimes in Russia is perhaps best expressed in the fact that the Tsarist government kept its soldiers as ignorant as possible, while the Soviet Government is constantly devising new means of spreading political and general enlightenment among the soldiers of the Red Army. As a result of the poverty which war and counter-revolution have brought to Russia it is impossible for the Soviet Government to realize immediately its ideal of free schools for all the people. In the army it has found a rough but very efficient substitute, so far as the imparting of elementary instruction is concerned. The peasant soldier who learns to read and write, who gets an idea of Russia and of the world beyond his native village, and who gains some conception of what the Revolution means to the Russian workers and peasants will be an incalculable force for progress and enlightenment when he goes back to his native village.

It is the *kursanty* schools, more, perhaps, than anywhere else in Russia at the present time, that one senses the full idealism of the Revolution. The energy and devotion that formerly went into the active struggle against counter-revolution have been successfully preserved and directed into other channels. The spirit of the Red Army, of the Red *kursanty* is nowhere better expressed than in the oath which every soldier takes upon his enlistment:

"I, a son of the toiling people, take upon myself the name of warrior of the Workers' and Peasants' Army.

"Before the working class of Russia and of the whole world I pledge myself to bear this name with honor, to study conscientiously and to guard, as the pupil of my eye, the military property of the people against becoming spoiled by corruption and robbery.

"I pledge myself to observe revolutionary discipline strictly and to carry out unhesitatingly all the orders of the commanders who are appointed by the power of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

"I promise to abstain myself and to restrain my comrades from committing any offenses which would lower the dignity of a citizen of the Soviet Republic, and to direct all my acts and thoughts toward the great end of liberating all the toiling masses.

"I bind myself, at the first call of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, to come out to the defense of the Soviet Republic against all dangers and assaults on the part of all enemies. And in the fight for the Russian Soviet Republic and the cause of socialism and brotherhood of peoples I promise to spare neither strength nor life itself.

"If by evil designs I break this my sacred vow, then may my lot be general contempt and may I be punished by the stern hand of revolutionary law."

With Lenin in Convalescence

By L. KAMENEV

A short account by the Chairman of the Moscow Soviet of his last visit to Lenin. Below, a picture of Lenin and his wife taken at his place of recovery.

What was Lenin interested in?

The American Senator Borah, and the recently published letters of Korolenko to Lunacharsky.

The harvest, and the position of Comrade Joffe at Chang-Chun.

The progress in the collection of the taxes, and Comrade Zelensky's impressions of a rural district Communist group.

The internal situation of Poland, and a complete account of the work of the American Relief Administration.

The work of the trusts, and Mr. Hoover's position with regard to the forthcoming elections in America.

Comrade Krassin's negotiations in Berlin, and the housing problem in Moscow.

V. Shulgin's book, and the statistics of foreign trade.

The forthcoming trade union congress, and the extent of the sowing area.

The photographic experiments of Marya Ilinishna (Lenin's sister), and the grave condition of the People's Commissariat for Education.

The state of the Red Army, and the scientific organization of labor.

And many, many other matters.

* * *

What did Lenin condemn?

A good many things, but first and foremost, and with special emphasis, our bureaucratic methods.

* * *

What did Lenin praise?

The American comrades, the twenty tractors which have arrived in the province of Perm for demonstrating mechanical methods in agriculture, and the peasants of Perm, who, in remarkably rapid time, repaired the execrable roads and made it possible to get the excellent American tractors through to their destination.

* * *

What did Lenin talk about least?

His past illness.

* * *

And how did Lenin tell me all this?

In the space of *one hour's* stroll about the house where Vladimir Ilyich lives.



The Fifth Congress of Russian Labor Unions

THE fifth All-Russian labor union congress closed in Moscow on September 24. Though the fifth in point of time, it was in reality the first Russian labor union congress which occupied itself exclusively and practically with problems of production and working-class life. The preceding ones had been held in an atmosphere surcharged with civil war and, as can readily be understood, had been dominated by great political preoccupations.

The fifth congress drew up the balance sheet of more than six months of activity upon the basis of the new economic policy. It had to study all the aspects, all the defects of this new policy, and to outline for the Russian labor union movement a concrete, serious and immediately applicable program of action.

A difficult task! While all production in Russia was nationalized, the problem of wages, decided by the economic organs of the state in collaboration with the unions, was comparatively simple—despite the severity of the crisis and general impoverishment. Now the unions must fight on two fronts and rigorously coordinate their activity in two directions: in private industry they strive to better the living conditions of the wage-earners; in nationalized industry, without losing sight of that first aim, they pursue an increase of productivity. For, the reconstruction of major industries is indispensable to the existence of the workers' and peasants' state. And the unions must defend at one and the same time the particular interests of the workers and the general interests of the workers' country.

The fifth congress took this point of view. While noting wage increases obtained and undertaking to raise them further, the congress put the unions on their guard against the danger of certain illusions: in the present state of affairs it would be quite perilous to attempt to restore wages hastily to their pre-war level. The congress decided that wages shall always correspond to labor productivity,—the interests of the producer and nationalized production being considered the same. Besides, wages must depend upon the real resources of state industry. The unanimity achieved by the congress in adopting these resolutions shows that the organized working class of Russia clearly realizes that its living conditions can be improved only in proportion to restoration of the whole country.

Quite as important is the resolution adopted concerning strikes in state enterprises. The congress recognized the right of government workers to strike; but it was careful to specify that in socialized undertakings a strike is admissible only as a means of fighting against bureaucratic deformities in management and should lead to the elimination of its own causes as well as to satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the workers.

The congress decided that all forms of social insurance should be dependent only upon the Commissariat of Labor. It rejected all proposals tending to establish mutual insurance service. It likewise refused to make any distinction between workers' medical service and the soviet medical labor service in general.

In the international domain, the fifth All-Russian congress of labor unions decided to unify the representation of the unions of all the soviet federated republics in a single delegation—which it selected—to international congresses and particularly to that of the Red Trade Union International. The congress approved the tactics of the united front for the defense of the vital interests of the proletariat and for the struggle against the disruptive factors in the labor movement: reformism and the propaganda of certain syndicalist-anarchist elements.

The congress also considered the consolidation of the practical bases of the task of union education.

It is to be noted that the congress was, in large majority, made up of militant elements with from three to five years of union activity to their credit, that is to say, trained and tempered in revolutionary combats. So there was no multiplication of superfluous speeches. And also every question was placed before the congress from the standpoint of working-class interest, conceived in the most concrete manner.

More than 5,000,000 labor union members were represented, a very important fact which must be emphasized. It shows, indeed, that voluntary union membership, following upon obligatory membership, has in no way weakened their numbers.

"ADOPT A RUSSIAN ORPHAN!"

This is the slogan which must rouse the workers of America to action. The lives of tens of thousands of Russian children depend on the response.

How to adopt an orphan:

Send a donation of Five Dollars to help equip a Children's Home and Two Dollars a month to support one boy or girl.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 W. 13th St.,

New York, N. Y.

For the Proletarian Reconstruction of Soviet Russia

By MAX BARTHEL

THE increasing impoverishment of the working class in Europe is hampering collections for the relief of Soviet Russia. Europe itself, it may be said, has been visited by the scourge of famine. The portents of a tremendous crisis are now visible in the sky, menacing millions of workers.

But it is precisely out of our clear understanding of the economic breakdown of Europe that we draw the strength and appreciate the duty to apply all our energy, passion and earnest activity to the proletarian reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

Capitalism is as sharp of hearing as a predatory animal when its power is endangered and its profits menaced. Most of the attempts of the capitalists to conclude trade agreements with Soviet Russia and to take hold of the immense riches of the country issue from this rapacious instinct. The *capitalist* reconstruction of Soviet Russia spells a great danger for the world proletariat. It is within the power of the working class to avert this danger and to begin the *proletarian* work of reconstruction. Soviet Russia is not the country of the capitalists, it is the international country of the working class.

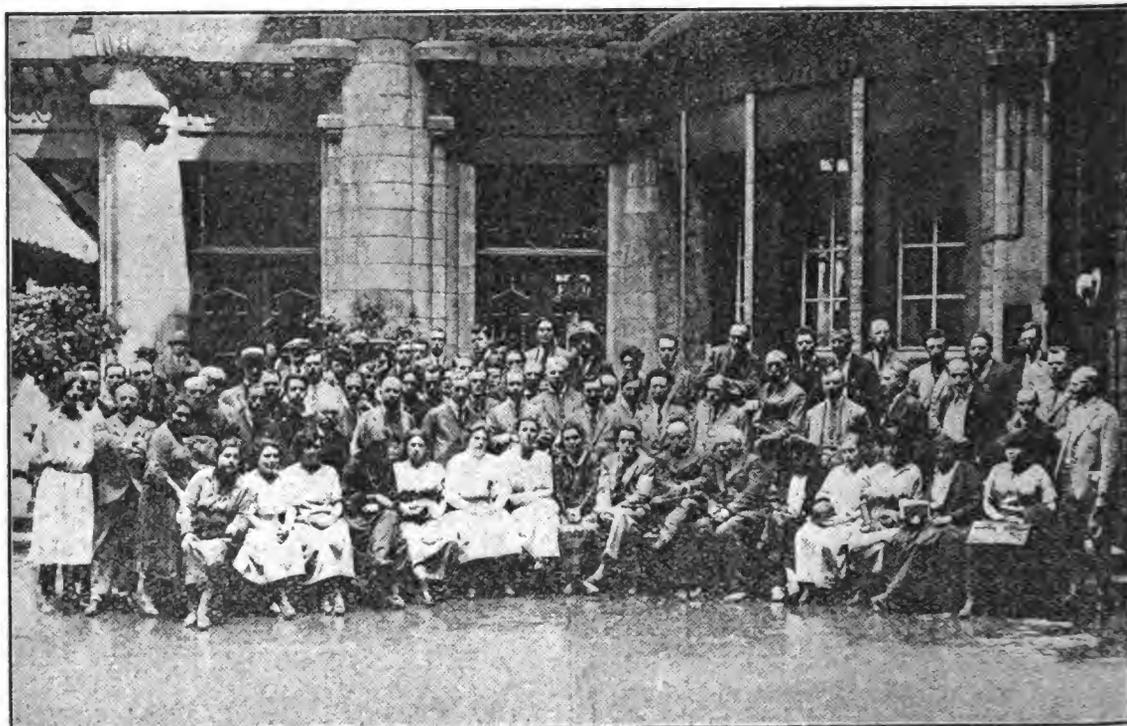
Prompted by these feelings, the German workers had already begun reconstructive help as far back as the summer of 1921, when the starving peasants of Russia were vainly appealing to the conscience of the world bourgeoisie. The workers of the "Nationale Automobil-Gesellschaft", Ober-

schöneweide-Berlin, with the help of three smaller plants, donated a motor truck with tool cases and a double set of tires. In their shop meetings they decided to donate a full day's wages and through negotiations with the owners of the firm succeeded in getting the motor truck at cost price.

This motor truck was paid for, not by overtime work, but by the donation of a day's wages; but at bottom it was an outgrowth of the idea of the *subotniks** which in Soviet Russia were a tremendous impulse to new productivity at a time when civil war was devastating the country and throttling the factories and means of communication.

This one example of the Berlin workers was a spur to the workers of other establishments. The workers of the Elite-Werke, division Diamond Works, in Reichenbrand, near Chemnitz, sent fourteen knitting machines to Russia. They knew that hunger was not ended when the hungry got bread and the despairing got consolation; they understood that the main task of the proletarian relief activity consisted in putting the factories into motion, in increasing production, and thus conquering the famine in the surest way. The fourteen machines of the workers of Saxony left Stettin for Russia on the steamer "National" on May 9, 1922.

*Voluntary work done on Saturday afternoons.—Ed.



Delegates to the World Conference of the International Workers Aid (with which the F. S. R. is affiliated) in Berlin.



GATHERING RELIEF IN SWEDEN

Wagons making the rounds for children's clothing.

There they were distributed over the whole country like auxiliary forces: Two machines were put in motion in Moscow and produced stockings and gloves; but in September they were dismantled and sent to Tsaritsin in order to give the fishermen in that place an opportunity to work during the winter months. Six other machines were sent to Perm in order to organize the home industry of that region. Two were sent to a Children's Home in Samara; two were sent to a Children's Home in Simferol, and the thirteenth machine to a Children's Home in Cheboksary. The fourteenth and last machine was unfortunately damaged in transit. As soon as it is repaired it will be put into action like the others.

In the struggle against the plague the workers of the factory "Sanitaria" in Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart, donated through overtime work nineteen injection syringes. In this work 150 working men and women took part through the donation of 750 hours of overtime. Only three workers abstained from this relief activity, but on the other hand even the clerks and the foremen took part in it. The firm gave these syringes to the workers at a discount of 20 per cent and in addition to this itself donated a set of injection syringes.

The workers of the dairy machinery factory "Roth" in Stuttgart produced five separators. Ninety workers and a few apprentices took part in this aid, workers' relief in the truest sense of the word.

By 700 votes against 20 the employees of the Machine Factory in Sürth-on-the-Rhine decided to donate overtime for the production of an ice machine for a Russian hospital. In spite of opposition

from various quarters—particularly conspicuous was the opposition of the Rheinisch Westphalian manufacturers—they carried their reconstructive help to the last hammer blow and delegated, as was done before by several other factories, a comrade to Russia to deliver the machine.

Finally, we may cite an example of the workers and clerks of the big Berlin newspaper publisher, Scherl, who subscribed money for a German tool collection (they could not collect for a rotary press) and with this money they bought on very favorable terms medicaments, turning over part of the money for reconstructive relief. The medicaments and

injection syringe were sent to the workers' dispensary in the Putilov Works. In this relief action we can notice a particularly significant fact, namely the sending of concrete assistance from one factory to another.

But in other countries, too, the workers are playing the part of practical solidarity in proletarian self-help. American workers of the Friends of Soviet Russia have sent a tractor group for the improvement of neglected agriculture in the region of Perm; from South Africa, too, news has come that the South-African workers are concerned in reconstructive relief. In Switzerland, in France, in Italy, this kind of relief activity is being discussed and will produce practical results.

The proletarian reconstruction of Soviet Russia prepares the way for proletarian world reconstruction. Proletarian reconstruction is at bottom a part of the class struggle. Every new machine sent to the working class of Soviet Russia is a cannon trained against the fortresses of capitalism.



Headquarters of the International Workers Aid in Moscow.

Russian Revival

Brief News Items from Soviet Russia

Reconstruction

One hundred and forty-eight American workers arrived at Petrograd on September 11, on their way to the Kuznetsk basin in Siberia, to join the American workers already operating the mining and engineering concession there.

At the Miloyevsk coal mines in the Don Basin there is a colony of some 30 American miners whose output is two and a half times as great as that of the Russian miners. The colony will shortly be reinforced by another 300 immigrants from America.

Extensive deposits of kaolin, graphite, and manganese have been discovered in the province of Odessa; work on these has already begun. Large quantities of bismuth have been discovered in the Trans-Baikal province, on the territory of the Far Eastern Republic.

The first tractor contingent sent by the American workers to help forward Russia's agriculture has arrived in the Sarapul district, 600 miles east of Moscow, where the twenty-one tractors have rendered great services in the autumn tillage campaign.

In Kamenetz Podolsk, in the province of Podolia, the electric station destroyed by Petlura was recently reopened, fully repaired, amid much rejoicing and enthusiasm. The town is now lighted by electricity.

The Russian State Bank has agreed to grant credits to a group of engineers desiring to take up the repairing of town houses. Credit is given on condition that half the buildings repaired are handed over to the bank within a given period (at prices to be agreed) in repayment of the loans.

Of the 2,200 locomotives ordered by Russia from Germany and Sweden, 529 have already been delivered, and a further 400 will be delivered by the end of the year.

In view of the splendid crop of beets the administration of the sugar trust of south-western Ukraine is starting work at 12 new sugar factories.

An All-Russian Jewish public committee has worked out a plan for the organization of a Russo-American credit co-operative bank with a minimum capital of one million dollars, to help the victims of pogroms, famine, and poverty.

Trade

The North-Western Department of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade is sending to America a large consignment of furs. This is the first shipment to America in some years.

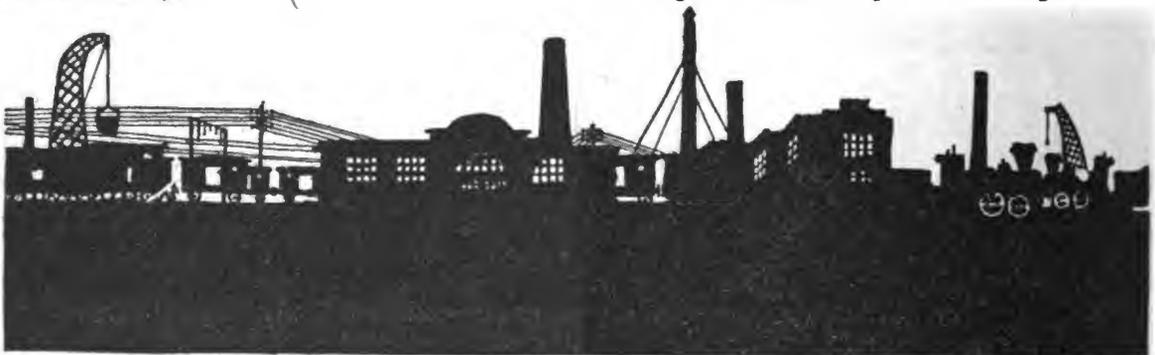
In order to prevent profiteering in grain, the State Bank has resolved to publish a weekly list of maximum prices to guide purchasing agents, and also to release quantities of grain at import-centres when prices show a tendency to rise.

The Baku Fair opened on September 15. Traders from Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan have arrived with samples and stocks of goods for sale. The Angoran representative and the German and Italian consuls were present at the opening of the Fair.

In response to a request from German firms, the Petrograd Department for "Kustar" industry is despatching to Germany about 500 tons of samples of peasant handicraft from the north-western district.

Moscow province has recently bought in Germany 160 tons of fats—edible and commercial—over three truck loads of aniline dyes, about 10,000 electric lamps and 300 samples of various medicines.

The five ships of the Kara Sea expedition reached Toromso, in Norway, a week ago, on their return after a most successful voyage. They are bringing full cargoes of Siberian produce to England.



Russia's foreign trade monopoly must be preserved intact, Krassin told press interviewers. Other economic organs may have their own agents, he said, but they must be controlled by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. Enlarging upon the prospects of foreign trade with specific countries, Krassin said in part:

"Germany represents a profitable market where Russia can purchase machinery and manufactured goods and export raw materials, but it can acquire no extensive economic importance owing to the catastrophic depreciation of the mark. Regarding French trade relations, we are still negotiating with numerous French trade representatives in Moscow. A trade delegation is going to Canada where we can develop operations by purchasing agricultural machinery and seeds."

Delegates from all the federated Soviet Republics will shortly meet in conference at Moscow to draft a Customs union agreement.

Cooperation with Foreign Capital

A representative of the Swiss National Bank has brought to Moscow an offer of credits for financing orders placed with Swiss firms. The offer is now under consideration by Gostorg (the State Import and Export Agency).

In an article in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, on the prospects of foreign trade for the coming economic year, Krassin refers to the rapid development of co-operation with foreign capital through the mixed corporations in which the Russian State participates. He mentions that the Hamburg-American Line, the General Electric Company, Siemens, Stinnes, Vickers, and Wolff are working on this basis or negotiating for the formation of such corporations; he adds, however, that the real obstacles to development are not economic, but political; only the formal recognition of Soviet Russia can create a satisfactory basis for all parties concerned, which would enable the rapid extension of this line of enterprise.

An Anglo-Russian Shipping Company has instituted a regular shipping service between Newcastle and Archangel. Four big steamers are employed.

Workers' Inspection and Anti-Bribery Campaign

During the last six months the Petrograd Department of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection undertook 683 flying investigations and discovered 172 cases of abuse of office, with the result that 185 persons were sentenced by the courts, and 110 removed from office.

An energetic campaign is being initiated in Russia against the evil of bribery in the public services, a relic of Tsarist days which the Communist Party, in particular, is determined to stamp out.

Art and Education

The medical faculty of the Donetz University has enrolled 350 students for the present term. Of these 250 are of worker and peasant origin, and 25 are Red Army soldiers. Ninety per cent are maintained by trade union or other working class organizations.

Twenty-two thousand children have been admitted to the Petrograd primary and secondary schools for the current school year. There are now in Petrograd 206 primary and secondary schools, twenty-six children's homes, twenty-four creches, and forty-five homes for defective children. Considerable work has been done during the summer in order to put the school buildings and equipment in better condition, and the position now is much more satisfactory than it was a year ago.

In connection with the trade union congress in Moscow during the second half of September, an exhibition of pictures dealing with the life of the workers was arranged at the Trade Union House by the Revolutionary Artists' Association.

The "Revolution" Theatre in Moscow is staging Martinet's "La Nuit," and will shortly also perform Toller's "The Machine Breakers." The productions are supervised by Meyerhold. The theatre will include in its repertory Essenin's play, "Pugachev".



An Aged Heroine

(A page from the struggle of the poor peasantry against the village rich in the Ukraine. Reprinted from the "Communist" of Kharkov.)

IN the village of Sasselye in the Kherson district the bands of rich peasants and black hundreds have killed Comrade Barmasheva, the oldest landless peasant woman and a member of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Comrade Barmasheva belonged to the few surviving peasant women who still could remember the times of serfdom. When the peasants were "liberated" (1861), Barmasheva was 15 years old. To the writer of these lines the landless old woman has told a great deal about serfdom in the Kherson district. Her tales alone were reason enough to revolutionize the village youth.

Before the revolution Barmasheva did not know how to read and write. This depressed her very much. As a very old woman she learned to read. She worked in the Soviet organizations, witnessed the energy of the communists, and decided to become herself a member of the party.

Barmasheva joined the party. She not only got a membership card, but also put the ideas of the party into effect among the poor peasants of the village. In the village of Sasselye she organized a commune, in which she worked together with the laborers. The famine and the drought could not break her revolutionary energy. The cattle died, the commune was starving. Barmasheva encouraged them all: "We will till with spades. The Soviet Government will give us seed grain. The famine cannot get the best of us..."

Before the sowing campaign Barmasheva went to Nikolayev, where she did everything possible, imploring all in authority: "Save our Commune, otherwise they will disband and will go as laborers to the rich peasants."

She obtained vegetable fat to sustain the Commune plowers alive, she obtained seed corn and returned to the village. The Commune tilled the fields with spades and somehow pulled through.

But the famine permitted the rich peasants to get stronger. Those who were moderately well to do, those who were spared the bitter cup of famine, were seized with a "skinning rage", as the poor peasants used to express it. In the course of the famine winter the poor peasantry brought all its possessions to the rich peasants to exchange for bread. Thus the latter became still richer and began to play the first fiddle in the village. And the ruined peasants are now going to them, asking them on their knees for work or for a loan. The rich peasants and the clergy formed an alliance which declared war on the "committee of the poor" in order to seize not only the economic, but also the political power of the village. And this was what brought about the end of our courageous comrade Barmasheva.

Barmasheva led a tireless struggle against the rising power of the village rich. When the state began to collect the church treasures, Barmasheva

succeeded at the village meetings in persuading the village inhabitants to pass a decision that not only the valuables were to be delivered up, but even the church bells were to be exchanged for bread.

The band of the village rich, the Black Hundred and the priests became excited. They decided to declare war on the poor peasants of the district of Kherson.

And thus old Barmasheva was murdered. The impudent village rich can rejoice now. But not for a very long time. The famine does not last forever, just as Kolchak and Wrangel did not last forever. The strengthening of the political power of the poor peasantry in the villages will be for the village rich and for the priests the fittest punishment for the assassination of Barmasheva.

No revolutionist can pass without deep respect before the noble picture of the assassinated Barmasheva.

The peasant woman who in her early childhood heard church prayers for a happy reign for Nicholas I, and who with sharp child's eyes engraved in her mind the memory of the cruelty of serfdom, who lived to see the greatest revolution in the world and gave all her soul to it, who with the help of the Bolshevik Women's Department and with the Soviet primer learned reading and writing at the decline of her life, who fought the power of the exploiters and the lies of the clergy, and lost her life in the struggle—this is a picture of such greatness and beauty that it should be immortalized as an inspiring revolutionary symbol.

The tsars invented the fictitious peasant Ivan Susanin who allegedly gave his "life for the tsar."

The revolutionary reality gave us an inspiring example in the peasant woman Barmasheva, for she gave her "life for the revolution."

SUCCESS OF THE NOVGOROD FAIR

Malyshev, chairman of the Nijni Fair Committee, reporting to the Trade Union Congress a fortnight ago, stated: "We did not anticipate such a success. Nine hundred and fifteen wholesale and 300 retail firms were represented. Persian and Constantinople firms participated. The quantity of goods brought to the Fair amounted to 75 per cent of the quantity brought in 1917 and 50 per cent of the quantity brought in 1913. In all they exceeded 5,000,000 poods (about 90,000 tons). Sales were enormous. We have begun to pour our goods into the Persian markets. The East is awaiting our products, and we shall have to develop our industry considerably to satisfy its demands. The Fair must be reconstructed and enlarged to meet the demands that will be made upon it next year. The transport services fulfilled their duty to the Fair splendidly; there were few instances of transport delays in the delivery of goods to the Fair."

Friends of Soviet Russia Activities

The work of the Friends of Soviet Russia, unavoidably slackened during the summer months, is once more in swing and gaining new impetus every day. The announcement of the two campaigns — for the adoption of Russian war and famine orphans and for the sale of Russian-American Industrial Corporation stock—was the signal for renewed activities in many cities and increased interest everywhere.

Fred G. Biedenkapp, who has been elected to conduct the F. S. R. work on the sales of corporation stock, is already touring the country. Mass meetings have been arranged for him in big centers by the local bodies, where he will speak on the question of both campaigns. He will also meet with the membership of many F. S. R. Conferences to lay plans for effective work during the coming season.

Funds for the establishment of ten Homes, to care for one thousand orphaned Russian children, have been voted by the executive committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia. As it takes two dollars to care for a child for a month, it means that as a first step in the care of Russian children the organization has pledged itself to send \$2,000 monthly. That, however, is no more than a small beginning. These ten Homes must be the nucleus for children's colonies resulting from American efforts which will house, feed and educate tens of thousands.

Thousands of working men and women will soon know that they are personally responsible for at least one Russian orphan. By contributing toward the equipment of a Home and pledging monthly payments, they will be "adopting" children. They will feel with justice that their adopted son or daughter eats every time that they themselves eat.

In view of the fact that Homes established through the Friends of Soviet Russia will be given names suggested by the organization, it is expected that hundreds of Homes bearing the names of heroes and martyrs of the American labor movement, American unions, American newspapers, etc., will in the near future exist throughout Russia as a testimonial of good will. Any group donating the \$500 needed to equip a Home for one hundred children, and 100 adoption pledges, will be given the privilege, whenever possible, of naming the Home.

The arrival of a message of thanks from M. Kalinin, chairman of the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee, and of a letter from Lenin also expressing gratitude for the work of the F. S. R., have added fervor to the work everywhere. Kalinin states that the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia "has saved tens of thousands of workers' and children's lives." Lenin's letter, which appears elsewhere in this issue, says in part that "no other kind of assistance is so important and opportune as the work carried out by you."

The following items, taken at random from the

organization records, are indicative of the growing activity in all parts of the United States:

Milwaukee and Los Angeles will run the Russian movies brought here by the F. S. R. The movies and speakers are in demand in many other cities.

A big meeting is scheduled in Bridgeport, Conn., with Mrs. Gitlow, the mother of our imprisoned comrade Ben. Gitlow, as main speaker.

A very successful Tag Day has just taken place at Moline, Ill.

The unions of San Diego, Cal., in conjunction with the Local F. S. R., staged a Tag Day that created much interest and netted a good sum for relief.

Charles P. Steinmetz, the electrical wizard of international fame, has sent a \$50 donation toward the work of the F. S. R.

Washington, D. C., Seattle and San Francisco report intensive work.

LENIN THANKS THE F. S. R.

A cablegram in the "N. Y. World" recently stated that Lenin had sent two letters to the Friends of Soviet Russia, thanking the organization for its work. Several days later the full text of one of these was transmitted to the F. S. R. by cable from Moscow. It read:

"Dear Comrades: I have just now made special inquiries from the Executive Committee of the Province of Perm about the work of the members of your organization, headed by Harold Ware, in the tractor group in the district of Perm on the Toikino estate, and have received gratifying information which has been published in our newspapers.

"In spite of all the difficulties, particularly on account of the distance of the place of work from the center and also of Kolchak's destruction during the civil war, you have gained such success as should be acknowledged. I express my deep gratitude and request you to publish this in the newspapers of your organization and also, if possible, in the other newspapers in the United States.

"I am putting before the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee the question of recognizing this estate as a model and of giving it special help in its reconstructive work as well as providing it with benzine, metals and other materials which are necessary for organizing a repair work-shop.

"Once more I express my deepest gratitude in the name of our Republic and I request you not to forget that no other kind of assistance is so important and opportune for us as the work carried out by you.

"LENIN."

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Published Semi-Monthly

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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THE number of destitute orphans in Russia and the Ukraine is so large that it staggers imagination. Hundreds of thousands of them wander helplessly through the devastated districts, where even the luckier ones, those with homes and parents, have not enough food or clothes. Only by calling to mind one by one the cumulative causes of the tragedy do we achieve an understanding of the situation. The children are the victims not alone of the natural drought, but of the combination of death-dealing catastrophes in which the deliberate heartlessness of international banking interests are a chief ingredient. The interventionist wars killed the fathers of thousands of these boys and girls—yes, even American bullets in Siberia! The blockade contributed to the impairment of machinery and the destruction of cattle, which left the population helpless before the famine. Refusal to permit trade with Russia through failure to extend recognition on the part of countries like the United States, is responsible for the destitution of others.

There is no need for self-deception, especially at a time when false optimism means death to thousands. The need for relief in Russia is still great. And the problem of caring for the children—for an entire generation—is especially pressing. The drive for the adoption of Russian orphans, carried on by the Friends of Soviet Russia here and by working class groups all over the world, deserves the earnest application of those whose work made last year's relief drives successful in so large a degree.

THE *Survey*, Graphic Number, November 1, gives a succinct resumé of the present famine status. It is worth quoting:

It was reasonable to assume that famine affecting some 28,000,000 people could not be liquidated in one season, however good the crop in Russia this summer. The effects of so far reaching a catastrophe would certainly endure

for several years, at least. For this reason, Litvinov's optimistic forecast of the Russian harvest, made at The Hague, and similar predictions of immediate prosperity by former Governor Goodrich, Dr. A. C. Ernst and other American Relief Administration workers were somewhat surprising. . . . More facts on the Russian harvest and more recent estimates are now coming to hand and, though none of them has or can have absolute authority behind it, they scarcely bear out these promises of plenty.

Colonel Haakell cables that over a million children will have to be fed until next summer. Chicherin states that "without help from abroad it is not possible to support those who are still suffering from last year's famine." A cable to the Chicago Daily News from Samara reports that Pugachev County, "one of the worst centers of last year's Russian famine, is threatened with even a worse time during the coming winter." A Paris cable to the *New York Times* says that "in Moscow the fact is no longer concealed that the populations of the cities will have an even harder life this winter than last"; and Walter Duranty, the *Times* correspondent, wired from Moscow on October 14: "Five million persons will face death by starvation from December until the next harvest and two or three million more from March. That is the aftermath of last year's crop failure, and in certain areas this year's failure also." Paxton Hibben, secretary of the American Committee for Relief of Russian Children, who has just returned from an extensive investigation of crop conditions in the famine area, declares that land which should have produced 40 to 45 bushels to the acre has averaged only 3 bushels, while the acreage sown is only 10 per cent of the 1914 acreage and but 66 per cent of the 1921 acreage. He quotes field workers of the Quakers, the Nansen Committee and the Dutch and Swedish Red Cross societies as predicting that the approaching winter will be worse than last winter, especially for the children, of whom there are some 600,000 famine orphans in Russia and 400,000 in the Ukraine.

Meanwhile, Leo Kamenev, head of the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee, reports that floods in the northwest of Russia (Petrograd, Tver, Pskov, Novgorod, Smolensk, Olonetz and the Karelian Republic) have left 965,000 souls without food while crop shortages in the Volga and Ural famine areas leave 4,137,000 who will have to be fed from elsewhere, a total of 5,102,000 requiring relief, exclusive of the famine orphans.

IN analyzing England's warlike anxiety for "the opening of the straits," the leading organ of English liberalism, *The Nation*, concludes that there are only two plausible motives to account for the country's demand. First, the fear of a war with Soviet Russia. Second, the desire for oil.

It is in the first place essential to understand clearly that the euphemistic phrasing of the British demand for the opening of the straits when translated into reality means neither more nor less than this: the right to send warships—and primarily British warships—through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea. Even a desperate stretch of credulity will hardly convince anyone that Soviet Russia wants war with England. Russia's basic need at this time and for many years to come is a pacific relationship with the economic forces outside, and especially with England as the richest of these. The whole tendency of Russian diplomacy has been obviously toward commercial understandings.

If war with Soviet Russia is "feared" by England, as *The Nation* indicates, then it is a fear growing out of England's attitude and policies rather than Russia's. When England considers it a paramount necessity to keep the straits in her

hands (though under the flag of the so-called League of Nations) it means that the English Government has not yet decided to live in peace with Russia, that it is determined to be in a position to send warships against Russia "if necessary".

The second of the motives, the anxiety for control of naphtha, is a phase which, precisely because it is at the bottom of the situation, is least talked about. Oil is not a polite subject for diplomatic discussion. The boom of warships, the drivel about "rights" to this or that, the hypocritic display of a politically-inspired, one-sided justice and humanitarianism which convince only those whose hearts are strong but whose minds are feeble—these come within the realm of discussion. But not oil.

* * *

AN item under "Russian Revival" on another page of this issue speaks of the struggle conducted at present against the evil of bribery in the various institutions of Soviet Russia. This evil has often been used by the enemies of the workers' republic as the basis for sweeping statements on the rottenness of the entire system that emerged from the November Revolution. And it was of course implied that the men who were taking the bribes were champions of the new system who used the upheaval for their own selfish purposes. This charge may have held true in some cases, as a political party that is safe against dishonest members has not yet been invented. The truth is that as a whole bribery and bureaucratic arbitrariness are but the continuation in another form of the struggle of the bourgeois elements against the revolution that deprived them of their privileged incomes.

The revolution was unable to transfer the administration of all public offices and of all industries entirely into the hands of proletarian and revolutionary elements. Class conscious workers and "professional" revolutionists from among the declassé intellectuals were competent pioneers in the destructive work of the revolution. They were also competent in the organization of its defense against the onslaught of the enemies. But bureaucratic routine work and industrial management was not their domain, nor were they numerous enough to fill all positions; not to speak of work requiring special qualifications and experience that had to be entrusted to the "specialists". Thus the bureaucratic apparatus had to a very great extent to be filled by bourgeois elements who were thinking only of their own enrichment and who by systematic sabotage were doing their best to create dissatisfaction among the large masses of the population. This surreptitious counter-revolutionary activity of the educated middle classes was eloquently described in the article by Victor Serge which is reprinted in another part of the present issue. Only a few months ago there was discovered a tremendous conspiracy of the technical personnel in the Baku oil fields which for four years was taking orders from the former owners from abroad and was systematically damaging the output of

the wells. The saboteurs were condemned to death but their sentences were commuted.

Similar activities were no doubt going on in other departments and as we go to press we read an Associated Press cable from Moscow, dated November 6, according to which

Eleven Directors and department chiefs of the Government textile combine were convicted on charges of mismanagement and double dealing with the purpose of defrauding the State and sentenced to be shot. The defendants were accused of illegally disposing of Government factory products at less than their cost of manufacture, causing a loss of more than a million dollars to the State. They had been on trial for one week.

We do not know whether the sentence will be carried out, but we do not doubt that those who cry the loudest about dishonest management in the Soviet offices will be the first to cry at atrocities if the criminals should meet their deserved punishment.

* * *

ONE geographical fact usually overlooked by her critics is a rich source of mistaken conceptions about Russia. This fact is that Russia is not "just a country" like Germany, France or even the United States. It is a territory covering one sixth of the globe; occupying, in fact, half of the European and half of the Asiatic continent. The distances are enormous, the transportation facilities insufficient. And so it was a matter of course for Russia, even before the war, that coal dug in Southern Russia was exported to Italy while coal for Petrograd had to be imported from England. This method was cheaper and easier than direct transportation from the Don basin to Northern Russia. Sending coal by rail such a distance would consume more coal than the amount shipped. Nobody criticized this method before the Revolution, but at present it has become one of the "proofs" of the inefficiency of the Soviet Government.

From reports coming from Russia through the Associated Press it appears that a similar situation may prevail the coming winter in the matter of food supplies. Millions of poods of grain will be exported to other countries through the Black Sea, while grain for the famine sufferers in other regions will have to be purchased from abroad. A procedure which, although practised already before the war, will certainly be used as a stock argument by the enemies of Soviet Russia.

* * *

THE letters and telegrams of Lenin and Kalinin expressing appreciation of the activities of the Friends of Soviet Russia come on the heels of attacks directed against the organization by the *Forward* and other groups to whom the favors of the reactionary A. F. of L. machine are of greater importance than help to the sufferers in Soviet Russia. As between partisan attacks inspired by mean factional jealousies, and the praise by two leaders of the first Workers' Republic, the choice for American workers genuinely in sympathy with the proletarian revolution will not be hard.

The Middle Classes in the Russian Revolution

By VICTOR SERGE

I.—Under the old regime, the revolutionary intelligentsia is recruited from the middle classes.

BEFORE the revolution, the petty bourgeoisie of Russia gave to the movement for emancipation the best of its children. The large majority of Russian intellectuals who, for more than a half century, sustained a struggle to the death against the old regime, founded great parties, and gave to the world and to posterity so remarkable a group of pioneers, was recruited from the petty bourgeoisie of Russia. They were sons of petty officials, doctors, tradesmen, the lower clergy; they thronged the Russian universities, which had become centers of revolutionary ferment.

This was due to profound causes. The old Russian regime added to the ills of capitalism those of autocracy, particularly felt by the middle classes. While the latter are in all democratic countries closely associated with political power and participate at their pleasure in the benefits of capitalist exploitation, they were shut off by tsarism from political life, deprived of certain elementary rights (notably of representation in the government), placed, as was the Third Estate in France before 1789, in a position of manifest inferiority with respect to the nobility, the high clergy, the high officials and some plutocrats. In combatting autocracy, the petty bourgeoisie of Russia was only defending its own right to existence. Its development was everywhere hindered. The conditions under which it existed were intolerable.

It suffered cruelly from the anachronisms of the old regime. The total absence of political life embittered it. In democratic countries a considerable number of people make a comfortable living out of what is called "political life"; journalists, lawyers, parliamentarians, molders and exploiters of public opinion in divers degrees. In tsarist Russia, the intelligent veterinary who felt in himself the stuff of a party leader or of a politician summoned to play a role in his province, was doomed to the most bitter inaction. Even the activity of literary, philanthropic or scientific societies, being suspected by the Minister of the Interior, was hampered in a thousand ways. And the insolence of the privileged castes added still further to the bitterness of an enlightened bourgeoisie, nourished on liberalism and envious of the liberties of the Occident. Up to a short time before the war it still happened that doctors or merchants were beaten by drunken officers: Korolenko has told about it.

This situation created, especially in the youth of the Russian petty bourgeoisie, a revolutionary frame of mind. One had to be a socialist. One became a socialist with passion, wrath and despair. For the price was big: often life, always freedom

and ease. But there was no other way out. The revolutionary intelligentsia of Russia gave to posterity the *Narodnaya Volya* and its magnificent terrorists, nihilism and its searchers after truth, the embryo of a great Marxist social-democracy which extends from Plekhanov to Lenin, a revolutionary socialism illuminated by the Lavrovs and the Mikhailovskys, the pleiades of terrorists who are apostles—Sazonov, Kalayev, Balmashev, Guer-shuni—anarchists capable of every audacity and every sacrifice.....

This was, however, but a vanguard, upon which all eyes were fixed. And one scarcely noted what forces of reaction and darkness came behind that vanguard. For the petty bourgeoisie, whence had issued the revolutionary intelligentsia, remained true to itself. Only a few perspicacious observers discerned, with painful sharpness of vision, the ridiculousness, the ferocity, the unfathomable stupidity, the sordid egoism of this innumerable "mediocracy". Gorky wrote his *Petty Bourgeois*. Chekov, with dry humor, depicted the shabby soul of a hideous petty bourgeoisie.

II.—March 1917 and democratic hopes.

For a moment, during the revolution, the petty bourgeoisie hoped to conquer. One morning in March 1917 the workers of Petrograd, driven to desperation by the useless butcheries in Galicia, the Carpathians, Poland, Volhynia and many other places, cast down the worm-eaten edifice of autocracy. It was, in truth, falling of itself. The reports of the Petrograd chief of police during the last days of the old regime announced the catastrophe each day. The working people applied the necessary push. And there were seen advancing on the stage a prince Lvov, a Rodzianko, a Miliukov, a Kerensky, parliamentarians trained in the Duma, who believed themselves clearly designated to resume the succession of the Stolypins and Sturmers and began by attempting to save the monarchy..... That was the dream of a great bourgeoisie with "constitutional" inclinations which saluted with joy the coming of the rule of money.

The petty bourgeoisie did not permit its realization. It wanted a republic. It streamed into and almost instantaneously assimilated the "Social Revolutionary" party whose ideologists and orators knew very well how to interpret its aspirations. The reign of men of affairs, lawyers, of an enlightened, liberal bourgeoisie, "highly advanced" of course, was about to begin. Beside, or a little below the national banner, they willingly flew, to please the mass, a red flag—a red agreeably approaching pink. They would be Socialists—and even Social-Revolutionists: that is to say, they would talk much, long, eloquently and seriously of giving the land to the peasants—as they spoke

of socialization in Germany. They would continue the war for justice—not without hope of obtaining the Dardanelles.

The workers' revolution in November annihilated this fine dream.

III.—*The battles of November 1917.*

The events of November transpired despite vigorous opposition by the petty bourgeoisie. It was, moreover, the latter that furiously defended property and the rights of the bourgeoisie. Already the financial and industrial barons had quit. In Moscow, in Petrograd, in Irkutsk, wherever there was fighting in the streets for the power of the soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants—who were the last defenders of Kerensky's provisional government and therefore of bourgeois democracy? The military schools, the students; in a word, the petty bourgeois youth. The same elements, in Finland, were soon to constitute the White Guards of bloody infamy. In Moscow, too, this armed petty bourgeoisie, believing itself victorious at one moment, began with the November battles to shoot its prisoners.

Is it not opportune to recall the role of the petty bourgeoisie of France, itself also republican, on the morrow of the revolution of 1848, when it entrusted to General Cavaignac the task of "saving society" in the blood of the workers?

IV.—*The sequel: conspiracies and sabotage.*

The November revolution was thus in the first place a victory of the working class over the petty bourgeoisie. From that moment, the expropriated great bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, frustrated in its hopes, formed a bloc against the revolution. But the latter is unquestionably the most dangerous enemy of the Soviets. For years it will maintain a tireless, incessant resistance, which no scruple will hinder and no repression break.

This resistance began on the morrow of the November revolution with the strike of officials and technicians. The ministries were empty. The municipal bureaus were empty. Bureau chiefs, employees, engineers were gone. For weeks and months they did not return. Rather let the city perish without food, without water, without electricity! "One does not work with the Bolsheviks!" Here was a danger of immediate death to the revolution. Would the workers' Soviets succeed in reorganizing all at once the public services necessary for the provisioning and life of the large centers? They did succeed. It had been intended to cause the fall of the Bolsheviks by the general strike of officials and technicians. They were disillusioned. Besides, at the end of a few weeks, necessity was already forcing a considerable number of officials and technicians to ask the Soviets for work.

Returning to the administrations and the public services, they inaugurated a new tactic: that of sabotage. In 1918 the great bourgeoisie was con-

quered. Bankers, industrial captains, big proprietors, having taken refuge in Paris or London, schemed for military intervention. It is the middle classes, almost unassisted, who put up a fierce resistance to the revolution in Russia. Coincident with sabotage, conspiracies developed and branched out. The most important of these is quite characteristic. It was that of the "Union for the Safety of Fatherland and Liberty", of which the ex-"Social-Revolutionary" Savinkov was the principal organizer. This Union, upon which the foreign missions—notably the French mission—set great hopes, recruited its active elements among officers and intellectuals (liberal professions, students, officials). From the social point of view, its class composition was sharply defined. Thence arose the confused character of its ideology in contrast to the clarity of its aspirations. The officers of the old tsarist army constitute the most retrogressive element of petty bourgeois "mediocracy": they are monarchists; and as it is they who go in front when it is a matter of being killed, their influence is great. The intellectuals are all more or less "socialist" and "revolutionary". The Union was non-political. It defended the Fatherland—and liberty. What liberty? Evidently the ideal of bourgeois democracy. It is this Union that began the civil war, at the express demand of the Allies (insurrections of Yaroslav and Riazan; capture of Kazan by the "Whites"; revolt of the Czecho-Slovaks).

V. *The middle classes furnish the cannon fodder for the White armies.*

The outstanding facts of the history of the civil war in Russia cannot be set forth in the limits of a summary. I shall cite only a few to show the role played by the middle classes.

The first counter-revolutionary government established in Russia after November 1917, is that of Samara, formed by the members of the Constituent Assembly, Social-Revolutionaries in large majority, who claimed to represent to a great degree the majority of the middle peasants, that is to say, the petty bourgeoisie of the rural districts. Their program is democratic.

From the Samara government springs, at the Ufa Conference (September 1918) the Ufa Directory, of which Avksentiev, of the S.-R. Party, is the most prominent member. But civil war inflames the whole country. It gives birth to armies. The proletarian dictatorship, rendered warlike, hardened, tempered by plots, criminal attempts, sabotage, foreign aggression, is an opponent much more formidable than was imagined. In Siberia, where the counter-revolution is for a time the stronger, the middle classes and their Party reveal their incapacity to direct a war that they are waging with all their souls. Their liberalism, weak and indecisive, merely prepares the way for a monarchist reaction. Kolchak has very little trouble in driving out the Directory and seizing power. The former members of the Constituent Assembly surrender their position to the military dictatorship of a tsarist admiral.

Let us take note: inevitably, in accordance with the logic of history, this military dictatorship could not conquer because it had to govern against the petty bourgeoisie. When it had shot down Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, it was doomed. With the middle classes, the only real supporters of counter-revolution in Siberia, Kolchak was soon unpopular, then discredited, then execrated. Upon the announcement of his first defeats, the whole country rose against him. The poor peasants and the workers had never submitted to him; but it is the uprising of the "enlightened" population of Irkutsk and the desertion of the Czecho-Slovak pretorians (whose "democratic spirit" has not been forgotten) which finished the Supreme Ruler.

With what soldiers did the counter-revolution make war in South Russia, under Kornilov, Kaledin, Dutov, Krasnov, Denikin and Wrangel? Three elements formed its armies: the remnants of the "Volunteer Corps", organized soon after November 1917 by military cadets escaped from Moscow and by officers; the mass of officers of the old regime; and the Cossacks. In numbers and political influence the last were the most important. People of the Don, the Terek, the Kuban, Astrakhan, the Cossacks waged a war to the death against Bolshevism before submitting to it. Why? Being rural proprietors, of warlike habits, of democratic traditions, understanding nothing about Communism, distrustful and hostile toward the working class of the cities, they desired neither socialization of land, nor a socialist republic, which it was easy to present to them in its least attractive aspects. And it was they who furnished the tsar's generals with cannon fodder. The drama that took place in Siberia is repeated with them in Kuban, Ukraine, Crimea. Confused and narrow democrats, the Cossacks served the monarchist reaction, which never hesitated to break their opposition by force. Finally, however, they wearied and began to understand. The Cossack youth passed over to the "reds"; the example was contagious. The rural petty bourgeoisie of Ukraine and the Don, witness of the incapacity and corruption of the "Whites", ended by preferring the "reds" to them.....

VI. The petty bourgeoisie of the cities, and the writers.

During the civil war the middle classes in the large cities of Russia, especially in the two capitals, resisted the Soviet regime to the best of their ability and succeeded in doing the country enormous harm. Their resistance was almost *unanimous, permanent, incessant*. It assumed various forms.

The active element conspired. In all the conspiracies the participation of the intellectuals (particularly from the universities) and of the liberal professions is notable.

Officials in the Soviets sabotaged. The former tradesmen, shopkeepers, business men, brokers, and clerks speculated. Speculation attained ter-

rible proportions and was a social danger. For it was always based, at bottom, on pillage or the diversion of collective goods — especially victuals — a serious matter in time of blockade and scarcity! Or else it trafficked in municipal food-supply in the rural districts, determined the rise in prices, aiding the peasants to starve the revolutionary cities. Even in 1920, dealers in smuggled goods, counting on the imminent fall of the Soviets, lived on illicit commerce, practised on a large scale. And despite every repression they never completely ceased their traffic.

Moreover, everybody was slandering, whispering in the waiting lines at the doors of communal shops, in the offices of State institutions, everywhere; sensational news spread—about the pending reestablishment of order; everybody endeavored to discredit the communists and the proletariat, and contributed to the creation of an unendurable atmosphere of petty hate, of ill will and passive resistance to the revolution, passive through cowardice.

Another very significant fact that must be attributed to the resistance of the petty bourgeois of the cities: the attitude of the writers toward the revolution.

With the exception of an extremely small number, all the journalists, all the writers remaining in Soviet Russia—many because of the material impossibility of emigrating—were open or secret enemies of the regime. The best known set the example by placing their talents at the service of reaction. This was the case with Andreyev, Merezhkovsky, Ivan Bunin, Amfiteatov, E. Chirikov, Kuprin.

Of the great Russian writers only one was early to range himself on the side of the proletarian revolution: Gorki. And he is precisely the only one who, by his origin, is altogether foreign to the petty bourgeoisie. Gorki, until the moment when his immense talent came to light, was in turn a tramp and a worker.

VII. In 1919 the petty bourgeoisie adapts itself to the Revolution and little by little invades Soviet institutions.

At the end of 1919 the White armies were everywhere vanquished. Denikin is in flight, Kolchak is in retreat, Yudenich is crushed, the Archangel government endures only by grace of an English general. In the interior of the country the armed resistance of the middle classes declines and ceases. Without external military support they do not feel capable of conquering; then they have been doubly disillusioned by the collapse of their hopes and by the treatment inflicted upon them by several military dictators. But it is now that they become most dangerous to the revolution.

The petty bourgeoisie begins to adapt itself to the revolution. It has learned much, it has been trained to warfare. It knows how much it is needed. The technician no longer risks his skin in

hazardous plots. On the contrary, he works, *he installs himself in the revolution*, demands a good ration and gets it while communists and proletarians continue to die of hunger; he becomes indispensable.

The officers enter into the Red army, where, however, the customs of revolutionary war do not allow much scope for their influence. The young ladies enter the soviet bureaus. Likewise the officials, the merchants, the traders. It is often with the best of intentions.

In a few months the Soviet administrations have been invaded—one is sometimes tempted to write *conquered*—by the petty bourgeoisie.

There are, indeed, proved revolutionists at the

head of the administrations. But they are overwhelmed. In the immense country they constitute but a small minority, whose blood has flowed profusely during the war, and which assumes all the responsibilities just as it faces all the perils. What remains in the bureaus? Persons who have come to install themselves there merely to be at ease and because they have to live.

Into the Soviet administrations the petty bourgeoisie brings its habits, its mentality, its class solidarity, even its manner of speech. It very quietly reconstitutes the *bureaucracy*.

Lenin observes in 1920 that *we have a workers' and peasants' state deformed by bureaucracy*.

(To be continued in next issue)

Women in New Russia

By HULET M. WELLS

Impressions of the well known labor leader of Seattle from his sojourn in Soviet Russia. Our next issue will contain another article of his pen dealing with the Oriental women in Russia.

IT must not be supposed that in writing about women in new Russia I am making a profound study of Eastern feminism. It takes a specialist to do that, and it takes time. The short months of my Russian summer sped away and though I tried to keep my mind open to impressions like a movie camera with a dictaphone attachment, the field of observation was too broad to faithfully reflect all the details. Whence such details as I remember about many things may be more or less insignificant or more or less imperfectly defined.

Especially is this likely to be true about women, for what man is likely to remember the details of women's looks or dress or manners, except as to whether the effect is pleasing or displeasing? And distinctly the Russian girls were pleasing—yes, that much I will say. I never got over a sort of shocked patriotic surprise to find so much female beauty outside of the Anglo-Saxon race.

One is bewildered too by the variety of types—the slow, impassive, sturdy women of the north, who show their Finnish origin; statuesque, voluptuous types from Latvia and Esthonia; jolly, red-cheeked, German looking girls from Ukrainia, and dark haired beauties from the Volga, while here and there are actually to be seen the lazy grace, milky skin, and soulful eyes by which our stage and literature has typified for us the upper-class ladies of an age that, in Russia, already seems remote.

Of course it is hardly to be expected that all Russian women are young and beautiful, but no visitor, I think, can escape the general effect of buxom strength and free unfettered grace. Always as I looked at them the thought sprang in my mind that these straight, strong, deep-breasted women looked like the mothers of a conquering race—a race conquering by kindness and fair dealing, conquering by sanity in a mad world.

The national dress of the Russian men is quite distinctive, but I was surprised to find how little

difference there seemed to be between the appearance of the better dressed of the Russian women and the women-folk to whom I had always been accustomed. In some European countries short skirts have always been a feature of the national dress. I was told that this had not been true in Russia, but now I found that this fashion was the same there as over most of the world, and certainly most of the Russian women had little reason for shunning the new style.

Also, there are few countries where the stock-ingless style could get by with such a pleasing effect. The habit of discarding stockings during the summer months seemed to originate from three sources. There were, first, the poorer peasant women, with whom it was an old custom; second, those for whom war and blockade made it a simple economy; third, those who took it up from choice as an agreeable fashion. The latter class of women wore pretty clothes and neat white shoes with or without short socks. Probably two thirds of the women, however, did not take up the habit. They wore neat white stockings, but few silks.

Another severe test of beauty is the head-dress worn by nearly all Russian women. This is a kerchief of bright colored cloth, generally silk, passed straight across the forehead and tied in a square knot at the back of the head. As an American girl said to me, "You have to be awfully pretty to get away with it."

Russian femininity does not indulge much in cosmetics, if I am any judge. Still there were in the old days a good many beauty shops along the fashionable streets of Moscow and Petrograd. Their dusty fixtures and faded window trimmings were still in evidence. Considerable stocks of their wares had come into possession of the Department of Public Economy when private business was abolished. In May, 1921, at a two-day conference of the Communist Party, the question of what the Government could exchange with the

peasants for food, was under consideration. "We can give them plenty of face powder," said Lenin with a grin, "and other useful things for the women, but ikons or vodka we will not furnish you at any price."

It is no exaggeration to say that a different relationship exists in Russia between men and women, than in any other country. Politically and economically they are on the same footing, and this is inevitably reflected in their social and domestic life. In the old days there were two sets of domestic manners in Russia. In the aristocratic class men treated women of their own rank, when in public, with an affected and exaggerated courtesy entirely superficial and meaningless. Of their private relationships, generally speaking, the less said the better.

The domestic life of the lower class, as I have been told by those who knew it, alternated between the good-humored affection that is their natural characteristic, and the brutality caused by vodka. But now social changes and the abolishing of the vodka traffic seemed to have gone far toward establishing a new attitude of each sex toward the other, an attitude of frank and kindly comradeship.

It was a pleasure to observe the demeanor of the young men toward their girl friends. There seemed to me to be a total absence of the rowdiness or the foolish horseplay that seem to be the only resource of so many young Americans. Crowds of the boys and girls from Sverdlov University used to come down in the late evening to the hotels where the foreign delegates were living, and serenade us with their Russian songs. But oh, how different from an American college mob they were!

They would come marching along the street in orderly formation, singing as they went, or talking and laughing in a well bred way in low pitched voices. Boys walked beside girls, but there was none of the familiar scuffling and philandering. They would sing several songs, listen quietly and applaud politely in response to the speeches made to them, then with a cheer for the world revolution go singing on their way.

One night I went to a soiree given by the cadets of an officers' training school inside the Kremlin. There was some instrumental music and chorus singing interspersed with speeches. The audience consisted almost entirely of the cadets in their smart uniforms and girls in neat white dresses. I gathered that there would be dancing after the entertainment. I did not notice any chaperones. If there were any they were very few. I rather think the chaperone in Russia is in danger of becoming extinct.

A recess was declared while preparations were being made for a playlet, and I started home. Almost all the audience had filed out ahead of me. I came out on an interminably long corridor that ran around the building. Here I found the crowd had suddenly arranged itself into a long procession moving quietly, two by two, along the

corridor. Some of the girls rested their hands on the arms of their boyish companions; others held rather primly aloof. There was no hubbub, no boisterous laughter, just smiles, low toned conversation, the swish of feminine garments, and the movement of many feet. It was a pretty picture.

Occasionally one sees a trace of the grand manner of the upper class of other days. It is not to be found about the theatre, for that has been popularized, but those to whom the old airs still cling are likely to be found at the best operas and especially at the high class concerts. At an opera in Petrograd a friend introduced me to the manager. When he presented the two ladies who accompanied us, the manager bowed low and kissed the hand of each. A young poet with wavy hair and without any hat came up just then and after kissing of hands had been repeated, proceeded to compliment the young lady school teacher from America in such poetic vein that my friend was somewhat embarrassed in the translation.

In the great building of the Conservatory of Music in Moscow I listened to a concert of classical music. Here the upper classes of former days were present in such force as they could muster, and such finery as had not gone the way of the market place. Oh, the grand manner, the courtly bows, the polished speeches! I could fancy how they craved each other's commiseration and moral support, with what grotesque airs they tried to play their old role, and with what cold disdain they strove to ignore the common folks who pushed their way in even here and made up more than half of the audience.

The women singers wore gowns with long trains, cut very moderately décolleté, and with long gloves. They looked like fashion plates during Cleveland's first Administration. The male singers, the accompanists and the gentleman who announced the numbers with great dignity and impressive flourishes, were all dressed in fine evening clothes of a rather old fashioned cut.

The stage was very deep, and along the back of it there ran a row of seats which had been filled with ladies from the audience. It was a good place to display one's clothes, and most of them had probably chosen it for that reason. One comely and intelligent looking young woman had not chosen it for that reason. Her dress was good but not elaborate, and she had bare legs. This need have caused her no embarrassment in any ordinary crowd, but presently she looked along the row of hosiery to right and left of her and, discovering her conspicuousness, tucked her shapely ankles out of sight.

The rare glimpses that I had of the old attitude toward women only served to emphasize how completely the status of the sex has changed under a system of social equality. Frequently since my return I have been questioned about the state of what is called "morality". Some of these inquiries are so blatantly ignorant and obscene that I am struck with a sense of futility before the apparent-

ly hopeless vulgarity of the average "civilized" mind.

In Russia all members of society being put on the same economic footing, men and women, for the first time since savagery, faced each other as economic equals. Men had nothing of value with which to buy women. Mutual love was the only incentive to sexual union. Prostitution died.

Almost, but not quite. In the big cities there were some foreign visitors who had money to spend for pleasure. Doubtless a few speculators also, though not many. And there were a few girls haunting the night streets looking for such as these, but not wasting their time on the ordinary man who, they know, had nothing to offer.

People never seemed to go to bed in Moscow as long as there was anything else to do, and the wide tree-shaded boulevards that run in concentric circles with the Kremlin at the center, were crowded till late into the night with promenaders. Here thousands of young women strolled with their men friends, the majority of whom were in uniform. I never saw anywhere crowds more orderly, people more kindly natured, men more respectful or women more modest.

To sum up this phase of my subject I would say, there is no over-emphasis on sex in Russia. It is taken in a matter of course way as one of the interesting, but not disgraceful, facts of life. No morbid hysteria centers around women. They are fellow workers with men in the planning and building of the new Russia.

The removal of economic impediments caused a marked increase in marriages, which was naturally greatest in the cities. I do not know the figures for the whole of Russia, but statistics for Petrograd during the preceding year showed, in proportion to population, about four times the normal number recorded under the old conditions. Divorce was not so much different from the law in the State of Washington, except that it was not commercialized by lawyers. Divorce may be granted here for any cause that to the judge seems sufficient indication that the parties cannot live together amicably. There, a statement of reasons by either party is sufficient cause. It was found however, that so many remarriages took place after quarrels were made up, that the lapse of a short time was required after application, before the divorce was granted.

Art Treasures Under the Bolsheviki

By FRANCOIS BOUCHER

Among the most interesting articles appearing in Volume VI of SOVIET RUSSIA were those from the pen of Jacques Mesnil on art under the Soviet Government, in the issues of May 1 and 15. The following contribution by another distinguished French critic is far less friendly to the Soviet Government in its tone, but just because of this unfriendliness of its author, the admissions it makes of the seriousness of the Soviet Government's attitude toward art are all the more valuable.

THE immense heritage of art held in Russia has for seven years been exposed to the greatest dangers: first to the dangers of foreign war, and then to those of internal revolution. What had become of its ecclesiastical treasures, of its old monuments, of its rich public and private collections, of that great museum, the Ermitage, known to all? The most fantastic rumors have been in circulation on this subject, and the confused events of the November Revolution have prevented the checking up of these rumors until long after their circulation. These rumors even went so far as to declare that on the occasion of a great transfer of art treasures from Petrograd to Moscow, in 1917, a dozen Rembrandts and several Titians had gone so far astray that one of the works of the painter of "The Lesson in Anatomy" was later found in a pitiable state in the izba of a poor muzhik. Of course this tale was false: the Ermitage did not have a dozen Rembrandts. Newspapers also stated that cases containing French objects of art had been found in the cellars of the Winter Palace, which had not been opened since the reign of Catherine II! Thanks to the information which we have been receiving during the last few years, we are now in a better position to state what has been the fate of the art resources of Russia during this eventful period.

This information is the more interesting to us by reason of the fact that a considerable portion of these riches is made up of French works; for, particularly during the 18th Century, Russian sovereigns, notably the Empress Catherine, caused a considerable number of objects of art to be brought from France for the embellishment of their new palaces, which were also in the French style.

While but a small number of furnishings and paintings from the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV and of the

Regency Period are found in Russia, there are a great number of all sorts of things that were sent to Russia during the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI by such men as Grimm and Diderot, or which were left in Russia by artists that had been summoned to that country by Catherine II: Le Blond, N. Pineau, Le Lorrain, Lagrenée, Falconet,* etc. It is in the Imperial and in the various private collections that we find, furthermore, the goldsmith work of such masters as Ballin, Roettiers, Auguste, Germain, the chests of drawers by Foullet, de Cressent, and Leleu, portraits by Mme. Vigée-Lebrun, marbles by Houdon, and all the beautiful furniture, in the Empire style, which Russian craftsmen have been at an effort to copy until about 1840. French art is generously represented in these collections, which are veritable private museums founded, under the influence of Catherine II, toward the end of the 18th Century, and which were, until half a century ago, all that Russia had in the way of museums, with the exception of a few large galleries devoted to the national forms of art. It is therefore of the greatest importance to those who are interested in the history of French art to be informed as to the history of all the art works that have been preserved in Russia.

As soon as the Revolution of March, 1917, broke out, a number of museum custodians and scholars attempted to secure organized methods for preserving, if not for removing, the wealth of art that might be menaced at

*Etienne Marie Falconet (1716-1789) spent twelve years in St. Petersburg, where he executed for Catherine II a colossal statue in bronze of Peter the Great (unveiled August 6, 1782). This statue is the well known representation of the monarch seated upon a prancing steed, which is trampling a serpent (Sweden) under foot.

Petrograd or in the vicinity, and made particular efforts to take charge of the Imperial palaces, in order to prevent pillaging. The Kerensky Government thereupon assembled in Petrograd about forty delegates elected by artists, writers, and technical men; these delegates distributed among themselves the considerable problems which had devolved upon them, with the aid of the head of the Department of Fine Arts, Golovin, former President of the Duma. Thus Count Zubov, founder of the Museum for the History of the Fine Arts, Weiner, and Polovtsev, Curator of the Steglitz Museum, undertook the organization of the museum which had been formed at Gatchina, the former Palace of Paul I; Bernstamm, former Librarian of the Academy of Fine Arts, became the Curator of Peterhof; Vereshchagin and Benoit managed the Winter Palace at Petrograd, and Lukomsky was charged with establishing a museum at Tsarskoye Selo, the Palace of Nicholas II.

Two months were thus spent in drawing up an inventory of the collections and in pursuing certain researches, often fruitful, in those immense palaces, which held an enormous number of art objects; but in August, 1917, in view of the German menace to Petrograd, the curators suspended their labors and proceeded to an extensive evacuation of all the national art objects, to Moscow, which then became the asylum for all the museums of the capital. The Bolshevik coup d'état of November 7 found all the museum custodians at their posts, determined not to abandon them, and to devote all their efforts to preserving as great a number of art works as possible, considering, as they did, that the interests entrusted to them transcended any other political consideration.

The new régime did not, moreover, display any outright hostility to their labors. Lunacharsky, the Minister of Fine Arts, who was the only cultivated intellect in the cabinet, had been one of the first to condemn the destructions in the Kremlin, and had announced that he would refuse to take part in the government if measures were not taken at once to protect the works of art. In this policy he was given a free hand by his colleagues in the cabinet, and it must be admitted that he did all he could to protect the artistic heritage of Russia from any ill-considered actions; he caused the museum curators to be assembled and exhorted them to continue to put through the program they had worked out. Everywhere, careful attention continued to be paid to the imperial palaces and museums, and the former aspect of the apartments was restored. Thus, in 1918, the conservators of the imperial palaces opened to the public the dwellings at Tsarskoye Selo, at Pavlovsk, at Gatchina, and at Peterhof, on two or three days of each week.

The Soviet Government had of course made the museums absolutely free and had prohibited the taking of "tips", under heavy penalties; furthermore, to spread the teaching of art and to draw certain political propaganda advantages from this situation, it got up special trains for the use of school-children, workmen, and students, who were provided with free catalogues of the collections as well as with free meals in the museums. In certain cities, commissar guides were appointed by the local soviets to supplement the work of the custodians, and with the object of instructing the visitors not so much in the history of these masterpieces as works of the art which they considered aristocratic, but of the works of peasant art with propaganda interpretations, for the new régime suspected the men of learning trained under the Tsarist system of being "lukewarm". These men frequently made use of the situation to get up a veritable democratic instruction, the object of which was a study of the history of the Russian people as reflected in its art works.

The old imperial palaces, thus saved, constitute a considerable portion of the artistic wealth of Russia. At Peterhof, the Grand Palace has not suffered serious damage through the acts of the Revolution. Furthermore, its most beautiful specimens were boxed and, in part, sent to Moscow as early as October, 1917; for example, the splendid wood-carvings of Nicolas Pineau, made for the study of Peter the Great, and the personal relics of the latter, preserved the Montplaisir Pavilion. But unfortunately in the latter, which has retained intact its

Delft-tiled kitchen and its central hall with the ceiling painted by Pillement, there are now many objects that have been obliged to suffer a thousand degradations, if only as a result of the balls there celebrated by soldiers some time ago!

The Grand Palace of Tsarskoye Selo, dating from the middle of the 18th century, has also been transformed into a museum; everywhere the reception halls have been supplied with their original decorations; only the apartment of Nicholas II has been preserved as it was on July 31, 1917, the date of the Tsar's departure. Although a great number of art objects—old chairs and furniture, paintings, porcelains and particularly, a magnificent regulator, by Caffieri—have been transferred to Moscow, the new museum has been well attended since its opening, in May, 1918, and there have been certain Sundays with as many as six thousand visitors. To protect the splendid parquet floors of the palace, the Government has obliged the public to put on soft leather slippers, which are furnished without charge. Restoration work has been carried on even in the agate pavillion. While nothing was stolen from the Alexander Palace, numerous benches and statues were mutilated in the parks surrounding it.

The Pavlovsk Palace, constructed by the Empress Marie, wife of Paul I, was first claimed as his property by Prince John Constantinovich, and then, after the latter's departure, transformed into a museum, like the other palaces. The inventory made of it by Polovtsev and Zubov includes a great number of objects of art, of which many were little known. In addition to a cabinet of three thousand engravings, and of magnificent porcelains of St. Petersburg, Berlin, Louisbourg, and Sèvres origin—the latter is represented by a splendid dinner service of 1778—Pavlovsk was the domicile of one painting by Rembrandt, one by Rubens, two by Van Goyen, two by S. Ruysdael, an *Annunciation* by Guido, a fragment by Veronese: *Christ before Pilate*. The French School alone there has Mignard's *Christ and the Samaritan*, three pictures by Greuze, including *The Widow and Her Curate*, eight by Hubert Robert, one by Mme. Vigée-Lebrun, one by Carl Van Loo, one by Leprince, etc. The best of these canvasses have been grouped in small studios; the most decorative have been placed in the galleries of the palace.

Of much greater importance was the Palace of Gatchina, the use of which the dowager empress held for life. The creation of Paul I, that mysterious sovereign of tragic fate, this sumptuous dwelling is a sort of Russian Escurial, of gloomy and severe exterior, within which, however, the French art of the 17th and 18th centuries celebrates its triumphs. The custodians charged with the duty of cataloguing all its riches have listed more than four thousand paintings.

All these palaces were more or less in the neighborhood of Petrograd and could therefore be catalogued with despatch. A number of others were further removed from the capital, and work on them therefore proceeded more slowly. This was particularly the case with the Oranienbaum Palace, built by Menchikov, favorite of Peter the Great, facing Cronstadt, and which was, at the outbreak of the Revolution, directly within the sphere of influence of the sailors of the navy. The proximity of these disorderly elements was the cause of a number of injuries suffered then by the palace, but it is certain that the ceilings, the woodwork, and the magnificent floors were intact at a very recent date. It is unfortunately to be feared that important damage of another kind may have been inflicted on Oranienbaum on the occasion of the last Cronstadt insurrection, in March, 1921.

While much work had to be done on the imperial palaces, both in the matter of inventory as well as in order to protect them, the Petrograd museums, already catalogued, did not require more, when the menace of a German invasion was at hand, than measures of evacuation similar to those used by the Paris museums on the eve of the Battle of the Marne. Only the Winter Palace was pillaged during the Bolshevik coup d'état; particularly the statuary was savagely mutilated, and while many official images of mediocre value were injured, it is unfortunate that a single work of art of the first order should have been destroyed, Serov's *Portrait of Nicholas II*.

Contrary to what was reported, the ancient china was not pillaged; in fact, it was no longer at the palace at all.

All the wealth of the museums of Petrograd was sent to Moscow immediately after the fall of Riga, early in 1917, in other words, before the Bolshevik coup d'etat. Only the Steglitz Museum (decorative arts) was excepted, which had been boxed up since the first year of the war, in order that its premises might be available for the use of the Red Cross, and which has been at Petrograd ever since, in its crates, and in its own quarters. At the Ermitage all the paintings, Scythian and Greek antiquities, porcelains of the 18th century, a part of the Department of Sculpture, furniture also, were boxed and forwarded to Moscow on special trains, with a guard consisting of students of the military schools, whose presence was not entirely unnecessary, for it had to defend one of these trains, at a small railway station, against demobilized soldiers who intended to take possession of the cars in order to transport themselves back to their homes. The same thing occurred in the case of a portion of the Russian Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts and the Alexander III Museum, rechristened the "Russian Museum" by the Bolsheviks. All these objects, as well as the most beautiful things from the palaces of Peterhof and Tsarskoye Selo, were stored in cases at the Kremlin, where they remained uninjured during the bombardment of November, 1917.

In the Summer of 1918 a report was spread to the effect that the cases had been removed from the Kremlin at night; a special commission was thereupon sent by the curators of the Ermitage to ascertain the condition of the stored articles, which they found undisturbed. In view of the possibility of a renewed bombardment of the Kremlin, now the residence of the Bolshevik leaders, in case their regime should be overthrown, the museum curators had undertaken, about that time, to bring back the treasures of the Ermitage to Petrograd; but since, in consequence of the disorganization of the railway system, it was not possible to reserve more than two cars a week for this purpose, they preferred not to run any risk to this precious material and decided to leave it in the Kremlin, where it probably remains to this day.

Together with the collections of the former imperial palaces, and those of the museums, the private collections were also the object of the attentions and the disinterested efforts of all those who in the midst of the struggle were then devoting themselves to the task of preserving Russia's art legacy. In view of the communist character of the new regime, a great number of collectors as well as other private individuals began, shortly after November, 1917, to deposit their art objects in all the museums of Petrograd: this procedure, furthermore, was encouraged by the Bolsheviks, not without irony perhaps, for they were probably counting on confiscating these articles in the future, and declaring them to be national property. Another protective measure was to guarantee private mansions containing works of art against any billetings of military or administrative elements; then, toward the middle of 1918, when all houses had been declared public property and when the proletariat had been established as residents, the custodians succeeded in having a certain number of fine mansions nationalized as "district museums". Seventy public-spirited persons divided Petrograd among themselves into as many regions, in each of which they maintained continuous relations with the Soviet authorities, persuading the latter to allow them as specialists full liberty in the choice of the objects intended for these museums; a great number of art works were thus saved. The collections of Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich, assassinated in January, 1919, the splendid furniture of the Regency epoch in the Yussupov collection, those of the Empire period in the Yevdokimov collection, the Russian porcelains of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich, the enamels and old silver of Count Pushkin's collection, were thus all saved and put into the museums; on the other hand, the collections of Grand Duke Paul and of Count S. Sheremetyev and Count Bobrinaky remained in the palaces or mansions of their owners, transformed into district museums.



FELIX DZIERZYNSKI

THE world has been vouchsafed another proof that "assassination" is not necessarily fatal. Some weeks ago capitalist papers in various parts of the world reported that Felix Dzierzynski, Commissar of Transportation, had once more been assassinated in Moscow. And again there was an easy act of resurrection: Dzierzynski, that is to say, made a personal denial of the report.

When the denial came across the wires of the Reuter agency in Europe, those publications which had featured the lie hastened to make awkward apologies. The London *Times*, however, having made capital out of the report now proceeded to make capital out of the counter-report. "Probably," it said, "the false reports recently published in the *Polish* and *Finish* Press.....were launched by the Bolshevist authorities themselves. Dzierzynski is alive and about to undertake a journey abroad under an assumed name."

The reference to the Polish and Finish press is a grand concession on the part of the *Times*. But even in the act of blaming the anti-Soviet elements for the circulation of this one lie, it states as a fact a second lie emanating from the same general source. The story about the assumed name was lifted by the presumably "good authority" who gave it to the *Times* almost verbatim from the Russian White Guard Press in Berlin!

Isadora Duncan Interviewed

By KARL PRETSHOLD

"The spirit of Russia is the only sane thing in Europe. All the other countries are thinking in terms of ancient hates and grudges, Russia alone looks to the future. America is the only other country in the world that has its gaze fixed on the future. That is why America should understand Russia."

That was the refrain that ran through an hour's talk I had with Isadora Duncan the day after her arrival from Europe. Vivid, forceful, brilliant Isadora Duncan talked of everything but always returned to her main theme, the understanding that should exist between Russia and America and her dream of helping America to arrive at that understanding through her dancing.

"They"—meaning the government immigration authorities who had tried to prevent her return to her native land—"say I am a propagandist, that I will preach revolution. I am not a politician, I am an artist. But I will try in my dancing to help America to understand the magnificent spirit of Russia. The spirit which after five years of war and famine is without hate or bitterness. The most magnificent thing in the world to-day.

"The spirit of Russia is the spirit of the common people everywhere. So sincere. Groping for beauty.

"I remember before I left America down on the East Side, when my pupils danced, the poor people in the audiences cried and begged me to stay and teach their children to dance as my pupils did. But I couldn't, I had no school, no support. For a school such as I dreamed of I needed the support of a government. So I went to France. There when I talked of my dream of a school where the children would live to dance I was laughed at.

"And so I went to Russia. The Commissariat of Education placed a wonderful house and grounds at my disposal. At first I had nearly a thousand children in my school. But the terrible famine came on and the government could not give me food enough for so many and all but twenty were sent home. Those twenty were the most talented of all my pupils. I have hopes of bringing them to America. They could show to America, far better than I, what the spirit of Russia is."

When asked about art and life in Russia Isadora Duncan said: "Life in Russia is very hard and so art suffers, but out of the universal suffering has grown a common understanding, a spirit. All are equal in suffering; all are drawn closer together through suffering, that is what I mean by the spirit of Russia.

"The man who is most conscious of that spirit is Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education. I have seen him in the dead of night tramping through the snow in Moscow, head in the air, totally oblivious to all his surroundings, turning over in his head some plan for the future.

"Always, in Russia, it is the future."

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE R. S. F. S. R. AND LATVIA

The Lettish Government demanded the dissolution of the Lettish Communists' Club in Moscow after that club had protested against execution of Comrade Purin by Latvia. This is the answer sent by the Soviet Government:

"In your note of the 24th August, Nr. 3723, you demand the immediate dissolution of the Moscow Lettish Communist Club on account of a speech made at a protest meeting held at the above named club.

"I am compelled to express my extreme astonishment at such a demand. The Lettish Government which permitted recruiting for the Wrangel Army on its territory and promoted it, which—as has been established by original documents out of the Kerensky archives — granted support to the so-called *Administrative Centre* and permitted Latvia to serve as a preparation ground for the organization of the Kronstadt insurrection, and assists in the publication of calumnious and criminal lies of every sort against Russia and the Russian Government, including the vulgar accusation that the latter circulates spurious money—this Lettish Government demands at the same time from the Russian Government the closing down of a Communist Club on account of a speech made at a meeting held there.

"Communist clubs and the delivering of speeches in the same are allowed in Russia under the existing laws. Any kind of repression of the same would be without sanction even in a case where the speakers in their speeches criticize the government of another country or express their indignation over the hanging of one of their comrades and fellow fighters, as happened in the case cited by you.

"My Government stands firmly on the ground of the Peace Treaty and maintains clause 4 to its fullest extent. Speeches made in Communist clubs, however, cannot be compared with enlistments into the Wrangel Army or with relations with the *Administrative Centre*—proceedings which are referred to in clause 4 of the Peace Treaty, to which you, Mr. Ambassador, directly appeal.

"For this reason the demand put forward in your note cannot be complied with by my government. At the same time I must remark that the public opinion of the broadest masses of workers and peasants of Russia would be considerably more peacefully disposed towards the Lettish Government if the Lettish Government would cease to inflict capital punishment against Communists. This public opinion is for my Government decisive, and continually influences us in our relations to other countries.

"Yours respectfully,
"HANETZKI."

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has been officially informed that the Czecho-Slovak Government has formally ratified the treaty with Soviet Russia, signed on June 5, 1922.

Books Reviewed

THE RED GARDEN, translated from the Danish of Henning Kehler, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922.

Russia in the months following the November 1917 revolution, strained taut in its desperate fight against counter-revolution, was a place of contrasts, paradoxes and bewilderingments. That there was much in the situation to inspire an outsider, one of our own "younger writers", John Reed, proved to the world. Henning Kehler, however, who is described by his American publishers as "one of the most notable of the younger Danish men of letters", found only things to hurt his sensibilities. He found bloodshed and insanity and a distressing number of Jews. The most gruesome scenes and the most bizarre characters it was his misfortune to run into while on consular service for his government, he has included in *The Red Garden*.

Presumably he has given it to the world as the essence of his memory of Russia. It is a memory discolored by deep-seated prejudices and innocent of all social understanding or social sympathy. But though distorted the picture is none the less compelling. Mr. Kehler writes brilliantly. The several episodes are told with such dramatic power that one would like to read something by the same author in the realm of pure fiction. The chief interest of the book lies in its detail, for however distasteful Red commissars and Jews of all colors as a class may be to him, Mr. Kehler is fair to individuals of the species whom he gets to know better. He evokes images of peasants and workers and soldiers, of surly middle class people and flame-eyed revolutionary enthusiasts which are of the very marrow of Russia.

The most fantastic story in the collection is the one which gives the book its name. From the point of view of credibility, it also gives the book its character. It tells of a red-haired Red Communist, a Jew of course, in a town in the Volga region, who in dedicating a Red Garden to the use of the people, has a statue put up. The statue, when unveiled, turns out to be a representation of Judas Iscariot, in the image of the Commandant. The Commandant makes it clear that he is obsessed with the idea that he is himself the reincarnated Judas, "the man who for two thousand years had been chained to the pillory of a capitalist interpretation of history." Whatever the facts in the case may be, it is a tribute to the author's skill that even in telling this incredible story he gives flashes of faces and descriptive touches that are authentic. His art is stronger than his prejudices.

Mr. Kehler's discussion of the Jews borders on the absurd. He had never met so many of the race in Copenhagen, of course, and his frequent encounters with them as he goes through certain portions of Russia affect him powerfully. It seems that he never meets one without recording it for posterity. One feels certain that in many instances he has made Semites out of good ikon-worshippers. In at least one instance, after describing a Bolshevik commissar on the assumption that he was Jewish, he is constrained to add, "perhaps he was not a Jew."

E. L.

SHALL IT BE AGAIN? By John Kenneth Turner, B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1922, 448 pages.

John Kenneth Turner has done a fine job of collecting the facts about America's participation in the war and pointing out the vast differences between the Wilsonian dogma and the practice of it. Turner writes with the cool detached judgment of an historian, and has produced probably the finest array of facts available on America's part in the war.

The sections dealing with America's attitude toward Russia are few but illuminating. Turner is not afraid to call things by their true names. When he talks of America's invasion of Russia it is not called intervention but "Our illegal war in Russia". Every statement is backed by official documents bearing evidences of intelligent scholarship. As indicative of the painstaking care with

which Mr. Turner collected his facts, and also of the spirit informing the book, a quotation may be useful; p. 367:

"Our illegal war in Russia was pleasing not only to Paris and London bankers, but to New York bankers as well. The price of the Tsar's bonds rose and fell on the Stock Exchange, depending on the news of the military reverses or successes of the Bolsheviks. American financiers held some 50,000,000 rubles of the Tsar's bonds. When it appeared that we would be unable to overthrow the Soviet Government, even with the sacrifice of American lives, money from the public treasury was used to pay the interest on these bonds, as well as to liquidate the accounts of the defunct Kerensky Government, and to promote the Kolchak revolution. More than fifty million dollars were paid out for such purposes. (Hearings of House Committee on Expenditures in the State Department, 1919.)" K. P.

БЫЛОЕ. Исторический журнал № 19, 1922. Петроград. Byloye (The Past). An Historical Review. No. 19, 1922. Published by the Cooperative Publishing House "Byloye". Petrograd. 232 pp.

Like the former issue of Byloye (reviewed in No. 6 of "Soviet Russia") No. 19 of this historical review contains monographs from the various epochs of Russian revolutionary thought and activity. It begins with an article about a hitherto unknown version of the famous "Journey from Petersburg to Moscow" by Alexander Radistchev. Radistchev, a radical thinker imbued with French ideas of freedom, had published that book in 1790 and was forthwith condemned to death by the "great" Catherine who was so frightened by the French Revolution that she forgot all about her former "liberal" pose she liked to assume before Western Europe.

The following chapter, "The Decabrist Ivashev and his Family", was written by the granddaughter of one of the martyrs in the unsuccessful revolt of 1825.

Another chapter deals with one of the most remarkable figures of the revolutionary movement of the seventies who was known under the name of the "worker Peter Alekseyev". A weaver, of peasant stock, Alekseyev was arrested in 1875 for revolutionary propaganda among factory workers. At his trial, in 1877, he pronounced his famous speech—reprinted in the book in extenso—which since has become a revolutionary classic. His splendid character, his gigantic force, his life in prison and at Kara (hard labor in the mines), the attitude of his fellow prisoners, mostly intellectuals, who often grudged him his fame and wrongly questioned his mental authorship of the famous speech; finally his forcible sojourn among the Yakuts in a north-eastern corner of Siberia, and his premature death (in 1891) at the hands of two native Yakut neighbors who robbed him of a few rubles—all this described by his friend and fellow exile E. Piekarsky, is an interesting chapter from the life of the heroes of the times of Stepniak.

"On the Border of Death" is concerned with the prison experiences of the worker Peter Antonov who in the eighties, after the killing of Tsar Alexander II was one of the most energetic champions of the terrorist organization "Narodnaya Volya". The methods employed by the gendarmery and the prison authorities to break the will of the political prisoners and to force them to confess and to betray their comrades vividly recall similar methods employed in other countries....

The subsequent chapter describes the epoch immediately after the dying efforts of the terrorists of the eighties. It is entitled "On the Dawn of the Russian Social Democracy" and deals with the beginnings of the social democratic movement in the latter half of the eighties and the first part of the nineties.

The last three articles are concerned with the more recent past: the years immediately preceding the 1917 revolution, the activities of the French intervention troops in Odessa in 1918-1919, and finally personal recollections of T. Bogdanovich of the last years of the life of the great writer Vladimir Korolenko (1919-1921). M. P.

Relief Contributions, October 16-31, 1922

The following abbreviations are used: F. S. C., Famine Scout Clubs; F. S. R., Friends of Soviet Russia; RC, Roll Call contribution; TD, Tool Drive contribution; W. S. and D. B. F., Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund.

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The Next Issue of

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KARL RADEK: Soviet Russia enters the Sixth Year.

J. LARIN: The "Discarded" Communism in Russia.

A. C. FREEMAN: The Tide Turns in Russia.

HULET M. WELLS: The Oriental Woman in Russia.

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Lessons of Five Years

By KARL RADEK

The Social Results of Five Years of Soviet Russia's Existence

DURING the first three years of the Soviet Republic the Russian proletariat, leaning upon the revolutionary parts of the peasantry, first of all destroyed to the last roots the entire political apparatus of Tsarism and of the bourgeoisie which had been left untouched by the March revolution. Later it destroyed the power of the landholders. It transferred the land to the peasants and wrung industry from the hands of the bourgeoisie. Through its policy of nationalization during the first three years of the existence of Soviet Russia, the proletariat created the necessary means for a victorious defense of the Soviet State and the social achievements of the revolution against the international counter-revolution which formed and supported the White Guards. The proletariat could attain this aim only on the condition that it should seize all the material means of the bourgeoisie, centralizing these means in the iron hands of the Soviet Government and securing the hinterland by a merciless application of terror.

After this period of the armed civil war had been concluded with the victory over Wrangel, the problems of economic reconstruction came to the fore. The attempt to remove the debris and the ashes of the civil war with the help of the labor army—that is, the living, unskilled force of the peasant masses—was not successful. This attempt was made not only in the interest of the working class, but also in the interest of the peasantry, which had suffered much because of bad transportation conditions and lack of fuel. It did not succeed because the need for defense against the Polish attack and against Wrangel forced the return of the labor armies to the front; and because the continuation of the civil war in 1920 further impaired the condition of agriculture. Before the cornerstone of industrial reconstruction could be laid it was necessary that agriculture, which had

suffered severely during three years of world war and the three years of civil war, should recuperate.

In tackling the problem of economic reconstruction Soviet Russia had to return to the position of the November Revolution, whose limits under stress of the civil war it had very often transgressed. It had first of all to renounce the system of requisitions, which system did not leave anything to the peasantry above the minimum absolutely indispensable for its life. And during the time when the sons of the peasants under the leadership of the workers were defending their soil it was impossible to renounce the requisitions from their fathers; they were needed to feed the army and the industrial toilers engaged in war work, notwithstanding the fact that industry was unable to give to the peasants manufactured articles in exchange for bread. The policy of requisitions required the complete prohibition of all trade. But the fact that the peasant was deprived of the entire surplus of his work destroyed his impulse for production in excess of personal needs.

The substitution of a moderate tax in kind for the requisitions and the allowing of free trade with the remaining part of his produce was thus not only a concession to the dissatisfaction of the peasant masses (which expressed itself particularly in the winter and spring of 1921), it was also a means of strengthening the peasant agriculture as the first condition for economic revival.

But the allowing of private trading in the village meant its revival in the city as well. As the state industry after six years of war was not in a position to satisfy the needs of the peasantry, private industry and initiative had to be permitted in the city, too, in order to increase the amount of manufactured articles with which to get from the village the amount of bread which the city needed.

The lack of sufficient organizers, making it impossible to continue state management of small

and many medium nationalized industries, also worked in the direction of concessions to private enterprise. The state was obliged to concentrate its forces upon the reconstruction of the main branches of key industries, the revival of which enables it to hold control of the entire economy of the country. Thus the new economic policy is not a temporary retreat before the necessities of the moment, but a proletarian policy which is conceivable only in a country in which the peasantry prevails, especially at a time of international isolation.

The Soviet government had to go still further in its retreat from the social policy of the first three years of its existence. Staggering under the weight of an enormous state debt inherited from Tsarism and from the bourgeoisie, which had been obliged to look for loans on the capitalist market for the acceleration of its economic development, the Soviet power was also constrained to make concessions to the moneyed bourgeoisie by yielding to it part of the already existing enterprises, as well as the exploitation of hitherto untouched natural riches of the country. Thus there arose on the economic field as a result of the five years' existence of Soviet Russia the necessity for the simultaneous existence of state management of the key industries, (the railroads, etc.), of petty private peasant economy, of private trading not only in the small handicrafts and in small industry, but also in those branches of big industry to which private economy is admitted in the form of lease contracts.

The concessions made to foreign capital are becoming the point of departure for the strengthening of the economic power of the proletarian state, under the assumption that these concessions will enable the Soviet Government to use part of the rent obtained from the foreign concessionaires for the increase of production in the big enterprises of the proletarian state. For this reason foreign capital attempts to convert these concessions of the Soviets into an indemnity for damages sustained by foreign capital through the Revolution, refusing at the same time to grant any credits; it desires in this way to force the Soviet Government to hand over the entire Russian industry, the railroads, and the national resources of Soviet Russia, over to foreign capital.

This effort to destroy the possibility of an economic victory by the Soviet power in its struggle against hostile economic forces which endeavor to control Russian economic life, was rejected by the Soviet Government at Genoa and at the Hague. It refused to assume material obligations without receiving the necessary means for strengthening the economic life of Soviet Russia. And it tries to break down the practical financial blockade of international capital by concluding separate agreements with single groups of capitalists and single states which most need relations with Soviet Russia. The success of this struggle depends upon the further development of the international situation, upon the next harvests and upon whether the economic organs of the Soviet Government will be

able to compete with private capital upon the Russian market.

Political Results

The world bourgeoisie sees in the new economic policy the beginning of the complete capitulation of the Soviet Government, of the complete renouncement of socialist reconstruction by the Russian proletariat. The parties of the Russian petty bourgeoisie, which acted under the banner of socialism, the parties of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists, who in the course of the revolution were broken to pieces by the worker and peasant masses, these together with the international bourgeoisie, portray the new economic policy as the beginning of the end of Soviet Russia. They aim to attack the Workers' Republic in the hope of bringing Russia back to the road of capitalist development, under the form of political bourgeois democracy. In reality they are enemies of socialist reconstruction, as they proved in the period of the March revolution; they are endeavoring to create conditions under which the bourgeoisie would triumph. They aim at the reintroduction of bourgeois democracy in the hope that under such a political system the peasantry which forms the majority of the Russian population would be unable to defend the nationalization of key industries and that as a class of small proprietors they would not make any sacrifices for the protection of the nationalized industries.

But as the parties of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists do not dare to come out openly with this program, they demand at present liberty for all socialist parties, among which they include themselves. Were they granted this freedom, they would become the organizing center for the rich peasants and for the petty bourgeoisie of the cities and in addition to that they would also become a legal organization center for the big bourgeoisie which has proved very often that it fully understands how to subordinate to its interests the organizations of the petty bourgeoisie. They would be unable—and they proved it during the war, during the March Revolution and the civil war—to offer resistance to the pressure of the foreign bourgeoisie; on the contrary they would serve the foreign bourgeoisie as a transmission apparatus for pressure upon Soviet Russia. Therefore, the party of the proletariat must defend its dictatorship against the demand of the petty bourgeois parties by all means, because any permission extended to the petty bourgeois forces to organize represents the greatest danger for the achievements of the November Revolution.

Precisely because the new economic policy means partly a revival of the bourgeois economic forces, all methods of the proletarian dictatorship must be employed to prevent these economic forces from being used as a means for the economic and political organizing of the bourgeoisie. The entire meaning of the policy of the big and petty bourgeoisie, of the Left Cadets, of the Social-Revolutionists and also the Mensheviks consists in the struggle for legality on the ground of the new eco-

conomic policy, availing themselves of the Soviet constitution.

In using their slogan of "free Soviet elections" the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists invoke the Soviet constitution. But the Russian proletariat and the Communist Party cannot permit the Soviet constitution to be used as a weapon for destroying the Soviet power and for substituting the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as the Soviet constitution was born in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and against its petty bourgeois henchmen, the Social-Revolutionists and the Mensheviks—just so the continuance of the Soviets and the economic achievements of the November Revolution must be defended through the struggle against those parties which proclaim the necessity for availing themselves of the Soviet constitution in order to destroy it. This by no means signifies a diminution of the importance of the Soviets as is claimed by the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists. The workers' and peasants' Soviets were the weapon for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie. In the period of the civil war this form of the proletarian dictatorship became the clenched iron fist of the proletariat which has in its hands the Red Army and the industry of the country. The center of life was transferred from the Soviets to the fronts of war and labor, to the revolutionary workers who directed the defense of the republic.

After the end of armed civil war, with the improvement of the economic existence of the working class and the peasantry, the dictatorship of the proletariat begins again to develop. The Soviets are being imbued with new life, they are seeking and finding new methods for the administration of the country. They will not lose by the absence of the representatives of the petty bourgeois parties; the stories of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists about the passing away of the Soviets through lack of free criticism are malicious inventions. In no other press in the world is there such an open, merciless criticism of the activity of the government as in the Soviet press, which is not afraid in the face of a world of enemies to discuss all the drawbacks, all the weak points of the Soviet regime.

The absence of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists from the Soviets does not mean an absence of criticism, but merely the absence of the counter-revolutionary disintegrating activity from the ranks of the workers' and peasants' democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which is being exerted by the dictatorship of the Communist Party, can change its methods of action, it can pass from the form of terror, of the most acute civil war, to the forms of revolutionary legality, but it must remain the iron protective organ of the proletarian state, it must remain ready to return to the forms of terror if the bourgeoisie dares to undertake a new attack against the working class.

Prospects

In 1918 one could still fear that the conclusion

of the war without an immediate victory of the world revolution would lead to the downfall of the Soviet power. But now, after five years, it can be asserted with conviction that it has sufficient strength to hold its own for a long period of time in spite of its isolation. The decline of the bourgeoisie, the disintegration of the White Guard forces, the discrediting of the petty bourgeois parties of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists as the allies of the Russian and international counter-revolution, the organization of a powerful Communist Party, the slow but gradual improvement of the Soviet apparatus and the Red Army—all this gives the Soviet power a big, political advantage over all its enemies.

The agricultural character of the country permits it slowly but securely to heal its wounds and to create the basis for an industrial revival. The deep contradictions in the camp of the world bourgeoisie, the sharpening of the social struggle in the capitalist countries, the crisis in the East, which is getting more acute every day—all this increases the international importance of Soviet Russia and opens prospects for commercial agreements with the capitalist West which will render possible the acceleration of its individual revival, the consolidation of the forces of the Russian proletariat, the improvement of the situation of the working class.

The new economic policy caused disappointment in many sections of the Western European proletariat, which itself is struggling against tremendous difficulties, and was drawing its hopes and forces from the conviction that Soviet Russia would finish capitalism at a single blow. But all the news about our strengthening, all the news about the improvement of Soviet Russia's situation will be a new incentive to the growing forces of the international proletariat and thus a new factor for the strengthening of Soviet Russia.

Soviet Russia is compelled to defend the breach which it had made in the front of world capital much longer with its own forces than could be foreseen in 1917. This circumstance placed an enormous burden upon the shoulders of the Russian proletariat. But Soviet Russia has proved to be stronger than was hoped by Russia's working class itself at the time when it conquered power. For five years Soviet Russia victoriously repulsed the attacks of the world bourgeoisie, and it is able not only to preserve its power up to the moment of emancipation of the proletariat in the industrial countries, but it can effectively help it in its struggles.

WATCH for the JANUARY ISSUE

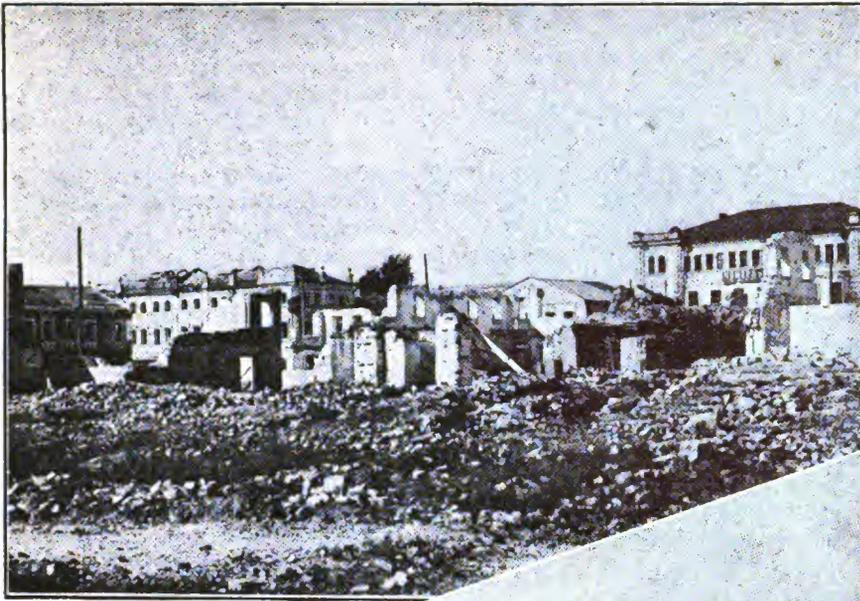
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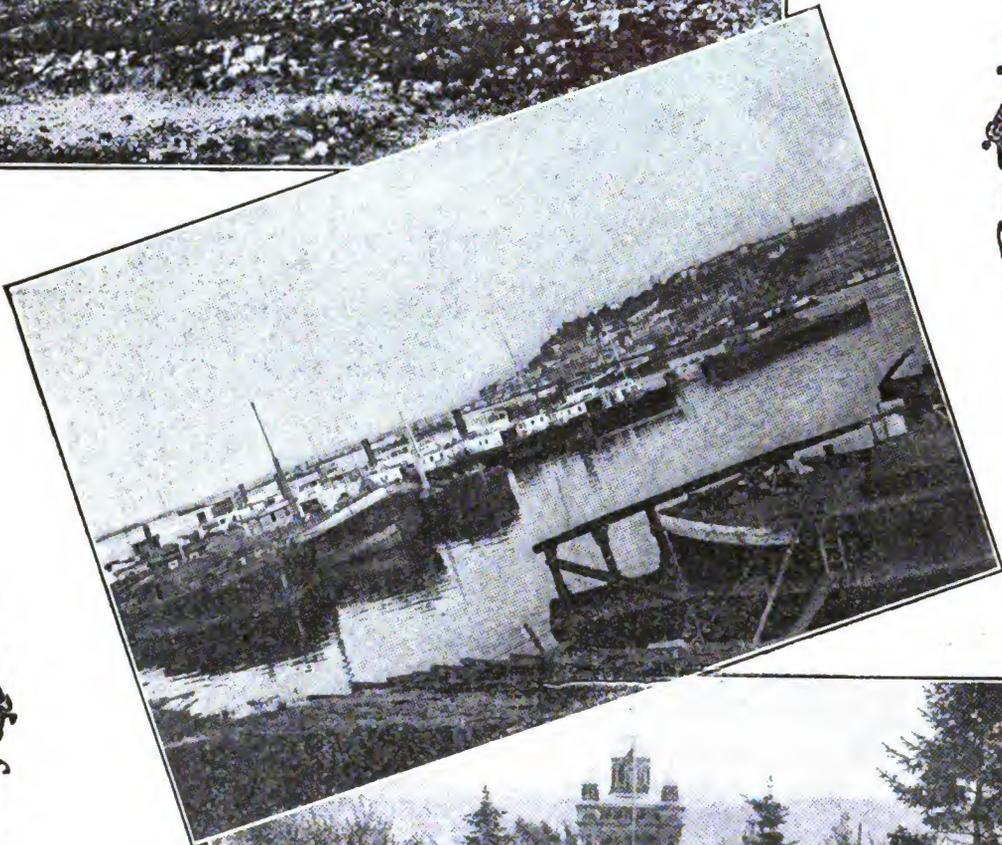
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The Nizhni Novgorod Fair



The Nizhni Novgorod Fair attained a large measure of the effectiveness of pre-war days. It will remain a milepost in the history of Soviet Russia's economic reconstruction. The first of the pictures reproduced on this page, taken several months before the Fair opened, gives an idea of the destruction suffered by the city during the years when Fairs were not held. All the debris had to be cleared away. New structures had to be erected.



Center: A scene on the River Volga, showing ships bringing goods to the Nizhni Novgorod Fair.

Bottom: The city during the Fair. Numerous regions were represented by their native products. The Caucasus sent textiles, fruit and wine; Persia sent silks and rice; Turkestan sent fruits and flax, etc. The Co-operatives and State trusts, of course, were strongly in evidence.



The Tide Turns in Russia

By A. C. FREEMAN

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONIST propagandists in America have possessed one source of consolation that hitherto has not failed them, even in their darkest moments. When Kolchak was being hunted out of Omsk or Wrangel's last line of defense was being smashed at Perekop, Mr. Sack, of the late Russian Information Bureau, would always hasten to assure his credulous readers, on the basis of confidential exclusive information, that Russian industry simply couldn't carry on much longer. On such and such a date, so his dire prophecies would assert, the railroads would stop running, the factories would close and the miserable remnant of Russian workers who had escaped the incessant captures and burnings of Moscow and Petrograd so frequently reported in the American press would automatically die of starvation.

Neither Mr. Sack nor any of the numerous imitators of his method of appraising the Revolution ever admitted that the war and blockade exerted any perceptible influence upon Russia's economic condition. On the contrary the blockade was represented as an act of magnanimous kindness to the Russian people, which would ensure their grateful appreciation for years to come. The breakdown of Russian industry was represented as an inevitable result of the iniquitous Soviet system, for which the Russian people, with perverse obstinacy, insisted on fighting and dying.

Now 1922 is really the first year in which the theory of the pre-ordained damnation of Russia under Soviet rule has received a fair test. Every other year since the Revolution has been marked by catastrophes which any fair-minded observer would recognize as vitally important factors in throwing production out of gear and in preventing its restoration. In 1918 the Soviet Republic was attacked by the Germans, by the Allies, by the Czecho-Slovaks, by the Russian White leaders, Kaledin, Kornilov and Krasnov; and 1919 saw two of Russia's most important industrial districts, the Urals and the Donetz Basin, held temporarily and wrecked by Kolchak and Denikin. Moreover, this was a year of intense military activity all over Russia. Besides fighting the two major counter-revolutionists the Red Army was compelled to defend the Russian frontiers against Poles, Finns and Letts in the West and against the Allies in the Archangel district. Then there were Petlura and a large number of roving bandits in the Ukraine. Not much reconstruction was possible under these circumstances. In 1920 Russia's resources were absorbed by the Polish and Wrangel campaigns. And in 1921 came the greatest blow of all, the terrible famine that devastated the Valley of the Volga and forced the government to concentrate its attention and its resources upon the problem of feeding the hungry, instead of rebuilding industry.

So it was only in 1922 that Soviet Russia could really expect to make any appreciable economic

recovery. The civil and foreign wars were over; and the harvest was hopeful. And the marvellous change for the better that has come, with the Soviet regime still in full power, is a sufficient answer to those who attempt to ascribe Russia's sufferings of the last five years to the Revolution, and not to the war and the blockade.

The first thing that impresses any traveller on arriving in Moscow now is the feverish energy of the city. The sound of hammers is everywhere. An enormous work of renovation is rapidly being carried out. Houses are being repaired and repainted; torn-up paving is being restored; boarded-up shops and offices and restaurants are being reopened. White bread, an almost unobtainable luxury last year, is sold in large quantities on the streets and in the shops. The sanitary conditions which horrified most American visitors to Moscow last winter have been enormously improved. The streets are quite clean; the water-supply has been rehabilitated and now reaches the whole city; garbage and refuse are promptly disposed of; and the epidemics which formerly prevailed in the city are greatly reduced. The street car lines are operating quite efficiently; and a number of new cars have been added to the service. Gone are the days when the exigencies of war and blockade forced everyone to stand in line for hours to get half a pound of black bread and a few herrings. Now the wars are over; the blockade is broken through; the Soviet power has conquered all its enemies; and Moscow has food. Along the Tverskaya and the other most important streets there are hundreds of shops and stores, many of them owned and operated by the government and by the co-operatives, which sell every imaginable commodity, from the boots and rubbers which are so badly needed in the rainy Russian autumn to cake and candy. The appetite for luxuries in Moscow is enormous; and a stern moralist might condemn the feverish thirst for sweets and amusements at a time when so many important economic problems remain to be solved. But I do not think that anyone who realizes the privations which the Russian people have suffered during the last seven years would grudge them their temporary fling of pleasure and extravagance, now that the terrible crisis brought about by war and blockade is beginning to disappear.

Before I left America I was fed up with horrible stories about the condition of the Russian railroads. A journey by train was represented as at best an intolerable hardship and at worst a perilous adventure, attended with grave risk to life and limb. Of course one does not believe everything one hears about Russia in America; but still the constant repetition of these stories left some impression on my mind. Consequently it was with trepidation that I boarded the train for Moscow at Riga. It was a rather agreeable surprise to find a compartment that was just as clean and

comfortable as the one in which I had travelled from Libau to Riga. Still my apprehensions were not altogether quieted. After all the Riga-Moscow line was Russia's chief gateway to the West; there might be genuine horrors awaiting me on the lines in the interior of Russia. Since that time I have travelled three or four thousand miles over Russian railroads, visiting Vereshchagino, near Perm, Nizhni-Novgorod and Kharkov. And everywhere the service has been just as good as it is on the line between Riga and Moscow. Here again the end of the fighting, the lifting of the blockade and the demobilization of the army have swept away conditions which were falsely ascribed to the inherent incompetence of the Soviet power.

Another important change is noticeable in the attitude of the peasants toward money. A year ago chickens and eggs and milk could be purchased only for buttons, needles, nails and similar commodities. To-day the Soviet ruble will buy more in the country than in the city. The explanation for this change can be found in the markets for the sale of manufactured goods which have sprung up all along the railroad lines. The economic relations between city and village, broken by the acute shortage of manufactured goods during the early stages of the Revolution, are rapidly being restored.

It will be objected that I have noted only surface changes. In a sense this may be true; but these visible changes for the better are indications of a distinct improvement in Russia's fundamental economic position. Production figures for the first six months of 1922 generally show remarkable improvement over the corresponding period in any previous year of the Revolution. This is especially true of transport, and of the leather, textile, glass, soap and tobacco industries. The metal and fuel industries are the slowest to respond to the more favorable conditions, because their shattered condition demands large expenditures for basic repairs. But even here oil shows distinct improvement, while coal is more than holding its own. The goods exported in the first six months of 1922 more than exceed in value the exports for the whole year 1921,—a sufficient answer to the economic wisecracks who attempted to gauge Russia's trade possibilities on the basis of the years when Russian production was disrupted by war, blockade and famine.

The return of prosperity is also measured by the improved material condition of the Russian workers, who are finally beginning to reap the reward of their long years of starving and bleeding for the Revolution. Karl Radek once said to me:

"This year our workers are better off than the workers of Austria. Next year they will be better off than the workers of Germany."

And there is every probability that Radek's claim will be justified. At the recent All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions the assertion was made that wages have doubled, as compared with last year. Very recently there have been two notable

victories on the economic front. A large electrical station, capable of supplying all Petrograd with electricity, has just been completed after many years of work. This plant is altogether independent of possible transportation difficulties, since it depends for its fuel supply upon the enormous stores of peat in the neighborhood. Almost simultaneously the first automobile to be produced in Soviet Russia was turned out according to a model which permits all the parts to be repaired in Russia. The situation on the Russian economic front at the present time might accurately be compared to the military situation after the advance of Kolchak and Denikin had been checked. There is still a long period of struggle ahead. But there can be no doubt of the outcome. All the psychological and material factors are working in the direction of Russia's recovery. Confident that their worst sufferings are over and already seeing the first fruits of economic recovery, the Russian workers will push forward to reconstruction with an energy that simply cannot be checked.

It must not be imagined that Russia is a terrestrial paradise to-day. The deep wounds of war, blockade and famine are still only too evident. The new economic policy, while it must be given credit for the quickened tempo of Russian industrial life, has brought with it a set of new evils, problems and difficulties which require constant vigilance and energy and resourcefulness on the part of the Russian proletarian leaders.

But no one who has sympathized with the Russian Revolution and who has correctly measured the tremendous difficulties which confronted the Russian workers in holding the power which they seized so bravely can help experiencing a great sense of joy and relief on seeing Russia as it is in 1922. Born in the despairing revolt of a whole people against the imperialist conflict, subjected to the severest tests of war and famine, the Soviet power is to-day stronger and more stable than at any time since its birth. The fifth anniversary of the Revolution comes appropriately at the time of its final and definite triumph.

DUTY ON PACKAGES TO RUSSIA

The national office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, has received a cablegram of great interest to those who have friends and relatives in Russia and others who wish to send packages to Soviet territory. It came in answer to an inquiry about customs charges on such relief packages, and reads:

"According to a decree of the Central Executive Committee issued on November 2nd, relief packages received here up to December 31st addressed to workmen and middle employes are permitted to enter free. On others there is a duty of fifty per cent. Contents of packages will be examined; must correspond with the list of necessary commodities and must not contain many objects of the same kind.

(Signed) LEO KAMENEV."

The Oriental Woman in Russia

By HULET M. WELLS

THE new laws of Soviet Russia have been a boon to all women, but particularly to the women of the more primitive races. At Astrakhan a Russian friend and I were visited by some Kalmuks, people of Mongolian ancestry. They were above the average of their race in education, and belonged to the Communist Party. The woman member of the group told us that the revolution had done much for the women of her tribe. Men were no longer allowed to beat their wives, as formerly. If the women were abused they asked for a divorce, she said.

By the old tribal custom men bought their wives. If a young man fancied a girl and had not the full price for her, he could pay down a deposit to her parents and pay the balance in instalments. The girl would be delivered when payment was completed, and in the meantime she would not be subject to purchase by any one else. If, as sometimes happened, her intended husband attempted to steal her, before the full price was paid he must take the chance of being killed, but if he reached the shelter of his own home with his fair prize, the matter was then a closed incident and friendly relations must be resumed. Barbarous Bolshevism no longer tolerates this good old custom.

One of the most striking of my Russian experiences is connected with this awakening of the women of these primitive Eastern races, and their groping toward freedom, and away from old superstitions and man-made restrictions on their sex. From February 8th to 11th, 1921, away down in that ancient land where the Caucasian Race was born, there took place in the city of Baku the most remarkable meeting that ever shook the hoary traditions of the somnolent East.

Twelve hundred women of many races and creeds came together to talk of independence. Moslem and Nestorian,* Catholic and Jew—women from the arid plains and the remote mountain villages—Armenian, Georgian, Russian, Kurdish, Tartar and Lesgian—they came to hear the strange new things carried to them by the indefatigable missionaries of the revolution. They paraded and carried banners and sang the International. And from them came a delegation to the World Congress of Communist Women that met in Moscow four months later.

I was alone when, one day in June, I walked up to the Spassky Gate of the Kremlin and sought admission through the great stone tower. Soldiers barred my way, and I produced my credential card from the Trade Union International, together with an invitation signed by Alexandra Kollontai. After careful inspection of the cards they were handed back and I was told to enter. It was the first time I had seen the inside of the mysterious and historic

walls, and I was considerably impressed. I was standing in the holiest spot in old Russia, and a place to which few people had access even yet.

Around this oldest part of the city centuries ago these massive walls were raised for protection against barbarian hordes. From them old tsars looked down to the Red Square to see the blood of victims flowing on the block before St. Basil's Church. Here was the great bell cast for the Empress Elizabeth in 1733, and the brass cannon taken from Napoleon in 1812.

In the few acres of the three cornered space inside the walls there were palaces and churches, cobble-stoned streets and courts, barracks and council halls, a parade ground, the offices of commissars, a military school, and many other buildings for less distinguished uses. I looked at my invitation card. It stated that the Woman's Congress was being held in Sverdlov Hall. I stopped a passerby and said, "Sverdlovsky Zal?", with a rising inflection. He pointed, and by repeating my question I came presently to a corridor opening upon a circular hall of imposing height and beauty.

The Women's Congress was in session. In the center of the presidium sat Kollontai and Lilina of Russia at her left and Clara Zetkin of Germany at her right. Speeches were being made in four languages. Now Zetkin was being jibed by one of her enemies from the German delegation. I sat down near an entrance. Clara was on her feet now, brushing back her white hair from her flushed face and thundering her defiance with mighty blows of her clenched fists upon the tribune. She finished her speech and then fell over in a dead faint. Now she revived amid sympathetic applause.

One woman after another mounts the tribune. It would take too long to tell you all they say. It is all about what the revolution means to women, and what is being done in the different countries to reach the mass of women who do not yet understand. Roland Holst of Holland is followed by Rosa Bloch of Switzerland, and now comes a woman from Turkestan.

The woman from Turkestan is a Communist worker. She is talking about the women of the East, but in speech, dress and manner she is not different from the Russia that is already familiar. I wonder what these women of the East are like. Suddenly the speaker is interrupted. A wave of excitement sweeps over the delegates. They turn in my direction. Now they are standing up looking eagerly at the doorway beside which I am sitting. They break into a wild applause! Here they come! Here they come! The Women of the East....!

It was the strangest procession that I ever saw, Mostly Mohammedan women of Mongol, Tartar and Turkish tribes. Cloistered women, upon many of whose faces strange men had never looked. If

*An ancient Christian sect.—Ed.

it was a strange experience for me, what a revelation this astounding journey must have been to them! What an uprooting of age-old ideas! Even yet many of them shrank from the immodesty of revealing their faces to the public gaze.

They wore long skirts and draperies of dark cloth. Some wore Turkish trousers and shoes; others wore sandals of bark or were barefoot. Evidently they thought they were coming into a meeting of women only, for several who had their veils thrown open, hastily lowered them when they discovered men in the audience.

One of the more emancipated of the group marched ahead of her sisters with head boldly bared, and a few others followed her example. Others had a shawl or mantle over their heads which they drew together over the face, leaving only a narrow slit through which to look. The majority, however, wore a peculiar, high head-dress suggesting a coffin. It was made of black cloth fitted over a sort of hoop above the head, falling below the waist. An aperture in front was filled with black net, behind which the face was absolutely invisible.

As I was the first person whom they encountered on entering, I suppose I was taken for a committee of welcome. The leader impulsively shook hands with me, and having set the fashion, it was followed by the others. One with open veil suddenly recoiled in great confusion when she discovered herself face to face with a man. I got a glimpse of her startled black eyes before she drew the curtain that shut me out.

So that is how I came to welcome the women of the mysterious East to the international sisterhood. My part was quite unofficial, of course; Madame Kollontai did the honors responded to by an invisible woman of Samarkand. But it is something that I like to remember. It is easy to say that such representations of international friendship are only empty forms; but back of the symbolism there seems something more, something that is real, something that seems to link together the struggles of the disinherited over the wide earth in a complex of old longings and new hopes.

Then came the sound of a strange language uttered in a voice that sounded somehow like the tinkling of bells. Perhaps not, perhaps that was my fancy. But the owner of the voice was enough to wonder at. She stood there, slim and young and dainty, a little frightened by her unaccustomed role. You would have sworn she was American. Surely those pretty features and that pink and white skin must spring from old American stock. But no, she comes from the far land of Azerbaijan, from a little mountain tribe that must have been pocketed in some Caucasian valley when our family started on its long journey to the West.

Equality Versus Chivalry

Equality of citizenship has two corollaries. One is that woman must expect no special consideration in the clash of political combat. The other is that

she must not consider herself too fine-grained for any kind of useful work. I saw both of these evidenced in Russia. A good example of the first occurred in the Third International Congress in the debate on the new economic policy of the Soviet Republic. In clear frank style Lenin had outlined their plans and reviewed the isolation and the lack of industrial development that made it absolutely necessary to postpone the complete socialization of industry.



"The First Lady of Russia" at work: Wife of M. Kalinin, worker-peasant President of the Soviet Republic.

All of the Government leaders and practically all of the Communist Party agreed on this program. It was the obviously sensible thing to do, but it was a compromise, and compromises are not heroic. It was natural that the ultra-radicals, or left wing, should seize on the Government's proposition as a good heckling point. In the main the left wing of Russian radicalism consisted of Anarchists, Syndicalists, and Left Socialist Revolutionaries. But Alexandra Kollontai had moved toward that position, at least to the extent, as she herself told me, of supporting the syndicalist demands of Shliapnikov, which somewhat recalls the position of the I. W. W. in this country.

I do not for a moment question Kollontai's sincerity. She is brilliant and charming, knows many languages, and has a long record of revolutionary service. Her bobbed brown hair and graceful figure, and resonant musical voice, give her a stage presence that anyone might envy, regardless of age. But like many other revolutionists, her temperament and talents fit her less for administrative problems than for literary and platform work.

Lenin's speech was, as usual, vigorous and unemotional. Nevertheless the picture that he drew of the terrific odds against which they had battled, had in it the element of pathos. When he closed by reminding them that the workers of Russia could not continue indefinitely to carry on a single handed fight against the power of the capitalist world, I felt that it was an unspoken indictment of the cowardice of the different national labor movements represented by those whom he addressed.

When Alexandra Kollontai seized the opportunity to make an impassioned speech reproaching the Government for having retreated from revolutionary principles, she left me quite cold. Trotsky, who followed, handled her without gloves.

"Comrade Kollontai is seized with a great fear," he said, sarcastically, "She is afraid that if we sell some of our timber to foreign capitalists that we will turn into capitalists ourselves. Where does her fear start? At the port where the timber is loaded upon the foreign ships? Or on the railroad that carries it to the port, or in the woods where it is cut?"

"Probably," he remarked cuttingly, "she got frightened in the woods."

Bukharin followed in the same strain, "Comrade Kollontai seems to be afraid of something," he said, "but her fear serves no useful purpose...."

"Except," Trotsky interrupted, "as an excuse to make a long speech."

As to the equality of women in the industrial field, the Russian women furnish a good example of widespread activity. It was rather a shock to some visitors to see women sweeping the streets with twig brooms, though why it should be more undignified to sweep streets than floors I never could see. Of course this archaic method of cleaning streets is laughable to an American, but that is another matter. Incidentally, I may say that it is

the method still in vogue in many countries besides Russia.

In factory and office, school and hospital, the women take their share of social work, even as they do with us. But in Russia they are to be found also on the farms and in the peat fields, on the railroads and in the Red Guard. When I stepped off the train in the great station in Petrograd, women were working with men in the loading and unloading of baggage; and when I had rescued mine and staggered under the weight of it for what seemed like miles through the interminable corridors of Smolny, it was to the office of a woman that I was finally ushered.

She was a tall young woman with clear pale skin and black hair and eyes. The room was cold, and she wore a fur coat with a short skirt and silk stockings. She had four telephones on her desk, and she spoke four languages. People came into the office and took her orders respectfully. She was the representative of the Foreign Office, and had the rather responsible task of sifting out each day's quota of foreign arrivals, and providing for their immediate future.

In the Petrograd Soviet there were about five hundred women, in the Moscow Soviet something like three hundred. As Petrograd had not more than a half of the population of the Capital, it appeared as though the women of the former city had been more aggressive in their invasion of occupations once monopolized by men. Petrograd had sixteen women judges as against two in Moscow. In the Departments of both Soviets there were many women probationers, i. e., women in training for administrative posts.

In the Subotniks, as the holidays given up to voluntary labor were called, the women joined the men on the "industrial front". In the crowds that I used to see singing along their homeward way on the Moscow streets of a Saturday or Sunday night, after they had done their loyal bit toward salvaging their country's industry, there were as many women as men. More than twenty thousand of the Moscow women, it was said, were taking part in this work.

Of course, if a woman is going to do hard, rough work, she can hardly be expected to look all the time like Mary Garden. The peasant women are the most careless of their personal appearance, yet Phillips Price, who has lived among them a good deal, declares that they keep their households clean and neat. Certainly I know of no more attractive pictures than the groups of Russian country girls I used to meet on summer Sundays, their fresh young beauty set off by their simple finery and clean white dresses, as they clustered about picturesque old churches or strolled down leafy roads.

The women are lovers of flowers. The windows of the village houses were always gay with them. Moscow was overcrowded when I was there; every building fit for habitation was in use. I used to do a lot of rambling through the poorer streets



Women Coal Miners of Nadezhdinsk, Siberia.

Underwood & Underwood

looking for the color of life, and I never found a basement dwelling so poor and shabby that it did not have white curtains and flowers in the window.

Where did the women get their pretty clothes? That was the question I kept asking and never really got a satisfactory answer to. It was amazing how well they looked in a time of such terrible poverty and isolation, when the more fundamental problem of how to get enough to eat, was so difficult to solve. I asked Julia about it.

Julia was a car cleaner. Every day about six o'clock in the morning she started her work. In old clothes and with bare feet she was slopping and scrubbing, wiping and dusting, before the rest of us were up. But you should have seen Miss Julia after her work was done. With her freshly ironed white skirts, white stockings and little shoes she was as pretty a sight as any man need wish.

She was just eighteen, pink-cheeked, plump, and blond, with a saucy little upturned nose—a picture of sweet innocent girlhood. As she sat one day in my compartment, talking to the interpreter who shared it with me, I said to him, "Ask her where she gets the duds." Of course it was very rude,

and naturally he hesitated. So I added, "Say that I think she looks very, very nice, but I have come a long way to find out how the Russian people live in the new way. Do they get clothes from the Government, as well as food?"

"Julia, do you get clothes as a part of your pay?"—"Da, da."

"Do you get enough that way?"—"Nyet, nyet."

"Well then, how many dresses?" "How many shoes?" And so through the list of the things that women wear. In that fashion I learned that Julia in two years, according to her recollection and account, had received, two pairs of shoes, three pairs of stockings, one shawl, one fur hat, one waist, one coat, one skirt, one pair of Russian boots. The dress she had on dated back to pre-Revolution days, she said.

At this point the investigation came to a halt, as the interpreter's modesty prevented any inquiries on garments not made to be seen. I thanked Julia, and promised to convey her information to the outside world, which I have now done. So maybe that settles the clothes question, and maybe not.

The "Discarded" Communism in Russia

By J. LARIN

(From an article by the well-known Russian economist published in the Berlin "Rote Fahne")

Trusts and Trusts

ALL industrial trusts and industrial syndicates are exclusively owned by the state and managed by the state, so that private capital does not participate in them and there are no private capitalists on the boards of directors. These industrial organs are similar to the Western European capitalist trusts only in name and external form. Their inner substance is quite different from the capitalist trusts.

Every industrial trust is managed in Russia by a board of directors which consists only of workers, who are nominated by the trade unions and confirmed by the state, and of the technical specialists, who are nominated by the state in agreement with the trade unions. Moreover, every trust must work according to a government plan. The government plan determines the amount and the kind of articles to be produced, it fixes the limits within which the wages of workers and prices of goods must remain. The Russian trusts are not private capitalist, and not even leased or mixed organizations. They are a direct instrument of state management, for the practical accomplishment of the dictatorship of the proletarian state power.

The meaning of the entire reorganization into trusts is to be found in this: that unlike the time when every single state establishment was subject directly to the administrative industrial organs of the state (People's Councils of Economy), industries have since autumn 1921 been united and re-grouped into big organizations, those "ominous" trusts and syndicates. This reorganization, this more rational form of management, however, is in no wise a "renunciation" by Soviet Russia—so much desired by the Entente governments—of state management of her industries; it is by no means indicative of plans to denationalize or to lease these industries. There are no such plans.

Ninety-Five Per Cent of the Working Class Employed in State Trusts

Of the entire industrial working class in Russia only 5 per cent are employed in establishments which are leased, granted in the form of concessions or are at present in private capitalist possession. Ninety-five per cent of the industrial workers are employed in purely state establishments which are neither leased nor denationalized. These figures show in the best way what credence should be given to the misrepresentations by our enemies, who report Soviet Russia's transition from a communist state management to bourgeois private ownership.

The reason why we do not want to go over to the private capitalist system lies not only in the fact that our system is the real basis for the ideal communist state of the future, but also in the fact

that our proletarian state system begins to show continuously better practical results. Objectively, Soviet Russia is even at present, after the serious blockade, after three years of counter-revolutionary revolts and wars, after the failure of the last years' harvests, in a much more difficult situation than the rest of Europe. Nevertheless, we can notice a decided improvement in Russian industry. In bitter wars we had to conquer the counter-revolutionary generals and liberate large parts of Russia from the united English and French invaders, so that Russia did not really begin to function as a unified economic body before the end of 1919.

In 1920, in the first year in which one can begin to speak of national economic life, Russian industry achieved only 13 per cent of pre-war production. In 1922 the average industrial activity under the difficult conditions prevailing rose to 28 per cent of pre-war production. But the proletarian state is making all efforts to improve these conditions in the interests of the proletariat and to insure the continuance of this process of improvement.

Increase of Real Wages

The impoverishment of Russia as a result of the terrible, ceaseless seven years' war is still immense. This was bound to express itself also in the remuneration of the workers. In 1920 the real wages of the Russian workers were only one quarter of the real wages in pre-war times. In 1921 it increased to one third, and in 1922 it reached almost half of the real wages during peace times. This shows that the soviet system, after a period of the greatest decline caused by seven terrible years of war and of disintegration connected therewith, has helped the Russian worker and the Russian industries to a gradual but nevertheless considerable recovery. In Germany in spite of the undoubtedly more favorable circumstances, the real wages of the workers have been sinking from year to year and every sign points to a continued fall. But in Russia it is precisely the much maligned soviet system which guarantees the workers a continuous recovery of Russian industry and economy.

REVOLUTIONARY DEVOTION

A remarkable instance of revolutionary devotion to the working class was given by a worker just before he was put to death by the White Terror in Yugoslavia. Alije Aliagic was sentenced to die, and his last thought before his execution was of the starving orphans in Soviet Russia. He called an attorney and made arrangements that his clothes and other worldly belongings should be sold and the proceeds donated toward a Children's Home in Russia.

The Builder

(From the *Moscow Pravda*)

"Now, isn't it foolish?" The mechanic, Ivan Gavrilich, appealed to his wife on a topic he had already discussed that day with his mates at the works. "Our village is, so to speak, on the left, but a hundred and fifty workmen have got to trudge all the way round by the right to get to the factory gates. How many versts do you think that's wasting? Let's say two hundred yards a man, that means.....that means.....hm!"

Ivan Gavrilich reckoned and reckoned, but could not work out how many versts the workmen had to walk for nothing.

"The devil take it! That's what you have to pay for being illiterate!..... I ought to go to school, perhaps. Eh! Pasha, what do you think about it?"

"Are you losing your wits in your old age? Here you are with your hair turning grey, and you are only just thinking of going to school! You would do better to go to the town and get some potatoes."

"Oh, no! that's a foolish way to argue. Here, Vanka, what do you make of it? Just reckon this out for me. One hundred and fifty workmen having to walk two hundred yards twice a day. How much is that a week?"

The youngster took a stump of a pencil and a scrap of paper and began to calculate in large, awkward, angular figures. Ivan Gavrilich lit his pipe.

"Fifty versts, dad."

Ivan Gavrilich gave a long whistle.

"Just think of that now! That's a tidy bit. That means one pair of good shoes worn out for nothing every week!"

When he had finished his pipe he jumped up with decision and said: "Well, I'm off. I must see the works committee about this."

The next day Ivan Gavrilich left the works committee in excellent humor and set out for home. His suggestion had been adopted and they had agreed to construct an entrance to the works on the side nearest the village.

Even the gloomy corridor of the barracks in which he lived seemed brighter that evening. As he approached his rooms he heard the tearful voice of his son, Vanya.

"Mamma, I won't do it again..... Oh! Oh!"

"I will just tell your father at once. He'll give it to you!"

Pasha—bristling with anger—flung herself upon her husband.

"You, you....frittering your time away with your suggestions! What sort of a father do you call yourself?"

"Why, what's the matter now?"

"Here is your son. He steals your cigarettes. I saw him myself selling them in the streets. Oh! You brat! You'll get your thrashing now! Flog him, the good-for-nothing!"

Pasha had to go off to the shop for bread. Ivan

Gavrilich drew his son on to his knee and sat lost in thought, staring at the youngster's tow-colored head. So he remained until his wife returned.

"Look, Pasha," he said reflectively. "It is we that are to blame again here. Just see what a kindergarten the Oleninsk works have built for the kiddies. While we—what have we done?"

"There you are again with your suggestions.....!"

"Well, yes, certainly. And I'm off. We'll have a kindergarten too! We'll call a general meeting—and we shall see!"

* * *

A fortnight passed.

Ivan Gavrilich was overwhelmed with work. His mates had entrusted him with the task of starting the kindergarten. Every evening, when his work at the bench was over, he was to be seen hurrying from committee to committee, or into the town to the various Soviet departments, wheedling, fuming, pleading.

Vanya circled round him like a humming top. He ran backwards and forwards by his side to the site of the kindergarten, crying to his friends on the way: "We are building a kindergarten, dad and I! We'll take you in too!"

"And will you let me come?" ask the children enviously. "And me?" "And me?"

"Yes, all, we'll take you all," Vanya answers magnanimously.

* * *

One day when all the labors with the kindergarten were over and Vanya was outside telling all its wonders to his friends, Ivan Gavrilich said to his wife: "Now, I would like to begin learning myself. It's a bad life when you can't read and write—just as though you had no eyes and no hands. They say there are schools where they teach grown-ups. How would it be if at our works.....?"

"At our works, at our works!" Pasha mocked. "And what do you think you are—the master of the works? You are always poking your nose where you are not asked."

Ivan Gavrilich was stung to the quick.

"What do you know about it? If you don't see to things yourself nobody thinks of helping you. It's we that work at the factory know what we need. You can't expect anyone else to know."

"You are just repeating what you heard! You will be going about preaching everywhere now. It's just nonsense.....!"

But Pasha felt that she was not saying what was in her heart. Her husband—worn out with years of toil, with his rough hands and pockmarked face—her husband was the pride of the works. His mates loved him as their own father.

She glanced in her husband's face and smiled. Going to the window, she called. "Come along in now, Vanushka! Supper's ready."

The Near East Conference

Note from the Russian Government to the Powers, November 2, 1922

The Russian Government has received the communication from the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy dated October 27, inviting it to send delegates to the Near Eastern Conference at Lausanne, in order to participate there in the discussion of the question of the Straits. The Russian Government considers it absolutely inadmissible and unjustifiable that access to the conference during the settlement of all the other questions involved should be refused to Russia. It points out in the first place that the composition of the conference intended by the Powers differs entirely from that of the conference at which the Treaty of Sevres was signed: this proves that the discussion of Near Eastern affairs which will take place at Lausanne cannot in any way be considered as a tardy settlement of questions arising out of participation in the Great War. Such a settlement has been rendered impossible in itself by the brilliant victories of the Turkish people; the aim of the new conference is a general arrangement of all Near Eastern affairs.

Participation in the Conference

This view of the true character of the Lausanne conference is supported by the fact that some of the Powers taking part have already concluded separate agreements with Turkey. This circumstance alone makes it impossible for the Russian Government to consider the conference to be simply a meeting of Powers at present in a state of war with one another, of which the aim is to put an end to present hostilities. The majority of the Powers invited do not belong to this category. And seeing that the object of the Lausanne conference is obviously a general settlement of all Eastern affairs in their entirety, the Russian Government can in no case admit that Russia should only be invited to take part in the discussion of the question of the Straits, and not in the work of the conference as a whole. It finds it impossible to understand the absence not only of Russia but also of Turkey's neighbor Bulgaria, when at the same time there are to be present not only Jugo-Slavia and Rumania but also representatives of distant Japan. This artificial choice of participants for the conference seems in the eyes of the Russian Government to be an attempt on the part of the convening Powers to settle arbitrarily the rights, and the degree of participation, of each State interested in the settlement of the East. The convening Powers admit certain States to the conference and refuse admission to others without basing their choice on any legitimate criterion. This line of conduct adopted by the convening Powers inevitably seems to form part of a policy which implies the violation by the more powerful States of the legitimate rights of weaker States, and an attempt to dispose arbitrarily of their future and their interests.

Aims of the Convening Powers

This line of conduct also gives serious grounds for apprehending that the convening Powers have no intention of restoring in their entirety the rights of the Turkish people and its full sovereignty over its own territory and territorial waters. The arbitrary composition of the Lausanne conference, and the obstinate refusal of the convening Powers to admit Russia to the whole conference, are helping to bring about at the conference a situation which threatens the complete satisfaction of the vital interests of the Turkish people and the recognition in practice of its sovereign rights.

Soviet Russia and the Eastern Peoples

During the period when all the Powers of the Entente were united in the fight against the territorial integrity of Turkey and in effect against its existence as an independent State, Soviet Russia was the only Power to commence relations of friendship and fraternity with the Turkish people, who were conducting a heroic struggle. Soviet Russia concluded a Treaty with the Government of the Grand National Assembly which definitely estab-

lished friendly relations between them. The fact that it is this Power, Russia, that the Entente has decided to omit from the number of those taking part in the negotiations for a general Treaty with Turkey shows that the Entente Powers have resolved to prevent the Turkish people from gaining, at the conference table, the fruits of its victories and of its heroic efforts. Soviet Russia, the friend of all oppressed peoples, has proclaimed that all nations have the right to regulate their own affairs in their own way. During the period of its existence as a Soviet Power, Russia has linked itself to the Eastern peoples with bonds of friendship which have led to the establishment of stable conditions in the East, and she considers it to be her duty to continue to apply the same principles at the conference of Lausanne.

Sovereign Rights of the Turkish People

The Russian Government not only has no intention of reviving any of the methods of the former Tsarist Government, or of the other Governments which have desired to keep Turkey *en tutelle*, but on the contrary believes that it ought to be present at the conference with the special aim of striving its utmost to obtain for the Turkish people the full realization of its sovereign rights. Such a realization is a necessary condition for stability in the Near East, an aim in which Russia is directly interested. The realization of this principle in military and naval affairs is also necessary to guarantee peace in the Black Sea and the security of the coasts of Russia, the Ukraine, and Georgia. It is quite otherwise with the convening Powers; their line of conduct is an expression of their tendency to place the Eastern peoples in a situation of inferiority. Their refusal to invite Russia to participate in the conference with the exception of the discussion on the Straits is at the same time an attempt to deny the rights and interests of the Russian Republic in the political sphere and an attempt to injure its international position.

Straits Problem Affected by Near East Situation.

The Russian Government believes, as it has stated in its communication of October 18, that an attempt to solve the problem of the Straits without reference to all the other questions outstanding in the Near East would not give the desired results, and would not lead to any practical and durable solution which would satisfy all parties. It believes that the establishment of any particular regime in the Straits is inseparable from the general position created in the Near East. It seems clear to the Russian Government that any solution of any of the questions which will come before the conference must necessarily affect directly the situation in the Straits. The Russian Government considers that there can be no doubt but that the Entente Powers, if they really had in view the actual establishment of a durable peace, would not attempt to omit Russia from the international agreements that will settle Near Eastern questions.

Russian Republics Demand Participation

The aim of the Russian Government is to secure general peace and the rights of all peoples to dispose of their own affairs; its duty is to safeguard the legitimate rights, the dignity, and the vital interests of the Soviet Republic. It is therefore obliged to insist categorically on its own right, and the rights of the Ukraine and of Georgia, to full participation in all proceedings of the Near Eastern Conference, without any restrictions, and with the same rights as the other participants. The Russian Government asks the Powers convening the Conference of Lausanne to communicate their reply as speedily as possible in order that the Russian delegation may reach the Conference in time for its commencement.

(Signed) CHICHERIN,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

November 2, 1922, Moscow.

Program of the Friends of Soviet Russia

For four years Soviet Russia was subjected by the Allies to coordinated military attacks on all frontiers. They not only made direct assaults by land and sea, but openly subsidized individual marauders. It became necessary for Soviet Russia to mobilize its workers and peasants for the defense of the country.

At the same time the Allies persisted in a vicious economic blockade, which deprived the Russian people of the necessary machines and supplies to rebuild industry. The vigorous protests of the working class in many countries were a great factor in ending the blockade to an extent; although through the denial of credits and the raising of obstacles to trade the blockade in large measure still exists.

The military invasions and the economic blockade left the Russian people weakened and impoverished, an easy prey to the terrible drought of 1921 and the dread famine which resulted. Having been deliberately denied by the capitalist world the machines and supplies necessary in meeting such a situation, millions of men, women and children died of starvation and disease. The strength of tens of millions of others, among them great masses of little children, was undermined. Large territories where food and machinery with which to raise food were entirely lacking, had to be evacuated. Rarely in the history of the human race has a people been so cruelly afflicted.

It was this situation which called into existence the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Aims of the Organization

The Friends of Soviet Russia, an organization of American workers without distinction as to political affiliation, is true to its name: it is a friend of the people and the government of Soviet Russia. It stands for the relief of the men, women and children who are still in need of food and other aid; it pledges that all relief gathered by it shall be distributed in Russia by the Soviet government to those in need, regardless of their political opinions.

The Friends of Soviet Russia, recognizing the supreme need for measures to prevent the recurrence of the famine, aims to assist in the economic reconstruction of Russia. The havoc worked by Allied assaults and the starvation blockade cannot be fully repaired, it believes, until machines and other outside help arrive for the rebuilding of the country's shattered economy.

Towards this end the Friends of Soviet Russia advocates the extension of credit to, trade relations with, and recognition of the government of Soviet Russia as the government of the workers and peasants who, in five years of self-sacrificing military defense and unswerving political support, have shown their choice very clearly.

The Friends of Soviet Russia believes, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, that the people of a country have a right to deter-

mine their own form of government without direct or indirect interference by other governments; and that the workers of a country which infringes upon this basic right of a foreign people have a right to agitate and demonstrate for the cessation of such interference.

A Call to American Workers

In conformity with these beliefs and these purposes, the Friends of Soviet Russia will raise funds for food and clothes for the destitute in Russia, as well as for tools for the impaired factories, machinery for agriculture and other reconstructive assistance. It will disseminate truthful news about Soviet Russia and its great struggle by means of the platform, the press and the film screen. It will develop sympathetic sentiment that America may abate its economic boycott.

We call upon all workers, farmers and other sympathizers, upon labor unions and other workers' organizations, to support the Friends of Soviet Russia in this program morally and financially. Such support is the most direct method available for bringing concrete help to the first Workers' Republic in the world.

AMERICAN FARMS MODELS FOR RUSSIA

In accordance with action taken by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at its session on November 9th, the agricultural undertaking at Tolmino estates, in the province of Perm, and certain other foreign enterprises have been recognized as "model farm estates" for the rest of Russia. The Perm farm was started and is being worked by the tractor unit equipped and supported by the Friends of Soviet Russia. Other estates cited in the C. E. C. minutes are the First Canadian Commune in the district of Migayev, and the first New York Agricultural Commune "IRI", under auspices of the Society for Technical Aid to Russia.

The Technical Aid group, like the Friends of Soviet Russia, has received a letter of appreciation from Nicolai Lenin. It reads in part:

"Dear Comrades: Our newspapers have carried unusually favorable reports concerning the work of members of your Society on Soviet agricultural estates in the district of Kirsanoff, province of Tambow; likewise in the Migayev district in the province of Odessa and the work of the group of miners in the Donets Basin as well.

"In spite of the gigantic obstacles in your way, especially because of the disaster wrought in the country during the period of civil war, you have attained successes which deserve special mention.

"I hasten to express to you my deep gratitude, with the request that this be published in the organ of your Society and if possible in the general press of the United States."

SOVIET RUSSIA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Published Semi-Monthly

201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine that threatens to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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BEGINNING with the next issue, SOVIET RUSSIA becomes SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL, a lavishly illustrated review of Russian affairs published monthly. We call attention to the display announcement on the last page, which gives a detailed description of the publication in its new form. The inordinate amount of work entailed in the preparation of the PICTORIAL so as to have it on sale by Christmas made it necessary to merge the December 1 and December 15 numbers into the present somewhat enlarged issue.

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL remains in every sense, as heretofore, the official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The change is one of form rather than spirit. The magazine remains, of course, unqualifiedly devoted to the interests of the Russian workers and peasants and their Government. It sets itself the task of keeping America apprised of the true trend of events in Soviet Russia and thus to cement a friendship between the working classes of the two countries. It is the organ of publicity in the big undertakings that must be continued to provide relief and reconstruction aid for Russia.

The new form is calculated to reach a much wider circle of readers than the magazine as it now stands could achieve. The time for long treatises on the theory of social change, at least insofar as Russia is concerned, is gradually passing. The contact with reality has been made. It is now in the main a process of practical application. Whereas abstractions must be dealt with in lengthy dissertations, facts can be photographed. The PICTORIAL will give a graphic history of Soviet Russia from month to month. Its editorial attitude will be wide and flexible enough to allow the use of artistic and literary subjects, retrospective matter, special features of all sorts, original drawings, anything, in fact, that will make each issue more readable, more interesting, more useful than the preceding one.

We wish to emphasize, although the very first number of the new magazine will attest to this point and will thus eliminate the necessity for emphasis, that the magazine will not be exclusively pictorial. Approximately one-half the total space will be given over to text. In conformity with the larger appeal of the new form, articles will necessarily be briefer. But the same high standard of excellence in the choice and treatment of subject matter which has led thousands of readers to save our magazines and to bind them into volumes will be maintained. Such departments as "Books Reviewed", vital official documents, historical articles,—to mention only a few—will be continued. The admixture of what in American journalese is called "human interest stories" will round out the content.

The PICTORIAL will sell at twenty cents a copy, which is a very small price for a magazine printed on excellent glossed paper, 10 inches by 14 inches. We count on the support of the present readers, each taking it upon himself or herself to extend the audience. Unexpired subscriptions will be filled by the new magazine. The news stands will be kept supplied as always. A great united effort must be made, however, to raise the circulation. Toward that end prices, as indicated on the last page, have been cut by 35 per cent for bundle orders.

The Circulation Department is especially desirous of calling the attention of individuals and organizations to the opportunity for making their co-operation in the work profitable to them. It wants to enlist all sympathizers of the epochal struggle in Russia as agents for the sale of the PICTORIAL. It offers them a magazine with an appeal almost irresistible to every thinking worker in the United States and Canada, the sort of magazine that can be sold at union gatherings, mass meetings, forums, in the streets of working class districts, wherever toiling men and women are to be found. And it gives the magazine to them at a price which will leave them a profit as a result of each and every sale.

Whoever has followed the course of misrepresentation of Russia in the American press, the avidity with which lies have been manufactured and multiplied, must welcome the appearance of a publication with a popular approach which has both the intention and the facilities for spreading the truth. The manner in which a lie of Parisian extraction, about the "excommunication of the Einstein theory" by the Russians, has recently been snatched up by the hungry American press, chewed over and over again, made the text for editorial sermons and what not, is a proof that the readiness to misrepresent Russia has by no means abated.

We dare to trespass upon the dignity of these editorial columns by asking our friends, in the words of ye Rotarians, to "boost" SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL. Watch for the initial January number, and you'll be sure to watch for the February number without being asked to do so.

ALMOST every day the big papers give the impressions of business men just back from a trip through Russia. The reports are often conflicting. Some of them have it that Russia is speedily returning to "normalcy" and that Communism or Socialism is as dead there as a door nail. Such statements, however, are contradicted by other capitalists who have returned with quite opposite notions. According to them "anarchy" still prevails in that distracted country and no investment is safe, nor will it bear any profits, as long as the present economic system is retained, in other words, for a very long time to come, since the Bolsheviks show no inclination to disappear voluntarily. A sceptic might see in these conflicting reports nothing but another proof of the inadequacy of the human mind and the futility of historiography. And that would sound clever, very much in the manner of Anatole France, but it would nevertheless fail to give a correct explanation of the phenomenon.

The correct explanation must be sought in the admittedly dull realm of economics. The conflicting opinions are nothing but the reflexes of conflicting interests within the American capitalist class. The industrial capitalists, manufacturers, cotton growers, exporters, and so forth, are in many cases favorable to the recognition of Soviet Russia and the resumption of regular trade. They are badly in need of customers for their goods and would not mind receiving even "tainted" gold or "stolen" goods in exchange. But they are opposed by another, much more powerful, group—that of the financiers who at the same time control American raw materials. An improvement in the economic situation of Russia would imply a development of her natural resources, which would impair America's monopoly as supplier of raw materials throughout the world.

It is the latter group that for the time being shapes the attitude of official America toward Russia. It, too, no doubt, "influences" the opinions of those who, like Mr. Thompson, former financial adviser of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, return from Russia so emphatic in their denunciations and warnings with regard to the unsoundness of industrial investments in Russia.

However, the American workers who sympathize with the struggles of the Russian proletariat will not let themselves be influenced by the statements of "specialists", who in America as well as in Russia, despite the sympathies they sometimes profess, are always unable to imagine any system but that of profit-making and in their hearts thoroughly detest all attempts of the workers to get along without their masters.

GIVING the devil his due, we admit that it is not only Russia that American journalists misrepresent. They do almost as well in retailing misinformation about other countries. A short time ago the newspapers reported about the efforts of M. Herriot, French politician and business man, to bring about a rapprochement between Soviet

Russia and France. In the *New York World* of October 18, its special correspondent calls Herriot "the extreme Socialist Mayor of Lyons", thus creating the impression that it was a left wing Socialist or Communist whose endeavors, considering his political affiliation, need not be taken seriously in America. Now, the official name of the party to which M. Herriot belongs is "Radical Socialiste", a designation which has nothing to do with the real character of the party. Anyone who has lived in France even a short time knows that the "Radical Socialists", i. e., the party of Caillaux, are a thoroughly bourgeois party which is incomparably more moderate than the late "Progressive" Party in America. The *New York Times* managed to tell the truth about the status of Herriot, saying that "the party he (Herriot) represents may be compared to the English Independent Liberals." But the *New York Call* seems not to have believed this report, as it came from Moscow, and in a "cable" from Paris, (dated two weeks later, October 25) it completes the report of the *World* by changing "extreme Socialist Mayor of Lyons" into "Communist Mayor of Lyons". In line with this method of dispensing public information we may expect that the French correspondents of the big Paris papers will sooner or later call Messrs. La Follette and Borah "extreme Bolsheviks", which would set the whole matter right.

THE fate of the remnants of Wrangel's troops was for a certain time a matter of grave concern to the Allies and especially to the French. They had to be kept in Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and their maintenance was a rather expensive item. Russia was kind enough to relieve France partly of this burden, by granting a general amnesty to the rank and file and also to a great number of officers. But there are elements among them who either because of their particularly criminal record, or their "pride" would not be admitted, or would not return voluntarily. The life they must lead in exile is far from cheerful. Moved therefore by a purely humanitarian impulse we suggest to them a means of escape from their precarious situation. Though bravery has become commonplace and remains unrewarded in Europe, American womanhood keeps alive the old tradition of hero-worship. Not so long ago a young Denikin officer reduced to the shameful position of a mere engineer in a locomotive factory was discovered here by an elderly millionaire widow, who bestowed upon him her heart and her millions, even forgiving him his undivorced wife. Shortly afterward another gentleman, who for his services as British spy during the civil war in Russia was knighted by the king, found also his reward in America by being married by a milliardaire widow of the Vanderbilt family. There is no reason why similar "openings" should not be available for other titled and untitled gentlemen who at present are holding much less attractive jobs of "harem"-janitors in Constantinople or "protectors" of gay ladies in Bucharest.

Facts and Fancies

THINGS seem really to have changed. We remember the time when the *New York World* never called Trotsky otherwise than "Leber Braunstein from the Bronx," thus evincing commendable absence of pro-Jewish prejudice considering the race of the founders and owners of that daily. That was long, long ago. It was during the Great War when the Allies were fighting for the beautiful better order of things that prevails now all over the world. Five years have passed since that time and the same paper now captions the picture of the Russian Commissar of War with the enthusiastic if somewhat cryptic inscription, "Dreamer who disciplined his hair and 800,000 men."

Gratifying as this change of attitude is, it is regrettable that the headline writer so completely lost his head in his admiration for Trotsky's chevelure that a few days later in devising a title over the picture of Comrade Krupskaya (Mrs. Lenin) he wrote "Wife of Former Premier of Soviet Government" which was to put it mildly a slight exaggeration.

A similar exaggeration we find about the same time in an Associated Press cable of November 2 (in the *N. Y. Globe*) containing the delicious expression: "The Soviet congress, or Third Internationale which is held annually, etc." The "or" is not so bad, but it is still improved by the statement that "every house or building must fly a red flag at least a yard long to avoid arrest." It is incredible enough that a man in his senses should confound the Soviet Congress, i. e., the Russian Soviet parliament—if we may term it thus—with the international congress of the Communist parties of the world; but the item about every building being threatened with arrest is still more disconcerting, as portable houses are still a rarity in Russia, and as on the other hand, the municipality, as the only owner of houses in Russia, would have to become its own jailer, if the cable meant that not the houses but their owners were threatened with arrest for failure to comply with the red flag order.

Speaking of the *Globe*, we may mention another gem published by that liberal paper in an article by the versatile Dr. Crane whose syndicated philosophy is administered every day to ten million Americans. On October 11 that learned man quotes a despatch from Helsingfors (!) according to which "we learn that the Bolshevik government in Russia has taken measures to create in Moscow a school of executioners". Mr. Crane may rest assured that since every Russian worker and peasant is taught how to use a rifle, and since capital punishment is administered in the barbarous and primitive way of shooting, schools for executioners are less necessary there than in the countries practising the highly-skilled methods of electrocution, hanging or roasting, and requiring therefore a preliminary technical education in electrical engineering, theology or culinary arts.

From Dr. Crane with his "Look at the stars and

think yourself rich" remedy against poverty it is a small step to the *Christian Science Monitor* which seems gravely concerned about Bolshevik propaganda directed in Germany against America. In its issue of November 11, we saw a correspondence which contains the following delicious sentence:

They (the Bolsheviks) would make the Germans believe that American manipulation is chiefly responsible for the depreciation in the value of the mark, and the dollar is kept constantly in the German thought through Russian propaganda, in connection with the fall in the price of the mark.

We suppose the Germans would never notice the depreciation of the German mark as compared with the American dollar if it were not for Russian propaganda.....

It was no doubt in order to counteract this Russian propaganda that the *San Francisco Bulletin* ran a serial entitled the "Secrets of Scotland Yard" by Sir Basil Thomson, Chief of the British Criminal Investigation Department. We were not so fortunate as to read the entire serial, but this instalment (of October 21) contains so many extraordinary news tid bits that we willingly dispense with the reading of the other chapters. One of the most startling of Sir Basil's revelations is the information that the Bolsheviks "have been careful to disarm all the Red Army except a few trusted batalions". The implication is that the Soviet Government is tottering and nearing its fall—even the entire Army being against it. What a pity that Churchill, Poincaré and Pilsudski have suddenly turned Bolshevik and disregarded the splendid chance they were afforded to do away with the enemies of civilization with the help of one or two tanks.

And England's super-sleuth has some more stories of the same kind. Thus he tells us of a "human tractor" the drawings for which were prepared by a Russian engineer. The tractor was to be operated on the principle of the trolleys used on the railway, which are driven by human force with the help of levers. According to Thomson, Krassin sent the drawings to a British agricultural machinery concern with the request to construct such a tractor. "The firm refused for the two-fold reason that the machine would scarcely be powerful enough to carry the seven men without the plow, and that it was inhuman to employ men to do the work of animals under such circumstances." This Black and Tan tenderness for the health of the Russian peasant who has lost his horses and his cattle, in large measure because of the activities of the British and Allied governments, is in itself a very good joke, but it is by no means the best. The best was his account of how the Bolsheviks have "made a clean sweep of the priests and churches" to such an extent that "In a few of these (villages) it was alleged that people had reverted to paganism and had hoisted the head of a bull into a tree and made offerings to it."

We may remark that Sir Basil was particularly happy in the choice of the animal.

The Middle Classes in the Russian Revolution

By VICTOR SERGE

(The first part of this article, appeared in the preceding issue and dealt with the attitude of the middle classes during the civil war and their harmful activities after its conclusion.)

VIII.—Causes of This Peaceful Penetration.

WHAT made this peaceful penetration of the proletarian State by the class hostile to it possible? The numerical insufficiency of the proletariat, the elimination of the most class-conscious workers by the war, and ignorance and lack of preparation on the part of the working class—these are the great historical causes.

In a large populous city like Petrograd, with workers in the proportion of 40 to 50 per cent, the numerical relation of the classes was profoundly altered during two years of revolution. By tens of thousands the proletarians went to fight under the red banners. By the hundreds the more class-conscious among them were murdered or shot by the Whites. By tens of thousands the more backward workers with rural connections deserted the poorly rationed factory, frequently the scene of mobilizations, to return to the villages. The bulk of the remaining urban population was made up of shopkeepers, officials, clerks, intellectuals—in short, of the middle classes.

The worker charged with the management of an administrative service scarcely knew how to write, read with difficulty the scrawls that were submitted to him, and lost himself in the text of the decrees; but he quickly found a good assistant, either some one acquainted with the old method of running the bureaus, a former bank employee, or a professor of accountancy. The assistant, in turn, procured the help of a friend of his who needed a job. So, very quietly, the character of the personnel was built up.

Two other causes of the development of the bureaucracy constituted by the middle classes should be mentioned. First: the serious scarcity of goods, which made the distribution of remaining stocks extremely difficult. It is obvious that a good deal of special skill is required when it is a question of distributing 500 pairs of shoes among 10,000 persons as equitably as possible. Second: the excessive centralization imposed by the war.

IX.—The Bureaucracy.

In 1920, while Party mobilizations were tearing thousands of communists away from the work of interior organization, while all the best forces of the revolution were engaged in war against Poland, against Wrangel, against the "Social-Revolutionary" bands of Antonov, who was ravaging Tambov, against the bands of the "anarchist" Makhno and numerous other adventurers and brigands who were pillaging the Ukraine and the Caucasus, against the bands of Ungern in Mongolia, of Semionov in Eastern Siberia, the middle classes in the large cities adapted themselves perfectly to the situation. In the bureaucracy they found a formidable weapon to combat the new order, which was

often discredited and rendered inoperative by their mere presence in the gears of the revolutionary State.

The communists were fighting to the death. Some day we shall have to relate the atrocities of this civil war in which the Whites ruthlessly butchered every prisoner suspected of communist sympathies or Jewish origin. The non-partisan workers, undergoing all the privations of this time of want, already exhausted by years of suffering, were toiling for the defense of the country.

And when a convalescent wounded soldier came back to the city for some document, when the worker went from the mill to the commissariat to request some service due him, what did they see in the offices? This, among other things:

The "employees" there have tea from 11 to 3 o'clock. It is a custom there to kiss the hand of the dainty little powdered female clerks who read French novels by Bourget and Henri Bordeaux! When they pretend to work, it is only to number papers, keep very imposing books, pile up reports, or deliberate in committees. They complain about everything, they jest about their work, they await the deferred fall of the Bolsheviks, they spread mean and petty tales about the "Commissar". And they are rather well dressed, generally better fed than those in the factories or at the front; because they have friends in the co-operatives, they "control" some rationing bureaus, and, finally, there are some big and little mysteries which only the Cheka sometimes succeeds in bringing to light.

This bureaucracy has become a national sore. Every day the Soviet press denounces it.

X.—Methods of Undermining the Soviet Regime.

The bureaucracy resorts to two equally grave methods of doing harm:

Often, though personally well-intentioned and honest, its functionaries mess up the state machinery with formality, red tape, irresponsibility and absenteeism, so that things of course function badly. The bureaucracy understands nothing of socialism and does not try to understand. It applies the decrees (whenever it does apply them) literally, idiotically. It takes malicious pleasure in wasting time and paper, in exasperating the public. "Here it is, here is your soviet power." Consciously or unconsciously, it is more sabotage, clearly counter-revolutionary.

The other method of doing damage is criminal.

Long before the new economic policy you could meet on the Nevsky Prospekt at Petrograd, on the Iverskoy Boulevard at Moscow, elegant women carrying in their fresh garments, in their high boots, in their handbags, thirty or fifty times the monthly salary of a worker or clerk. If you made inquiry, you learned that this charming person, a

subordinate employee in a commissariat, earned 3,000 rubles a month, while she spent at least 400,000 during the same period of time. It was disturbing. A French comrade was upset over it and asked me about it. I answered:

"It's the petty bourgeoisie that robs us and kills us."

During a period when there was as yet no commerce, no private enterprise, the petty bourgeoisie lived well, and it alone lived well. On what? On bribes, theft and criminal speculation.

XI.—Corruption, Theft and Speculation.

In *Pravda* and *Izvestia* of Moscow and Petrograd you can find practically several times a week, accounts of bribery, speculation and "crimes committed by soviet officials" liquidated by the revolutionary tribunals of the *Cheka*. It was a new war between the Soviet regime and the petty bourgeoisie waged throughout the length and breadth of Russia—a war which has not yet ended (although its importance has diminished), for the process continues.

Toward the end of 1920 there was a terrible fuel crisis. Traffic had to stop on the main lines of the railway system (Petrograd-Moscow, for example). Numerous factories had to cease work suddenly. It was an unexpected catastrophe. A month previous it had been believed, on the basis of official statistics, that there were wood reserves, poor but sufficient to furnish the strict minimum fixed in advance. But the statistics lied, all the accounts of certain central administrations were false. What had become of the fuel paid for by the State in provisions and money? Had it ever existed? After long investigations, in the course of which many frauds, bribes, manipulations and fictitious operations were revealed, almost all the managing personnel of the Central Fuel Bureau had to give an accounting of itself before the revolutionary tribunal in Moscow. If my memory is good, there were four capital convictions. In several places, at different times, similar trials exposed certain hidden features of a fuel crisis that might have cost the Soviet Republic its life.

During the Third Congress of the Communist International, the Moscow revolutionary tribunal had to try a curious case, one involving certain electrification services. It was ascertained that stocks of material purchased for gold abroad had been promptly sold in speculation by officials charged with the duty of guarding and distributing them; that engineers—scientists!—placed at the head of the most important services, were selling dynamos for fabulous sums in provisions and money to heroic, intelligent peasants who were installing electricity in their own villages.

Only a few months ago some fifteen State Treasury officials were shot for stealing, selling and squandering the riches confided to them. During the famine!

But these rather clear and precise examples will suffice.

XII.—Moral Worth and Revival of the Middle Classes.

Scarcely had the new economic policy been initiated, when cafes, pastry shops, groceries and stores of all kinds reopened. Little by little, in step with the growing conviction as to the stability of the new order of things, various articles came forth from their secret hiding places and appeared in the show windows. The Soviet Government, entertaining no illusions with regard to the character of the new merchants, made them pay high rates for the license and authorization to open shop. They had the wherewithal to pay, and they paid. Fine garments reappeared, in large quantity, beginning with last summer.

Let us consider the significant facts. The middle classes, to which the workers' revolution was constrained to grant concessions, had managed, despite every repression, to rob the Soviet Republic, sometimes to grow rich during the civil war, to survive the terror, to adapt themselves to carry on under all conditions. And, what completes the demonstration of their moral worth—important from the point of view of social progress—security having returned, they have found it quite natural to resume their good eating, good drinking, good dressing, good amusement, good business, in the sight and the knowledge of all, with insolence characteristic of the newly rich, in a martyr country, still bleeding from its wounds of civil war, where fifteen million peasants and five million children are dying of hunger....

The middle classes, whose insolent well-being—although only comparative—makes a display of itself nowadays in Red Russia, are not, it is true, the same as those of 1917-1918. A certain renewal has taken place. But it is impossible to doubt that, on the whole, those of today are closely related to those of yesterday. Former traders are re-establishing themselves in great numbers. Most of the intellectuals, technicians, lawyers, writers, etc., have already set themselves up again in good enough circumstances. It must be said, however, that there are among these a good number of men sincerely devoted to the new-born order who are working with the Soviet State. The rest hope to enrich themselves in private enterprises. There are also the "new rich", petty profiteers of the great tempest. What are they from the class point of view? By origin and spirit: peasants, shopkeepers, clerks, and an extremely small percentage of former workers.

XIII.—Complex Role of the Middle-Class Peasants

All that precedes concerns the urban middle-classes chiefly. What was the role of the rural middle class and what is it today?

Let us note first of all that the peasants have saved the revolution on several occasions. It is they who, in large majority, constitute the Red Army. And it is they also who by their continual insurrections, by their partisan warfare, in Siberia, in the Ukraine, in the Kuban, brought about the fall of the White governments, of Kolchak, of

Denikin. Such, in natural conformity with their class interests, was the final outcome of the continual oscillations of the peasant mass, swung turn by turn in opposite directions.

In a general way, the peasants, among whom the large and middle holders dominated in the beginning, effected in the rural districts their profound, their invincible November Revolution. But, having acquired the land, they were hostile to the socialist workers' city, which, becoming an entrenched camp, incessantly demanded bread without paying for it; and which, after that, demanded soldiers of them. Thereupon, instigated by the clergy, the Social-Revolutionaries, and even by the Anarchists, in Siberia, along the Volga, in the Urals, in the Ukraine, everywhere except in the central part of Great Russia, the peasants arose against the commissars by districts, regions and sometimes by whole provinces. The martyrdom of the "Provisioning Commissions" sent into the country to seek grain would be a long story. However, each time that the peasants had to choose between the *Reds* and the *Whites*, it came to pass that, whether through past experience or not, they chose the *Reds*.

After three years of ceaseless and futile uprisings, after having had to undergo several fearful White invasions, the middle-class peasants, to whom, moreover, the new economic policy affords great satisfaction, laid down their arms: the proof lies in the slow but, it seems, real pacification of the Ukraine and Siberia. As for the rest, they issue victorious from the civil war; they have their land and the unhampered disposition of their products.

In the neighborhood of the large cities, especially near the capitals, their victory is more complete, being likewise economic. They have, for years, drained all the wealth of the cities. Where are the hundreds of billions of paper currency issued since 1917? It is a remarkable fact that the various issues have succeeded each other without the return into circulation of issues made six months before. These billions, exchanged for products of the land, slumber in the neighboring villages in the coffers of the peasants, who often possess kilos, even poods of paper money. Furniture, jewels, curtains, garments, everything that could be carried away from a city has gone the same way. In the course of the past years the sharp peasant has learned to exchange his produce for articles of a real and lasting value: gold, silver, objects of art.

But transportation difficulties have permitted only a small minority of the peasants to enrich itself in this fashion. The great majority, in the provinces, has gained nothing but the land through the revolution—and liberty, the possibility of free development ultimately.

In those provinces where civil war raged, as well as in those where the drought completed the work of the *Whites* and the rural insurrections, the entire middle class has been ruined and has suffered frightful losses in men.

XIV. — *The Petty Concessionaire and the New Economic Policy.*

The experience of the new economic policy has proven beyond doubt that the most dangerous, the most tenacious class enemy of the proletariat is the petty bourgeoisie. It is with this class above all that the Russian Revolution has been at grips. How? This struggle has two aspects: the one normal, which we willingly term healthy foreseen, tolerated by the Soviet Government—the competition of the small producer with the State; the other unhealthy, because it contaminates every social relation and incessantly raises new obstacles against the economic restoration of the country—abuses.

The petty bourgeois concessionaire, instead of occupying himself with production only too often thinks merely of plundering. He takes on concession only an establishment that still contains hidden stocks or new salable equipment (regarding which he is informed by a "specialist" among his friends, some collaborator with the Soviet bureaus). He engages himself to pay the State a percentage based upon production to which he has not the least intention of devoting himself. The hidden stocks having been exhausted, the equipment sold or stolen piece by piece, he declares himself incapable of carrying out his engagements and restores the enterprise to the State—with an apparently complete inventory. (On this subject see a documented article in No. 104 of the *Pravda* of 1922). Thousands of operations, all rotten, fraudulent, dirty, all bearing witness to the presence in the petty bourgeois of the mentality of a man of prey capable of anything, are known. And the revolutionary courts continue to try, every week, officials of Soviet bureaus, accused of having taken bribes, and from time to time they are shot.

In the domain of labor, the petty boss has shown himself hard and disloyal. At Smolensk, at Moscow, at Petrograd, "trials of exploiters" have revealed how he understands the restoration of the wage system, and have demonstrated also, doubtless for the first time in history, that justice, the class weapon, can be that of the have-nots against the haves, if the former retain political power.

Thus there is an every day struggle in every sphere of social life; a bitter struggle, with never a truce, whose stake is the liberation of the proletariat and the foundation of a new society of free workers.

What factors will determine its outcome? The international factor is by far the most important. The Russian Revolution can still hold out for a long time. It is strong enough to fear the violence of its enemies no longer. The thing to know is whether the proletariat of some big European countries will throw off the yoke of wage slavery before heroic Red Russia succumbs—in the long run—under the coordinated pressure of the capitalist world outside and of the basically anti-socialist classes within.

Friends of Soviet Russia Activities

*"A Million Meals for a Million Russian Orphans
This Christmas!"*

That is the slogan which is beginning to be heard from coast to coast. It will be heard more and more vigorously with every day that passes, so that when December 20th arrives—the last day for transmission of meals—a million ten-cent pieces will be available to translate the slogan into reality. For every contribution of ten cents for a meal, the Friends of Soviet Russia will issue a handsome certificate, and no limit is set upon the number of such certificates that any one person may acquire. Everybody is urged in the name of the little boys and girls over there not only to buy them meals, but to have others do likewise. Books of fifty certificates will be sent to those willing to sell them. Attractive Christmas stamps, selling at the price of a child's meal, are also available.

The special Christmas drive, of course, is part of the larger campaign for the adoption of Russian orphans. Russian children, like all others, must eat also on the days before and after Christmas. Their basic hope is for Children's Homes where they can be cared for right along. The F. S. R. national office has sent the wherewithal to establish ten such Homes as a starter. Each Home can care for 100 children. That, however, is only a slight beginning and before the orphan situation can be substantially helped, all friends and sympathizers of Soviet Russia will have to do some real work.

There is every indication that the local Conferences are planning busy seasons. From Canada comes news of revived interest and great enthusiasm, with bazaars scheduled and other undertakings under way. An initial contribution by the Canadian F. S. R. toward the orphans' work has

been sent to Russia as a token of bigger things to come soon.

Fred G. Biedenkapp, who has been addressing large mass meetings in many cities as representative of the F. S. R., pleading especially for support of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, is leaving more active, hard-working Conferences in his wake. Letters from Boston, Schenectady, Bridgeport, Buffalo and many other places are indicative of renewed enthusiasm following the mass gatherings addressed by Biedenkapp. By December 1 he will have reached Chicago. While in Schenectady he sold ten shares of R. A. I. C. stock to Charles P. Steinmetz, the internationally known inventor, who took occasion to endorse the work being done toward the reconstruction of Russia's economy.

Requests are being filed for shipments of the Russian handicraft products in preparation for bazaars in all parts of the United States and Canada. The tidings of the arrival here of the wonderful stock of toys, pictures, trays, boxes and other peasant products has acted as a stimulus for these bazaars, many of them planned for the week preceding Christmas, when a special interest naturally attaches to toys of any kind. New York is arranging a monster bazaar to last six days, with a great number of special features to add zest to the undertaking.

All of this activity will redound to the benefit of the boys and girls in Soviet Russia who have been left destitute by the catastrophes of the last few years. There can be no over-estimating the need. It is hoped that other locals will follow the example of Los Angeles and send committees to visit labor unions in behalf of the orphans.

A preliminary conference of Local New York



Left: A scene in the Tartar Republic. Of a family of seven only this boy remains. The others died of starvation.



Right: In the Volga district. Boy, orphaned by the famine, eating dried-up pumpkin rind.

held on November 12 indicated clearly that the malicious attacks against the F. S. R. by those desirous of interfering with relief efforts have failed to break the organization. More than 130 delegates attended, representing Workmen's Circle branches, labor unions, Workers Party branches, Socialist Party locals, etc. Plans were laid for a year of intense work in aid of Soviet Russia. Another conference at which an executive committee will be elected will take place soon.

The Famine Scouts in many sections of the continent are getting quite busy, too, as Bob Hardy reports.

Numerous cities in the United States and Canada have already made arrangement to show the seven reel moving picture, "Russia Through the Shadows" to large audiences. Some material from a new shipment of films which has just reached the Friends of Soviet Russia will be incorporated into the big seven reeler. Applications for the showing of the picture should be made immediately, the F. S. R. office announces. A first private showing has been arranged for the evening of December 11th at the Civic Club in New York, for which a limited number of invitations have been issued.

New F. S. R. Branch Started

A branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia has been organized in Jacksonville, Fla., with L. Richardson as secretary. The new branch is laying plans for thoroughgoing co-operation in all F. S. R. activities.

Los Angeles Meets on Thursdays

The Los Angeles F. S. R. meets every Thursday evening at the Technical Aid Society headquarters, 1620 East 4th Street. All contributions of money, tools, clothes, etc., should be brought or sent to that address.

Well-dressed, well-fed, happy boys and girls in a Children's Home in Moscow established and supported by the workers of Germany. The Friends of Soviet Russia drive for the adoption of Russian orphans aims to put the two boys, shown on opposite page, and thousands of other little sufferers into such Homes to be established by the workers of America.

RELIEF PACKAGES DELIVERED

Some trouble having been encountered by those who have sent relief packages to individuals in Soviet Russia, owing to the customs regulations, the Friends of Soviet Russia will make every effort to assure safe delivery of packages sent through the Post Office and in accordance with the Soviet laws. In answer to a telegraphic inquiry on the question sent to Moscow by the organization, Kamenev replied by cable that packages going to workers or middle employees and reaching Russia before December 31, may enter free of all duty charges.

In accordance with this ruling, the F. S. R. office has announced that it will be glad to get the names and addresses of all persons in the United States and Canada whose packages (sent through the Post Office) have been held up awaiting payment of duty charges. It has the assurance of Soviet officials that packages sent to needy persons for their own use and not for sale will be allowed in as speedily as possible.

All communications on the subject should be addressed to the national office, 201 West 13th Street, New York. The organization, of course, can give no guarantee that it will succeed in obtaining the delivery of all packages. It will do its best in every instance.

The F. S. R. office will send an application form to those who wish to avail themselves of this service. It must be filled out truthfully and returned to the office. The application is in the form of a statement reading as follows:

"I, the undersigned, certify that the package sent through the Post Office on..... (date)....., and addressed to..... (name and address)..... did not contain any luxuries and was intended exclusively for the use of the addressee and not for sale, speculation or other form of trading; I ask to free the package of duty."



Russian Revival

Brief News Items from Soviet Russia

Reconstruction

The Commissariat for Transport has entrusted the State Machinery Trust with orders for the construction of 508 new locomotives, and the repair of 1,800 locomotives needing complete overhauling. In addition, during 1923, the Trust will repair 1,000 passenger cars, 4,500 freight cars and 800 oil tankers.

The Putilov shipyard in Petrograd, which in recent years was engaged solely on ship repairs, is once more commencing to build new vessels, confining itself at first to steam tugs.

The Nadezhdin metal works is the largest in the Urals and has lately come under the control of the American "Kuzbas" workers. Its output of pig-iron during the month of September was double that of the whole Urals metal industry in August.

In the first fortnight of October three blast furnaces, two Marten ovens, and four rolling mills were restarted in the Urals.



The output of the Moscow coalfield in September amounted to 35,000 tons, as compared with 16,000 tons in the previous month. The number of persons employed in September shows an increase of over 60 per cent over August.

The Tolokino estate, in the province of Perm, which is being operated by the tractor unit sent from America by the Friends of Soviet Russia, and several other American agricultural enterprises, have been recognized as "model farm estates" for the rest of Russia. This action was taken by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at its session on November 9th, upon the recommendation of Lenin.

Trade

Russian tobacco is in demand in Germany, and the Russian Trade Mission in Berlin is arranging for the import of another 1,000 tons of Russian tobacco early in November. Crimean and Sukhum tobacco are in greatest demand.

On October 19 the Russian Government ratified an agreement with a German consortium for the formation of the Russo-German Trading Society, Ltd., with a capital of 300,000 gold rubles, for

the import into Russia of metals and machinery and the export of raw materials. The Russian Government has half interest in the concern and will control its import and export operations.

The Petrograd Timber Trust has exported 2,000 standards of timber to Holland, the first shipment to that country since trade was resumed with Europe. At the same time it was announced that the Northern Timber Trust has exported during the present season 43,000 standards of timber, and intends to send out 33,000 more.

Switzerland is ready to resume trade with Russia immediately and to extend credits, a representative of the Swiss National Bank on an inspection trip in Russia told interviewers. This bank is financing 22 Swiss factories which will accept Russian work.

Deals recently concluded for the shipment to Stockholm of large quantities of lubricants, flax and other goods are an indication of the Russo-Swedish trade revival.

Education and Art

Academic workers in Russia are assisted by government maintenance, which at the present time, in addition to rations, varies from 100 to 300 million rubles per month. The average remuneration of academic workers is about two-thirds of the pre-war level and compares favorably with the general standard of remuneration in present day Russia.

The number of agricultural schools and classes in the Ukraine increased considerably during the past nine months. There are now seven agricultural high schools, the number of technical institutes has been increased by 50 per cent, and the number of intermediate agricultural schools has been increased from 109 to 195. The intermediate schools now contain 15,000 students.

Two thousand and sixty-three students have been admitted this year to the Moscow Workers' Faculties, of whom 80 per cent are industrial workers, 15 per cent peasants, and 5 per cent officials.



Books Reviewed

BRIG. GEN. C. B. THOMSON: *Old Europe's Suicide*, Thomas Seltzer, New York, 192 pages.

General Thomson was an active participant in the great imperialist war from prelude to finale. He is overcome by a spiritual nausea at the thought of what has happened. "Each phase of this blood-stained period," he says, "discloses the same carnival of mendacity and intrigue...." He spares no adjectives in reviling this carnival, but in his professional preoccupation with campaigns and strategy he contents himself with accounting for most of the horrors by the axiom of individual responsibility. Mediocre leaders, incompetent generals, ambitious statesmen....these explain the failure to win universal democracy. He thus reconciles in his own mind the corruption of Allied democracies with the need for a war to make the world safe for democracy.

Within the limits of a mental scope rigidly circumscribed by capitalist dogma, however, General Thomson does a creditable job. His very innocence of the propagandist guile which inevitably colors war narratives by radicals, occasionally even makes his opinions on mooted questions more significant. Facts so incapable that they are registered even on a mind such as his may have a special significance. The chapter given over to a discussion of the Russian Revolution is profoundly interesting from this point of view. No Bolshevik can define the weakness of the Kerensky regime in a few sentences more convincingly than the author has done. And as to his treatment of the Bolsheviks themselves, considering the General's antecedents it is eminently temperate.

He tells in brief how the Kerensky democracy became a willing—more, an absurdly anxious—tool in the hands of Western manipulators, how Kerensky "turned himself into a recruiting sergeant instead of directing the affairs of State."—"Russian Democracy had been tried and failed. Kerensky and his fellows had destroyed an evil system, but had put nothing but rhetoric in its place." He reaches these conclusions by a road quite unrelated to the one traversed by Bolsheviks. He demonstrates the stupidity of the military and diplomatic policies of the Allies in relation to Russia, after the March Revolution, points to Kerensky's readiness to fall in with the suicidal projects of the Western powers, and thus arrives at the same conclusions that others do whose starting point is economic determinism rather than military science.

The author's sheer skill as a writer is amply attested by passages of remarkable eloquence and descriptions of tremendous vividness. In the same chapter on Russia he evokes effectively in a few paragraphs that epochal phenomenon, perhaps the most impressive in the whole course of the war: fraternization on the Russo-German front.

Having shown how Europe built its "pyramid of errors", General Thomson remains at the apex, indignant but helpless. E. L.

ARTHUR HOLITSCHER: "Stromab die Hungerwolga," Viva-Verlag, Berlin. Arthur Holitscher, "Down the Hunger Volga," published by the Union of International Publishing Houses "Viva", Berlin, 1922, 75 pp.

In this booklet, published by the Foreign Committee for the Organization of Workers' Aid for the Starving in Russia, Arthur Holitscher sketches grim pictures of starvation and misery in their most desperate expressions.

Holitscher reports on the various relief organizations. Some of them, he indicates, adulterate the milk of human kindness with a strong admixture of political and economic self-seeking. Others, like the Quakers or the valiant Norwegian, Nansen, are prompted purely by humane considerations. The Swedish and the German Red Cross take a neutral attitude. It is, however, to the credit of the Workers' Aid that it has realized the insufficiency of alms. Not only must life be sustained, but reconstructive work must be accomplished in order to make available the inexhaustible riches of the country. Seed grain, plows, tractors, steam plows, axes for the timber industry. Re-

construction of the factories. Exchange of products and cattle.

One example shows in the best way how much practical help can do. Near the Volga, of all Russian rivers the richest in fish, peasants by the hundreds of thousands were starving to death. The river was full of fish, but entire villages of fishermen were without boats, without nets and barrels. There was no possibility of getting fish out of the frozen stream. The Workers' Aid procured the essential things and thus kept a big part of the population alive and at work producing food for thousands of people.

We learn in this book about Communist Children's Homes created through the help of the international proletariat. Many of them bear the names of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. We hear of devoted comrades who are doing disinterestedly and devotedly their duty somewhere far away. There are pictures of the wide Russian country, the gay laughter and play of the children that have been snatched away from death by starvation. The wide Kirghiz steppe. German colonists in the south of Russia. Bands of robbers interfering with the transportation of food supplies. Speculators availing themselves of the terrible misery; rich peasants who under false pretenses are sending the poor peasants to far-away regions in order to acquire their land for a trifle.

Holitscher's book ends with the following words:

'Is it enthusiasm or is it despair that prevails in the soul of a person who returns from Russia to the thinly covered abyss of western civilization? And is not one's home where there is suffering and struggle, among the hungry, freezing, fighting people?'

B. SCHÖNLANK.

IGNATJEW: *Die Tätigkeit der Sozial-Revolutionäre in Archangelsk.*—The Activity of the Social-Revolutionists in Archangelsk.—Published by Carl Hoym Nachf. Louis Cahnbley, Hamburg 8, 1922. Paper, 93 pages.

I. WARDIN: *Die Sozial-Revolutionären Mörder und die Sozial-Demokratischen Advokaten.*—The Social Revolutionary Murderers and Their Social Democratic Defenders.—Same publisher as above, Hamburg, 1922. Paper, 40 pages.

J. SCHAFIR: *Die Ermordung der 26 Kommunare in Baku und die Partei der Sozialrevolutionäre.*—The Assassination of the 26 Commissars in Baku and the Social Revolutionary Party.—Same publisher, 1922. Paper, 46 pages.

These three pamphlets present a rather final picture of the function performed by the Social-Revolutionists in Russia since the November Revolution, and constitute in themselves as complete an indictment of that function as could be desired. It is clear to any unprejudiced reader of all three that the Social-Revolutionists have been engaged in armed civil war, fomented by conspiracy and bribery, and culminating in uprisings and assassinations, in every portion of the territory of the Soviet Republic, not to mention the definite alliances made by the Social-Revolutionist Party with imperialistic powers abroad, and the immense machinery of printed propaganda issued in foreign countries with the object of misinforming foreign populations as to the aims and practices of the government against which the civil war was—and is—being waged.

Ignatiev's is the most interesting of the pamphlets as far as the history of the Revolution in Russia is concerned, and the most detailed in its evidence as to the activities of the foreign interventionists in cooperation with the Social-Revolutionists. Ignatiev at the outset was one of those Social-Revolutionists who honestly but mistakenly believed that it was possible to achieve and safeguard the accomplishments of the Revolution by resisting the efforts of the Bolsheviks, and therefore of the Soviet Government, to administer the national affairs through the mechanism of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat. His account begins with the events at Petrograd. He shows that from the very

beginning the Social-Revolutionists were deficient in definition and rootlessness and describes the pathetic resolve of the Duma members, incited by such fiery women as V. S. Panina and O. K. Nechayeva, to march unarmed to the Winter Palace, the seat of the overthrown Provisional Government, there to die with the Government of their choice if they could do nothing to maintain it. Prokopovich leads the little band by night, himself carrying the lantern at their head, but they are stopped by the Red Guards at Kazan Square, whence they return to their sessions chamber and declare themselves to be the vanguard of the entire opposition, and establish the "Committee for the Rescue of the Fatherland and the Revolution". "They made ready for death," as the Russian proverb has it, "but were wasting their time." Some of the members of the Duma, Ignatiev among them, continued energetically to preach the overthrow of the Bolshéviki in courageous addresses to the regiments, the civil service, and the population generally, but most were already resorting to conspirative methods and to connivance with foreign agencies within a few months after the November events. For a long time the question was seriously discussed in the political circles and in the Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionists whether it was admissible to accept aid from abroad. But the question was not put in such form as to touch official relations between the Central Committee and the Allies, but rather the propriety of permitting individual party members to accept foreign money as an aid in their struggle against the Soviet power. "It was finally decided to utilize the foreign military representations as a nucleus for the organization of Russian military forces, and to permit acceptance of material aid from the Allies so long as they should not interfere in the internal affairs of the country." This was an evil beginning, for it was in this spirit that the sometimes honest opponents of the Soviet Government approached the arrangements with foreign powers that were later to involve them in definite acts of banditry, insurrection, and treason against their own country. In July, 1918, Ignatiev left Petrograd for Vologda, to aid in the formation of an anti-Bolshevik cabinet for the new Archangel Government, to be established under English protection as soon as sufficient English troops should have been landed at that port to make the venture feasible. After many delays and unsuccessful efforts on his part to foment uprisings further to the South, Ignatiev finally reached Archangel in August, where he found the control shared by French, American and British diplomats and generals—the British being most outspoken in their leanings towards the extreme right.

In December, 1918, Ignatiev became Minister of the Interior for a new Government formed at Archangel, and in this capacity he had ample opportunity to learn how complete was the control exercised by the foreign intervenors in the local affairs. Even details as to the management of the Fire Department, which was under the jurisdiction of the Minister of the Interior, were the object of meddling on the part of high Allied officers. In General Miller's "war censorship there sat also the representatives of the Allies, including the liberty-loving Americans." "Our sole salvation was to utilize the disagreements between the French, the English, and the Americans. Military work was in the hands of the English, but the French were not disinclined to make things uncomfortable for them, and Noulens was delighted to consider my proposal, made in a personal interview, to replace the English instructors with Frenchmen, more experienced in the art of war. The Americans openly abused the English, and physical fights took place between the soldiers of the two countries."

Ignatiev's concluding paragraph reads: "The first stage of my struggle against the Bolshéviki forced me to recognize the error of our tactics in the conflict with the Soviet power and to grasp the fact that the old revolutionary currents had been dethroned. The second stage of my work in the civil war, fighting against the Soviet power in Siberia, where I was associated with socialists and peasants exclusively, drove me to a revaluation of values. Such was the logic of life, the logic of events and of the civil war."

Vardin's pamphlet is far more readable than Ignatiev's because it is less taken up with detail and more limited to actual arraignment on the ground of principle. In fact, of all the three pamphlets here discussed, it is our opinion that if only one should be so fortunate as to find an English publisher, it should be this one of Vardin's. In the splendid dialectic of class philosophy that has such clear cut champions in Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Radek, Vardin's pen is no mean associate to theirs. We wonder how many persons could openmindedly read this destructive analysis of the policies of the Social-Revolutionists and then go on prating about the alleged inhuman treatment of Social-Revolutionist criminals by the Soviet Government.

The third little book deals with a subject that has already found occasional mention in *Soviet Russia*. It is the murder of twenty-six commissars at Baku on September 30, 1918, by the British and the Social-Revolutionists. These twenty-six men were shot because they were representatives of the Soviet Government, and, with the exception of two, Communists. They were shot with the help of the Social-Revolutionists whose leaders were not shot at Moscow this year in spite of the sentence of death pronounced against them, and whose sentences were commuted on the 7th of November, less than one month ago. The twenty-six commissars from Baku were shot with the help of the same "Socialists" who now are outraged by last summer's death sentences, and they were shot in the presence and at the request of the English garrison authorities, with whom the Social-Revolutionists were working hand in hand.

This pamphlet is based on documents published by the Social-Revolutionist V. A. Chaikin in his book "The Execution of the 26 Commissars at Baku" (Moscow: S. I. Grzhebin, 1922). The evidence clearly shows that the murders were deliberately ordered and organized by the English Captain Tig-Jones and the Social-Revolutionist leader Dushkin.

The account of the murder itself is given with dramatic terseness in this little book. Everything went without a hitch: "conflicting" orders, "misunderstandings", provocators, transshipment, execution. Traces are wiped out, and the perpetrators think the affair is settled. But the long arm of the Revolution will yet point out their deed to the world.

Y. Z.

RELIEF NEEDED, SAYS KALININ

Moscow.—In a letter to W. Münzenberg, secretary to the International Workers' Aid, of which the Friends of Soviet Russia is the American representative, M. Kalinin expresses satisfaction with the international working class efforts in support of Russia and indicates the need for continued relief measures. His letter reads:

"Availing myself of your sojourn in Moscow, I want to point out to you briefly the extent of foreign aid that is still required for Soviet Russia. From the figures attached you will note that the consequences of the famine, especially in certain provinces, still call for assistance from abroad.

"The activities of the workers of the West, under the leadership of your organization, have already brought important results. I beg you in the name of the Central Commission for Fighting the Consequences of the Famine to use all your influence to expand and to increase the work for famine relief and industrial assistance, and I am convinced that the workers of all countries will be successful in these undertakings.

"Heartily wishing you success in your activities, I convey through you my thanks to the entire working class of the West which participates in the proletarian world action.

KALININ."

Russian-American Industrial Corporation

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Hillman Confident of Success

Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, reasserted his confidence in the success of the clothing concession in statements given to SOVIET RUSSIA. The miniature tempest roused by the Thompson statement as improved by the *New York Tribune* correspondent has not made so much as a dent in Hillman's enthusiasm for the undertaking.

"The difference between William O. Thompson and those of us who support the R. A. I. C.," Hillman said, "is fundamentally one of attitude toward Soviet Russia. His is inevitably the point of view of the business man pure and simple. But the Amalgamated in launching the enterprise and its subscribers in supporting it are not merely embarked on a search for profits.

"I want to say quite frankly that I do not propose to compete with J. P. Morgan and Company. If it were purely business I would be abusing the trust placed in me by the clothing workers when I spend my time and energy in this work. Our purpose in going into Russia is to help reconstruct Russian industry. And the people of Russia, too, do not look upon our undertaking as merely a business proposition. They are looking for an opportunity to demonstrate to America and to American labor the possibility of cooperation with Russia.

"We do not want to exploit Russia for dividends. We want to work as partners with the Russian people in a mutual task of rehabilitation. The need for clothing, as you can well imagine, exists. It is greater than we can as yet hope to meet. The labor power, too, is available. Already in Moscow alone there are 19 factories in operation, employing over 10,000 workers. What they need is help from America in the form of working capital and technical assistance.

"This the R. A. I. C. will give. The Russian Government has guaranteed not only a dividend of 8 per cent but the entire principal. And the Russian Government will abide by its promises to the workers of America. Those who doubt that it will, those who believe that the Soviet regime will soon collapse—to them I do not speak. Time will show them their error, as it has shown the others who have been making prophecies of disaster for the last five years.

"In other words, the R. A. I. C. is appealing primarily to those who have already realized the

importance of the work that is in progress in Russia. Such workers understand that the future development of labor history throughout the world will be determined in large measure by what is happening in Russia.

"Yet we must not imagine that outright charity is what we should give to Russia. For immediate purposes, as in the famine, that is necessary. But the help that will have permanent results is the help that will earn dividends; the kind of help, in other words, that will make a profit out of industry. The world is not rich enough to keep sending charity to Russia. You cannot and must not support the world on the accumulations of the past. We have to build anew, and that is why we are anxious to assure a profit in the very process of helping Russian reconstruction.

"I believe that the Russian Government is absolutely safe and stable. There is no longer any question about it. When I was there a year ago some danger was still in the air. I had conferences with Trotsky and with others, and they indicated that there might be war or an invasion. Today no one thinks there is any such danger."

Hillman recounted the enthusiasm with which the R. A. I. C. is viewed by Russia's people and Russia's leaders. He spent some time with Lenin and brought back assurances that the Soviet Government would do everything in its power to make the undertaking a success. The same assurances were expressed by other Soviet heads, and reduced to written form in signed agreements. After discussing the new economic policy generally President Hillman described the situation in the clothing industry.

"Formerly," he said, "the Government owned all the factories, and the people worked or they did not work and they received stipulated pay, very little. If there was a deficit, the government was to cover it with funds from the public treasury and, naturally, in five years the treasury was empty. Today, the clothing factories in Moscow and Petrograd are turned over to a trust. In Moscow, for instance, who is the trust? It is composed of people elected by the trade unions, by the Central Committees in Moscow, and is appointed by the S. C. N. E.

"The care of the properties and the responsibility for production is in the control of this elected group. They have to manufacture clothes and to sell it at a profit. They have to run the busi-

ness, in a word. Yet it remains a government organization, for the trust is government property. It remains a workers' organization, because the trade unions in conjunction with government representatives, run the business.

"It is managed by the workers, it is run by workers, and there is going to be a test whether labor, now that the factories have been turned over to it, can work them, whether they can manage them, whether they can run them successfully. The next few years will tell the story of labor in Russia. If it cannot run them, someone else will have to run those factories. That is why I plead for the R. A. I. C. It is to our interest and to the interest of labor in this country and labor in every country to make sure that the Russian workers learn how to manage their factories.

"It is not a question of communists or non-communists, it is a question whether labor can run industry or whether labor must have a master with a whip and be condemned to wage slavery forever. And I say that not only is it to our interest, but it is our duty to do everything in our power to see that we do our job successfully."

FRANK P. WALSH ON RUSSIAN CONCESSIONS

The following is part of a report submitted by Frank P. Walsh to the Friends of Soviet Russia. It gives the marrow of his entire findings, and has a direct bearing upon the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

"Upon careful consideration and investigation, I am of the opinion that the present laws of Russia have a scientific juridical foundation; that they are based upon the modern conception of statutory enactments; that they are readily subject to intelligent judicial interpretations, not differing in principle from that applied to the common law of England and the Napoleonic Code, as interpreted by the courts of this country; that they are adequate to define the rights of individuals and corporations, transacting business with Russian nationals and corporations; and that the judicial machinery, now in operation in the Russian Republic, is entirely adequate for the settlement of disputes and the maintenance and operation of their laws.

"This, of course, leads to the conclusion that individuals and corporations, both domestic and foreign, may legally and safely receive concessions from the Russian Government and make contracts and engagements with that Government, its citizens and corporations."

In a telegram addressed to the reception meeting for Sidney Hillman in Carnegie Hall, Frank P. Walsh expressed his confidence in the success of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. His opinion is especially deserving of attention because he has just returned from Russia, where he spent some time investigating the very questions at issue in the statements made by William O. Thompson.

Radio From Thompson

Charges Reporter Exaggerated

The bitterness attributed to William O. Thompson in the *New York Tribune* interview was "wholly a product of the reporter's frantic imagination," Thompson himself asserts in a radiogram addressed to a mass meeting of workers at Carnegie Hall. The interview in question is the one which quoted Thompson as prophesying failure for the enterprise.

The crux of the situation, the message further shows, is that Thompson does not believe in "such economic experiments" as those being worked out in Russia, and therefore could not continue to cooperate in work intended to further the experiment.

It is interesting to note that the *Tribune* interview was transmitted by the Paris correspondent of that newspaper, Joseph Shaplin, well known in certain sections of New York as a Menshevik of deep dye. In lectures in America following his return from Russia several years ago he did the little in his power to hurt Soviet Russia. It is more than likely that had Thompson known Shaplin's antecedents he would not have taken the chance of entrusting an interview to him.

The radiogram from Thompson reads:

"I learned with regret that certain statements of mine have been so misrepresented by a hostile press as to convey an impression of my bitter opposition to the work of reconstruction in Russia undertaken by the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. I am anxious to let you know that this is not the case, and I am utilizing the occasion of your mass meeting and reception to Mr. Hillman to tell you that I still have the same friendly sympathetic interest in your venture and all the confidence in your constructive purposes.

"My experience in Russia has brought me the conviction that the reconstruction of that country is not merely a business proposition because it is closely connected with the trying out of an economic theory for the benefit of all mankind.

"Such humanitarian experiments, however, must leave the business man to one side, and since I was asked to act as financial adviser to consider the matter from the business standpoint only, I could not indorse Hillman's venture and stepped out. But I realize full well that in such economic experiments the faith and hope of a people is a large factor in success and I believe that your venture may be well worth while for the investment of those who believe in such an experiment, even though I do not share in this belief.

"Permit me to assure you that the bitterness of the *Tribune* interview is wholly a product of the reporter's frantic imagination, not of my heart. I am heartily with you in your welcoming Hillman and extend to you my best wishes."

A Splendid Opportunity

By ROBERT MINOR

SIDNEY HILLMAN, President of the Russian American Industrial Corporation — he is better known as President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—has just returned from Russia with news of great developments in the plan for reconstruction of Russian Industry with capital, machinery, and expert services to be supplied by the American labor movement and its friends.

The Soviet Government has agreed not only to guarantee with the enormous wealth of Russia the money invested by American labor and its sympathizers, but also to guarantee an eight per cent return on every dollar invested in this corporation. The Russian Government regards the project as "a great piece of constructive statesmanship". Karl Radek has pointed out that this movement on the part of American labor may be the means at last of breaking down the boycott with which the great capitalists of the world have been trying to starve out the new social order of Russia. Premier Lenin insisted on showing his approval of the new corporation by buying two shares of stock from Hillman.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation has already raised about \$300,000 of the first million dollars of capital which was guaranteed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and has sent out a blanket invitation to all labor organizations, individual members and sympathizers with labor, to join in the purchase of stock. A drive for selling the first million in stock at \$10 a share will now be started. The only restriction is that a dominant interest in the corporation must remain in the hands of workers' organizations.

Because of the terrible shortage of clothing in Russia, where the Winter cold is expected to take a heavy toll in death and suffering, the corporation has been assigned the first task of manufacturing clothing on a huge scale according to the latest American methods; and this made it especially appropriate that the Clothing Workers should take the lead in the scheme. However, under the contract with the Soviet Government, the corporation is expected to go into various other industries, taking up textile manufacturing very shortly. Therefore not only clothing workers but every trade and their labor organizations are equally welcome in the huge undertaking.

The fact that the Russian Government was willing to permit this corporation of its friends to have certain import and export rights, led to an interesting problem. It developed that enormous profits could be made by exporting goods from Russia, the estimate being a 400 per cent profit. This was a great temptation for Hillman's financial adviser, who wanted immediately to switch from the difficult task of supplying Russia with clothes, to the more easy business of stripping Russia of her remaining goods to be sold in the foreign

market. This financial adviser was Mr. William O. Thompson, former president of the N. K. Fairbanks Co. and the American Cotton Oil Co.

Hillman steadfastly refused to change from the plan of manufacturing clothing for the Russian people, being of the opinion that the primary purpose of the workers in investing in this company is not to make enormous profits, but to help the Russian people by building up their industries to a self-sustaining basis. It was an irreconcilable disagreement, Thompson insisting on looking at it purely from the viewpoint of a "business man" and Hillman insisting on looking at it as a member of the labor movement, pointing out that the guaranteed eight per cent profit was sufficient to assure a prosperous business that would benefit the Russian people as well as the stockholders. Thereupon Thompson quit the project and gave an interview to the *New York Tribune* in which he withdrew his name from the enterprise. Although Mr. Thompson has later cabled repudiating the spirit of the *Tribune* interview, which he says was distorted by "the reporter's frantic imagination", nevertheless it is an incident deserving careful analysis.

When Mr. Thompson reached Russia he was disturbed to see the way the Russian workers run their industries, and disturbed again over Hillman's unwillingness to take the highest profits in sight without regard to the Russian workers' interests. He decided that purchase of stock in the Russian American Industrial Corporation would not be a good investment unless the Soviet Government gives up the attempt to socialize the industries—that is, unless it gives up the purpose of the revolution.

Mr. Thompson as quoted in the *Tribune* (though he says his words were distorted), is very much confused. At first he is afraid that investors "stand a good chance to lose their money," but later he admits that if the project should fail the investors could get their money back but says that he fears they "would have to wait for it four years."

Confronted with the fact that the enormous wealth of Russia became security in guaranteeing the labor corporation's investment and 8 per cent return, he said, "Concerning the eight per cent profit guaranty given Mr. Hillman by the Soviet Government, there is no doubt that the Government can pay it, but whether it *will* is the big question."

Mr. Thompson has lost his nerve. He has fallen for the old emigrés' theory. It's an adjustable theory, that the Bolshevik government is bound to fail, but since it does not fail it can't be trusted anyway. Mr. Thompson's fears are not one particle different from the hopes of the grand-dukes, countesses and ex-capitalists from Russia who are now begging drinks around the cafes of Berlin.

and Paris while they wait for the Bolshevik government to fall "next week." I have personally had the amusing experience of listening to this theory from the lips of a cousin of the Tsar in a Berlin hotel in 1919. It is merely a total inability to believe in the possibility for a new order of society to succeed.

Can the Soviet Government effectively guarantee an investment? This question can only mean a repetition of the old wheeze, "is the Soviet Government going to fall?" Our own opinion is that if there were any danger of the failure or downfall of the first effort in the world's history to socialize industry, such a danger should be the signal for every worker to redouble the effort to supply Russia with the needed machinery. But is there any danger?

Of course there is a chance that Russia may go down, just as there is a chance that all Europe may go down, or even that America may go down. But anyone who applies his intelligence to reading the news knows that among the governments of Continental Europe, Soviet Russia alone is fast extending and solidifying its power, while every other government is rapidly going down a decline.

What is the purpose that brings Mr. Clemenceau to America? To get American help to save the French industrial, social and political system from collapse. The one big question that fills the minds of all of Europe's rulers and financiers today is the question of how to save the rapidly dying system of private ownership of industry—the very system that Mr. Thompson advises the Russians to go back to. Central European and French industry are now fast going, without a sign of change ahead, in a direction which will soon lead them to a condition where no form of social organization can keep industry and life going except the Soviet form, with the expropriation of private industry by the people.

Soviet Russia on the Ascendancy

Political power and solidarity in a Nation are only a reflection of economic solutions. Russia has far from completed the solution of her economic problems, but she has proven that a Soviet form of organization can hold a Nation together and keep its industrial life going after it had been reduced to a condition of ruin so complete that no other social form can hold it together.

Russia had been defeated, broken into fragments and economically destroyed by the war. Its frontiers had shrunken into a little circle around Petrograd and Moscow besieged by the armies of a dozen nations. Yet the social power that was generated by the Soviet social form was vital enough to push back these frontiers to the Arctic Ocean in the North, to the Black Sea and the Transcaucasia in the South, strong enough to wear down the Japanese military power and to stretch its rule across five thousand miles to the Pacific. Yes, while the French bankers squabble four years unsuccessfully to reach the left bank of the Rhine a hundred miles away, the Soviet Power advances five thousand miles to the left bank of the Pacific.

Meanwhile the decaying political system of the West—representing a decayed economic system—lets the prizes of the World War in the Dardanelles, slip from its hands into the hands of an ally of Soviet Russia, a pupil of Moscow.

The vitality of the Soviet Power rests upon an economic basis. No abstract notion without economic basis could have swept this mighty tide across two continents. This power of social organization which the Bolsheviks have found is a power without which nations cannot hold together. And we repeat that it is based upon a special form of economic organization.

Bolsheviks As Organizers

Not only is this basically an economic force, but it is an organizing force. It has organized armies better than any professional army-organizers, and out of material that no other force could handle. It wrested by force out of the hands of Kolchak and Wrangel human herds which it re-organized into iron battalions. It has disorganized every army that has been sent against it, and when these have not been quickly withdrawn from contact with it, it has captured and re-organized them with a stronger discipline.

In short the Bolsheviks of Russia have organized in a superior form everything that has come into their hands.

But the Bolsheviks *have never come into possession of a complete industrial system*. Old Russia had only a partial industrial system which was absolutely dependent upon imported machine equipment and supplies. It was a system which never could run under a blockade. And this fragment of an industrial system was practically destroyed by the war. France is now complaining that she cannot live without help; Clemenceau begs compassion of the world for "France's twenty thousand destroyed industries." All the industrial system that Russia had was destroyed. Soviet Russia quite naturally asks that her friends lend help in importing and establishing a self-sustaining industrial system.

American capitalists generally, with the encouragement of the U. S. Government, refuse to supply this equipment and organization. Why? The only reason given is that Russia hasn't got this equipment and organization! We hold this is an excellent reason for capitalists that want to strangle Russia, but that it is a better reason for the workers to redouble their efforts through the Russian American Industrial Corporation to supply Russia with machines, materials and industrial skill. We can't expect Mr. Thompson to understand this. It is a philosophy which, generally speaking, is impossible to the class of which Mr. Thompson and Mr. Clemenceau are spokesmen. A cat will be a cat and a fish will be a fish, and nobody can persuade a cat to love a cool river, nor a fish to love a warm corner by the stove. One must as a general rule live in the labor movement to understand this philosophy. We think Hillman understands it better than Thompson.

The Russian Soviet Government is better able

to keep any promises it now makes than any other government in Europe. Very nearly admitting this, Mr. Thompson says that "whether it will, is the big question."

And here the matter reaches the point of ridiculousness. A mighty government representing a new order is born into the world and has undisputed possession of one-sixth of the earth's land surface. The one remaining obstacle to its existence is the boycott of capitalists who will not supply it with industrial machinery. The Soviet Government appeals over the heads of the capitalists, asking the workers of the world to break the boycott by supplying industrial machinery as friend to friend in partnership. The Soviet Government gives its promise to the outside workers that every dollar will be guaranteed and likewise it guarantees to pay a minimum return of eight per cent on the investment. Leave aside all questions of honor; leave aside the fact that the sole support of the Soviet Government rests in the respect and confidence and friendship of the working class. "Business men" could not generally understand anything of that. But what kind of folly would it be if the Russians failed to keep such a promise?

But Mr. Thompson is afraid that if we supply industrial machinery to Russia, the Soviet Government "can easily cripple the industry, should it so desire, by prohibiting the importation of sewing machine needles."

For our part, we say to the American labor movement and to all sympathizers and liberals—*buy stock in the Russian American Industrial Corporation!* The first Workers' Republic asks for your help. As the mightiest power in Europe it guarantees the funds that you can put into a partnership with it.

Is It Safe?

By A. A. HELLER

(We have received the following letter from A. A. Heller, until recently Representative in the United States of the Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia).

MY investment in the Russian-American Industrial Corporation causes me no anxiety. I feel certain that the undertaking is worth while and that it will be successful. And the reasons are obvious: the two contracting parties — the Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia on the one hand, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America on the other—have the means, the ability and the intelligence to carry out the contract as agreed upon. The Soviet Government places at the disposal of the Corporation buildings, machinery, raw materials, in other words all the fixed capital; the Americans supply the operating capital and the skill to run the factories and the general affairs of the Corporation. No one who is at all acquainted with the powerful organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and with Mr. Sidney Hillman, the President

of the Corporation, can doubt for a moment their ability to carry out this project; while on the part of Soviet Russia every effort will be made to guarantee the success of the undertaking, and to encourage the extension of this or similar projects for the benefit of all concerned.

The criticism of this undertaking expressed by Mr. Thompson on his return from Russia—if the interview in the *New York Tribune* can be trusted—is based on a misunderstanding of the Russian situation and Russian conditions. An American business man, accustomed to the high-speed industrial life in America, will be upset by the lack of speed and efficient organization in Russia. But the fact that these defects are a heritage of old Russia, and that the present industrial maladjustment is the result of years of war, blockade and revolutionary upheaval may not be known or appreciated by this well meaning businessman. He measures all relations by the American standard, and in Revolutionary Russia these do not apply.

The standards which Soviet Russia is working out for herself are novel, are based on new principles never before entering in the construction of a State; hence to understand them a new attitude is necessary. Those who look at Russia through the glasses of the capitalist civilization, those who expect in Russia "business as usual" are bound to be disappointed. But there is in Russia unusual business, unusual opportunities. In what capitalist country does the government enter into partnership with a private firm or individual? In what corporation agreement is there a clause similar to Paragraph 8 of the R. A. I. C. contract, to wit:

8. In case the R. A. I. C. leaves the syndicate, it receives back within six months after its withdrawal in the currency in which the payments have been made all sums paid in by it for its shares; and also its shares of undivided profits, not excepting such as might have been converted by decision of the general meetings to reserved and special capital.

Such conditions are unusual, but in Soviet Russia they are perfectly feasible and proper.

Hence, the principal of the investors is fully guaranteed, also the annual interest of 8 per cent; and what is a great deal more, above these considerations of principal and interest, there is the constructive and popular side of the undertaking; the effective participation in the economic upbuilding of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. For these reasons I feel perfectly safe in my investment and can heartily recommend it to others.

Buy Shares of
R.A.I.C. Stock!

\$10.00 A SHARE

Russian-American Industrial Corporation
31 Union Square, New York.

In his report to the Committee of Investigation, Stuart Chase, Certified Public Accountant, consulting accountant of the Labor Bureau, Inc., said: "I know of no other charitable or relief organization the country over which is furnished with statements of a like character and excellence."

Financial Statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia

For Period August 9, 1921 to September 30, 1922.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

National Office:
201 WEST 13TH STREET,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Statement "A"

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to September 30, 1922.

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from F. S. R. Locals and other Workers' organizations. Receipts are issued for income received, and published in detail.

	Tool Drive	General
For the first fiscal year, ended July 31, 1922 there was received and reported, Receipt Nos. 1 to 12115	\$ 7,164.78	\$727,757.92
For the second fiscal year, Receipt Nos. 12116 to 12675 have been reported in detail, a total of	4,918.49	9,591.26
For September, 1922, of the second fiscal year, Receipt Nos. 12676 to 12945 are published in detail in our official organ, "Soviet Russia", date of October 1 and 15, 1922, a total of	4,627.28	4,899.23
	\$ 16,710.55	742,248.41
		16,710.55

Total Received and Acknowledged

The above income was deposited in a bank account and before it was withdrawn for relief there was received INTEREST amounting to:

For the first fiscal year	878.96
For the second fiscal year to date	211.44
	<hr/>
	1,090.40

Making a TOTAL INCOME of

From which is DEDUCTED the following:

For first fiscal year, previously detailed	\$ 5,448.01	
For August 1922, items previously deducted now added	72.46	5,375.55

Leaving INCOME RECEIVED BY NATIONAL OFFICE

HOW THE FUNDS AND CLOTHES WERE COLLECTED:

In order to assist Locals and other Workers' organizations to collect funds and clothes the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and furnished supplies for making appeals to individuals. The amount of money which the National Office spent for these purposes is explained in detail in statements herewith referred to. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals, making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. Also it is better for every one to know how much the National Office spends to help Locals—probably less than the Locals would spend for the same speakers and literature if they incurred these expenses themselves. Instead of charging these expenses to Locals they are deducted from the amount which is sent in by Locals and other Workers' Organizations in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after the deduction of all expenses, whether paid by Locals or whether publicity and appeal expenses paid by the National Office; thus:

Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office:

For first fiscal year, previously detailed	\$ 93,888.71	
For the second fiscal year to date, detailed in Statement "B" below	10,154.96	104,043.67

Leaving INCOME received by National Office LESS COST OF RAISING FUNDS AND CLOTHES

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals and spending the money for relief the National Office needs a secretary, office employes and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are:

For first fiscal year, previously detailed	\$ 29,222.40	
For second fiscal year to date, detailed in Statement "C" below	4,991.58	34,213.98

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF and AID of Soviet Russia of

Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF and AID, as follows:

**American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for the F. S. R. for food and equipment	\$512,640.12
Tool Drive Purchases: Tractors	787.00
Freight and Packing thereon	78.00

Remitted to Arbeiterhilfe, Auslandskomitee, (Berlin) (The Workers' Aid-Foreign Committee)	54,787.50	
Food Shipments, direct	2,185.73	
Russian Red Cross, Medical Unit No. 2, specific contribution remitted	1,987.50	
Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of I. L. G. W. U.	2,288.94	
Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia—Subsidy for training technicians for Agricultural Relief Unit	4,165.00	
Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage and shipping charges on old clothes contributed	9,222.34	
Federated, International and Russian Conference expenses	15,355.83	\$603,497.96
<hr/>		
Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of		\$ 12,918.20
Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF, but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or for EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:		
Cash in Bank	\$ 9,519.86	
Petty Cash on Hand	920.43	
Charges on Toys in transit from Russia to be offered for sale	909.65	
Advances to Speakers	109.10	
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost less depreciation)	2,184.12	
Deposits for Electricity, Gas & Lease	145.00	
Books and Busts purchased for sale, less sold	536.52	
<hr/>		
	\$14,324.68	
DEDUCT:		
Funds held awaiting definite instructions	\$ 406.48	
Funds reserved for payment of traveling expenses incurred	1,000.00	1,406.48 \$ 12,918.20
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**From the date of organization to May 31, 1922, each \$100 of relief funds received by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee from the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations was expended for the following purposes:

Office expenses	\$ 1.00
Extending its affiliations	2.00
Relief	97.00
<hr/>	
	\$100.00

Statement "B"

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES

For two months of the Second Fiscal Year to September 30, 1922.

*Wages:		
Speakers and organizers	\$ 410.00	
Addressers	1,748.40	
Publicity: Writers, Translators, and Movie Director	1,215.40	
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers	439.08	
Postages	1,804.65	
Envelopes and Wrappers	96.90	
Official Organ, "Soviet Russia"—Subsidy	1,400.00	
Advertisements	1,347.72	
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed	217.00	
Motion Picture and Stereopticon Equipment	1,025.63	
Cuts, Mats, Cartoons, etc.	203.41	
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.	536.65	
<hr/>		
	10,444.84	
Less Sale of and Refunds on Pamphlets and Cards	289.88	
<hr/>		
	\$10,154.96	

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Statement "C"

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

For two months of the Second Fiscal Year to September 30, 1922.

*Wages:		
Secretary	\$ 360.00	
Office Staff	3,010.00	
Office Rent	380.00	
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat	39.83	
Office Supplies, etc.	106.99	
Printing and Stationery	114.18	
Telegrams	55.27	
Telephone	64.05	
Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc.	63.47	
Auditor's charges	797.75	
<hr/>		
	\$ 4,991.58	

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the first fiscal year, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1922 and for two months of the second fiscal year to September 30, 1922.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. In general expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included, and some expenses paid in the second fiscal year related to the first fiscal year.

The above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected to their own contributors.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transaction for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

20 Nassau Street,
New York, N. Y.
October 17, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

Financial Statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia

For Period August 9, 1921 to October 31, 1922.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

National Office:
201 WEST 13TH STREET,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Statement "A"

From date of organization, August 9, 1921 to October 31, 1922

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from F. S. R. Locals and other Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received, and published in detail. For the first fiscal year, ended July 31, 1922 there was received and reported, Receipt Nos. 1 to 12115		\$734,922.70
For the second fiscal year, Receipt Nos. 12116 to 12945 have been reported in detail, a total of		24,036.26
For October 1922 of the second fiscal year, Receipt Nos. 12946 to 13125 are published in detail in our official organ, "Soviet Russia", dated November 1 and 15, 1922, a total of.....		5,093.56
		<hr/>
Total Received and Acknowledged (including Tool Drive Contributions)		\$764,052.52
The above income was deposited in a bank account and before it was withdrawn for relief there was received INTEREST amounting to:		
For the first fiscal year	\$878.96	
For the second fiscal year to date.....	211.44	1,090.40
		<hr/>
Making a TOTAL INCOME of		\$765,142.92
From which is DEDUCTED the following:		
For first fiscal year, previously detailed.....	\$5,448.01	
For second fiscal year to date, Credit	44.96	5,403.05
		<hr/>
Leaving INCOME RECEIVED BY NATIONAL OFFICE		\$759,739.87
BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES:		
In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals and spending the money for relief and aid, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and business office. The expenses paid for these needs are:		
For first fiscal year, previously detailed.....	\$29,222.40	
For second fiscal year to date, detailed in Statement "B" below	7,040.84	36,263.24
		<hr/>
Leaving INCOME less BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES		\$723,476.63

Part of this amount was used for PUBLICITY and APPEAL EXPENSES:

- (a) in raising the total income
 - (b) in collecting clothes
 - (c) in aiding Soviet Russia by the dissemination of friendly information.
 - (d) latterly, the friendly information has for its specific object the promotion of the Russian-American Industrial Co-operation (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America)
- The appeals for funds and clothes and the dissemination of information is made largely through locals.

In order to assist Locals and other Workers' organizations the National Office sent speakers throughout the country, published advertisement and literature and furnished supplies. The amount of money which the National Office spent for these purposes is explained in detail in statements herewith referred to. The National Office could charge most of this amount to Locals, making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature dis-

tributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more office work, more bookkeeping. Instead of that these expenses are deducted from the amount which is sent in by Locals and other Workers' Organizations in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after the deduction of all expenses, whether paid by Locals or by the National Office; thus:

Publicity and Appeal Expenses paid by National Office:

For first fiscal year, previously detailed	\$93,888.71	
For second fiscal year to date, detailed in Statement "C" below	13,300.96	107,189.67

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE for MATERIAL RELIEF of Soviet Russia		<u>\$616,286.96</u>
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Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF as follows:

**American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, purchasing agent for the F. S. R. for food and equipment	\$512,640.12	
Tool Drive Purchases: Tractors	787.00	
Freight and Packing thereon	78.00	
Remitted to Arbeiterhilfe, Anslandskomitee, (Berlin) (The Workers' Aid—Foreign Com.)	54,787.50	
Food Shipments, direct	2,185.73	
Russian Red Cross, Medical Unit No. 2, specific contribution remitted	1,987.50	
Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor I. L. G. W. U.	2,288.94	
Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia—Subsidy for training technicians for Agricultural Relief Unit	4,105.00	
Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage and shipping charges on old clothes contributed	9,606.28	
Federated, International & Russian Conference expenses, for distribution of relief and organization of further aid	17,447.45	\$605,913.52

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND of		<u>\$10,373.44</u>
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Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF, but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or for EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank	\$5,422.94	
Petty Cash on Hand	1,001.48	
Charges on Toys from Russia to be offered for sale.....	1,665.02	
Advances to Speakers	467.01	
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost less one year's depreciation)	2,202.12	
Deposits for Electricity, Gas & Lease.....	145.00	
Books and Busts purchased for sale, less sold.....	716.52	

DEDUCT:

Funds held awaiting definite instructions.....	\$246.65	
Funds reserved for payment of expenses incurred.....	1,000.00	1,246.65
		<u>10,373.44</u>

**From the date of organization to May 31, 1922, each \$100 of relief funds received by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee from the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations was expended for the following purposes:

Office expenses	1.00
Extending its affiliations	2.00
Relief	97.00

Statement "B"

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

For three months of the Second Fiscal Year to October 31, 1922

*Wages:		
Secretary	\$520.00	
Office Staff	4,270.00	
Office Rent	570.00	
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat	55.60	
Office Supplies, etc.	150.25	
Printing & Stationery	117.18	
Telegrams	64.00	
Telephone	64.05	
Outside phone calls, carfares, etc.	82.43	
Auditor's charges	1,147.33	
		<u>\$7,040.84</u>

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

Statements "C"

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES

For three months of the Second Fiscal Year to October 31, 1922

*Wages:		
Speakers and Organizers	475.00	
Addressers	2,030.40	
Publicity: Writers, Translator, and Movie Director.....	1,625.40	
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers	813.83	
Postages	2,766.69	

Envelopes and Wrappers	176.26
Official Organ, "Soviet Russia"—Subsidy	1,900.00
Bulletins and Financial Reports	35.00
Advertisements	1,381.32
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed	502.00
Motion Picture and Stereopticon Equipment.....	1,152.67
Cuts, Mats, Cartoons, etc.	223.41
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.	530.15
Information Service	15.70
	13,627.83
Less Sale of and Refunds on Pamphlets and Cards.....	326.87
	\$13,300.96

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the first fiscal year, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1922 and for three months of the second fiscal year to October 31, 1922.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. In general expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements, "A", "B" and "C", are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A", "B", and "C", are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

20 Nassau Street,
New York, N. Y.
November 10, 1922.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

In addition to the aid to Soviet Russia in the form of propaganda, and in addition to the material relief in the form of food and equipment, the Friends of Soviet Russia also sent over 400,000 pounds of clothes worth over \$300,000.00—not included in our financial report.

Relief Contributions, November 1-30, 1922

The following abbreviations are used: F. S. C., *Famine Scout Clubs*; F. S. R., *Friends of Soviet Russia*; RC, *Roll Call contribution*; TD, *Tool Drive contribution*; W. S. and D. B. F., *Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund*.

Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount
13126	J. Dubeck, Orphans, Williamston, Conn.	1.00	13152	Julius Soos, Canton, Ohio.....	1.00	13177	M. A. Rothmund, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
13127	J. B. Milgram, TD, Sheephead Bay, N. Y.	1.00	13153	Mrs. T. M. Nagle, Orphans, Wesleyville, Pa.	20.00	13178	E. B. Cooke, Orphans, Paterson, N. J.	30.00
13128	L. C. Valero, Akron, Ohio ..	1.00	13154	John Hoch, TD, New York...	1.60	13179	Ivan Jankowich, TD, Gary, Ind.	5.00
13129	Cancelled		13155	Mrs. Nystroa, Toys, New York	1.50	13180	Peter Sawochuk, TD, Gary, Ind.	1.00
13130	Theo Florian, TD, So. Boston, Mass.	6.55	13156	F. S. R., Branch, Akron, O. TD.	13.75	13181	Theo Eremew, Orphans, N. Y.	2.00
13131	Michel Repko, TD, New York	5.25	13157	I. Serier, Orphans, Kennewich, Wash.	5.00	13182	Wm. Kruse, Toys, New York	1.00
13132	T. V. Kusarvich, TD, Seattle, Wash.	29.25	13158	J. Shimkus, J. Siminavakas, Cleveland, Ohio	1.85	13183	Z. R. Orphans, Kansas City, Mo.	25.00
13133	John Stangel, TD, Schenectady, N. Y.	8.00	13159	F. S. C. No. 4, Wilmington, Del.	13.84	13184	K. L. Brannin, Dallas, Tex.	2.00
13134	Gust Loeb, TD, Jamaica, N. Y.	3.50	13160	F. S. C. Branch, Passaic, NJ	19.95	13185	Terazija Oras, RC, New Brighton, Pa.	4.51
13135	Julius Creidenberg, New York	3.00	13161	Russian Dramatic Club, Coll., Haverhill, Mass.	15.00	13186	John Burgher, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00
13136	D. Harman, TD, Holyoke, Mass.	8.00	13162	Spravedlnost, Chicago, Ill.	193.90	13187	F. S. R. Pittsburgh, Pa.	600.00
13137	F. S. C. 19, San Francisco, Cal.	2.70	13163	Geo. N. Lindsay, TD, Evanston, Ill.	5.00	13188	Otto Pfersching, TD, Louisville, Ky.	1.00
13138	Medling, TD, Towson, Md.	1.00	13164	G. F. Wall, Ogdensburg NY	5.00	13189	A. C. Whitney, Orphans, Oakland, Cal.	30.00
13139	A. M. W. Pannypacker, Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00	13165	Sam Schmuckler, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	13190	G. Virbalaitis, RC, Valparaiso, Ind.	19.75
13140	F. S. C. of Canada, Schumacher, Ont., Canada	2.65	13166	C. J. Anderson, RC, Vancouver, B. C. Canada	19.94	13191	John Turja, TD, Astoria, Ore.	9.45
13141	F. S. R., Toronto, Ont., Can.	3,000.00	13167	F. S. R. Branch, Buffalo, NY TD.	19.55	13192	Mrs. M. E. David, TD, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00
13142	F. S. C. No. 68, Malden, Mass.	10.00	13168	Albert Keltel-Lacombe, Alta, Canada	10.00	13193	John Rank, Prince Rupert, B. C. Canada	5.00
13143	Mrs. Ch. Helm, Sacramento, Cal.	5.00	13169	L. Chernenko, Toys, New York	3.00	13194	Mrs. Gitlow, Toys, New York	6.50
13144	Emil Lemke, New York	5.00	13170	N. Kutsko, RC, Gary, Ind.	4.00	13195	Constantin Frantsis, RC, Canton, Ohio	8.50
13145	The Liberator	10.80	13171	B. N. Freiman, Orphans, Collinsville, Ill.	30.00	13196	Philip Thaler, Brooklyn, N.Y.	3.10
13146	C. Gluffrida, TD, Brooklyn, NY	3.00	13172	Joe Abramov, RC, Akron, O.	4.85	13197	Louis I. Fortin, Jr., San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
13147	M. Bischoff, Entertainment, Ellwood City, Pa.	17.44	13173	F. S. R., Branch, Far Rockaway, N. Y.	184.50	13198	A. Wesler, Toys, New York.	1.50
13148	Beatrice Small, RC, Chicago, Ill.	8.00	13174	F. S. R., Branch, TD, Far Rockaway, N. Y.	41.75	13199	A. Werler, Toys, New York..	2.50
13149	F.S.C. 115, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	13175	Chas. Eisenberg, Rochester, NY	1.25	13200	F. S. R., Women's Relief Com. & F. S. C., Hartford, Conn., ZD.	900.00
13150	F. S. R., Buffalo, N. Y.	50.00	13176	Wm. Gustke, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00			
13151	Mrs. Lee Hubbard, Slaton, Tex.	2.00						

Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount
13201	Joseph Stataky, TD, New York	8.00	13263	Miss M. F. Frank, Orphans, New York	5.00	13317	T. Skusnichenko, Coll. Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	17.00
13202	Jacob Pope, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	20.00	13264	Jess Gomez, Orphans, Minneapolis, Minn.	1.00	13318	Albert Saari, Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	11.00
13203	Wm. B. Williams, Orphans, New York	2.00	13265	W. Sweetman, Orphans, New York	2.00	13319	C. G. Migliaccio Col., Orphans, New York	8.00
13204	A. Bushulck, TD, New York	10.00	13266	Mrs. Stern, Sec., Bronx Babies Relief Committee, Bronx, N.Y.	25.00	13320	S. Cippel, Orphans, Elizabethport, N. J.	4.00
13205	Alex Harmatta, TD, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00	13267	M. Gage, Orphans, Millbrook, N. Y.	10.00	13321	Louis Majovsky, Coll., Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	16.75
13206	R. J. Kalniz, TD, Vancouver, B. C. Canada	3.00	13268	K. Mazhanskas, Orphans, Pleasantville, N. Y.	10.00	13322	J. Krempasky, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
13207	F. S. R. BBranch, Buffalo, NY	15.00	13269	George Pollack, Orphans, Jersey City, N. J.	5.00	13323	Mrs. R. Greenman, Coll., Orphans, New York	5.00
13208	M. Ruppert, TD, Brooklyn, NY	5.00	13270	Bolivar Pagon, San Juan, Port Rico	3.70	13324	Leo. I. Karl, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
13209	Padolaky, Toys, New York	1.50	13271	M. Aron, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00	13325	B. Dallard, Orphans, New York	2.00
13210	Mrs. A. M. Baillard, New York	6.25	13272	Karl Fritz, Orphans, Allentown, Pa.	2.00	13326	Peter S. Chiris, Orphans, Lynn, Mass.	2.00
13211	I. Aaronson, Brooklyn, N. Y.	8.00	13273	M. Bovit, Orphans, Summit, N. J.	2.00	13327	A. J. Wright, Orphans, Fort Wayne, Ind.	2.00
13212	Rev. R. H. Johnson, Orphans, New Haven, Conn.	1.00	13274	F. S. R. Orphans, Providence, R. I.	35.00	13328	E. Fnoq, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
13213	Siefert, Toys, New York	4.00	13275	C. Wikae, Orphans, Dayton, O.	2.00	13329	A. S. Juelas, J. R. Mendes, Orphans, Fall River, Mass.	2.00
13214	Harry Solomon, Toys, Brooklyn, N. Y.	9.50	13276	P.H.Boyne, Orphans, Danbury, Conn.	1.00	13330	Irving Oklin, Orphans, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00
13215	L. Spivak, Niagara Falls, N.Y.	10.00	13277	J. Soos, Canton, Ohio	1.00	13331	L. Chamaefsky, Orphans, Bronx, N. Y.	1.00
13216	Mrs. Ida Doctor, TD, Prince Rupert, B. C. Canada	13.75	13278	S. Rulinsky, Orphans, Holliston, Mass.	1.00	13332	G. M. Julander, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
13217	Painters Local 442, New York	80.00	13279	Mrs. A. Sarnyer, Orphans, Plymouth, N. H.	1.00	13333	Levy, Orphans, New York	.50
13218	F. S. R. Los Angeles, Cal.	400.00	13280	Martin Urba, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13334	O. R. Barnes, Orphans, Jefferson, Ohio	2.00
13219	F. S. R. Branch, W. Quincy, Mass.	59.31	13281	L. Tilvik, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13335	F. Sikora, Orphans, Dedham, Mass.	1.00
13220	F. S. R. Branch, Turtle Creek, Pa.	43.90	13282	J. Slopikas, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13336	Agnes Chase, Orphans, Washington, D. C.	24.00
13221	Vida D. Sender, Orphans, Wellesley, Mass.	10.00	13283	F. Biga, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13337	Sarah A. Merrill, Orphans, Washington, D. C.	2.00
13222	Eva Robin, Orphans, Wilmington, Del.	10.00	13284	A. Svegada, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13338	Carl G. Barth, Orphans, Phila., Pa.	25.00
13223	Knabas Group of Pamplona, Puzugulova, W. Va.	50.78	13285	J. Bimbo, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13339	C. P. Pagort, Orphans, New York	10.00
13224	Russian Branch, W.P., TD, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.50	13286	M. Malson, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13340	John Reichle, Orphans, Madison Heights, Va.	5.00
13225	H. B. Cooper, TD, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone	6.00	13287	Ch. Kusen, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13341	Altenburg Piano House, Orphans, Elizabeth, N. J.	5.00
13226	J. Shulman, Toys, New York	1.00	13288	P. Klova, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	2.00	13342	G. E. Brown, Orphans, Amherst, Mass.	5.00
13227	Geo. C. Bartlett, Orphans, Tolland, Conn.	1.00	13289	S. A. Kulalitia, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13343	Edward Bose, Orphans, Rutherford, N. J.	5.00
13228	M. Tuber, Orphans, Hartford, Conn.	1.00	13290	F. Backis, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13344	H. H. Thompson, Orphans, Haverhill, Mass.	1.00
13229	C.W.Kaley, Orphans, Huntington, Ind.	5.00	13291	J. A. Pranalitis, Orphans, Easton, Pa.	1.00	13345	James Koganka, Orphans, Rahway, N. J.	2.50
13230	F. S. R., Lithuanian Section, Brooklyn, N. Y.	500.00	13292	E. S. Gardemo, Orphans, Abington, Va.	10.00	13346	W. H. Shafer, Orphans, Huntington, Pa.	2.00
13231	Minosuke Ito, Coll., San Pedro, Cal.	18.00	13293	Carl Wittke, Orphans, Columbus, Ohio	5.00	13347	Frank Weiss, Orphans, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00
13232	Louise Grouse, Orphans, Washington, D. C.	10.00	13294	Anna N. Davis, Orphans, Brookline, Mass.	7.00	13348	Otto Kaemmerer, Orphans, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
13233	Dr. P. C. Dill, Orphans, Baltimore, Md.	1.00	13295	Ed. Wilharm, Orphans, Phila., Pa.	4.00	13349	T. M. Kramholz, Orphans, Buffalo, N. Y.	1.00
13234	Anonymous, Orphans, New Haven, Conn.	1.00	13296	M. E. Brogton, Orphans, Phila., Pa.	2.00	13350	Anonymous, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
13235	Iakli Poakele, New York	1.00	13297	N. Gallian, Orphans, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00	13351	Mrs. Kaya Oto, Coll., TD, San Mateo, Cal.	3.50
13236	Russian Babies Relief, Mrs. Stern & Mrs. Leakes, Bronx, NY	214.00	13298	Rev. L. J. Anderson, Orphans, Boston, Mass.	1.00	13352	John Hoete, Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	10.00
13237	Cancelled		13299	Anonymous, Orphans, Birmingham, Ala.	.10	13353	John Hoete, TD, Detroit, Mich.	5.00
13238	Mrs. Stern, Toys, New York	3.25	13300	M.H.Wilson, Toys, New York	10.00	13354	Krise Nestor, Orphans, St. Louis, Mo.	6.00
13239	S. Boloff, TD, St. Paul, Minn.	7.05	13301	F. S. R. Branch, TD, Los Angeles, Cal.	158.18	13355	Fred Fickar, Orphans, San Diego, Cal.	1.00
13240	Henry Hunt, Orphans, N Y	7.00	13302	A. N. Routhier, Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	20.00	13356	Max Heinick, TD, Youngstown, Ohio	1.00
13241	J. S. Sadikoff, Orphans, Danbury, Conn.	5.00	13303	D. A. Zargtman Van Noppen, Niles, Mich., Orphans	3.00	13357	B. Koopersmith, Toys, New York	7.00
13242	F. S. R. Branch, TD, on acct. Aberdeen, Wash.	112.96	13304	Dr. Joseph Pestal, Orphans, Lamar, Col.	1.00	13358	Dr. Wm. Mendelson, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	7.00
13243	J. W. Bradburn, Orphans, San Diego, Cal.	5.00	13305	Julius Holzberg, Orphans, Orphans, Cincinnati, Ohio	5.00	13359	Fred Gatz, Coll., Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	5.70
13244	Medlin, TD, Towson, Md.	.50	13306	M. Sayward, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	4.00	13360	Morris Myer, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
13245	L. Cherenko, Toys, New York	1.00	13307	A. Mencke, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	7.00	13361	Central Labor Union, Orphans, New Britain, Conn.	2.00
13246	S. Melus, Orphans, Passaic, NJ	5.25	13308	H. Sapberg & E. Nurml, TD, Hanna, Wyo.	5.65	13362	Mr. & Mrs. R. S. Pitts, Orphans, E. Orange, N. J.	2.00
13247	Dr. F. J. Kerr, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	10.00	13309	Oscar Lindell, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00	13363	Morris Wolfeman, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
13248	L. W. Lit. Sec. Dist 11, TD, Herrin, Ill.	25.00	13310	Geo. F. Wall, Ogdensburg, N. Y.	5.00	13364	Helen Miriam Farber, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
13249	C. Martinak, Orphans, Baltimore, Md.	5.00	13311	James G. Vaghelatos, Orphans, Toledo, Ohio	10.00	13365	P. H. Pederson, Orphans, Bagley, Minn.	2.00
13250	C. Christensen, Orphans, E. Rutherford, N. J.	4.00	13312	C. R. Fischer, Orphans, Cincinnati, Ohio	10.00	13366	Geo. E. Hilton, Orphans, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00
13251	Mrs. A. Maguire, Orphans, Keene, N. H.	8.25	13313	Mrs. Gordon Nelson, Sosman, Orphans, New York	.80	13367	Dr. Louis Long, Orphans, New York	2.00
13252	F. Burton and L. Buse, Orphans, Plainfield, N. J.	2.00	13314	Sam Nelson, Orphans, New York	1.00	13368	F. Balkin, Orphans, Springfield, Mass.	1.50
13253	A. Fergin, Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	1.00	13315	Joseph Rogers, Orphans, San Diego, Cal.	25.00			
13254	S. Amter, Toys, New York	.50	13316	A. V. DeForest, Orphans, Stratford, Conn.	29.00			
13255	Katherine J. Musson, TD, Phila., Pa.	5.00						
13256	A. Stebler, Holyoke, Mass.	2.00						
13257	G. A. Akerlind, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	1.00						
13258	G. Cooksey, Orphans, Newark, N. J.	2.00						
13259	E. J. Redmond, TD, Chicago, Ill.	20.00						
13260	R. S. Wirgin, Orphans, Minneapolis, Minn.	14.00						
13261	Lybrook Coll. Orphans, Lynbrook, N. Y.	4.00						
13262	C. Kubarich, Orphans, Cleveland, Ohio	29.00						

Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount	Rec. No.	Contributor	Amount
13369	C. Kennedy, Orphans, West Palm Beach, Fla.	1.00	13423	Loula Alemas, Orphans, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00	13479	Cornelia G. Smith, Orphans, Warren, Ohio	29.00
13370	Alex Duncan, Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	1.00	13424	O. Wennberg, Orphans, Worcester, Mass.	1.00	13480	Michel Millet, Orphans, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00
13371	S. Ignacio, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	13425	J. Hauser, Orphans, Mebourne, Iowa	.50	13481	Workman's Sick Benefit Assn. TD, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00
13372	Mrs. M. Moulds, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	13426	Anonymous, Orphans, Bklyn, N. Y.	.10	13482	Henry Kaszi, Superior, Wis. R. C.	5.80
13373	Mrs. F. Zawlok, Toledo, O.	1.00	13427	Anonymous, Orphans, Ogilvie, Minn.	.20	13483	N. Stasak — J. Kaplan, Orphans, Rochester, N. Y.	5.00
13374	Take Kimura, Orphans, Worcester, Mass.	1.00	13428	Anonymous, Orphans, N. Y.	.12	13484	Wm. Furlong, Orphans, Dothan, Oregon	2.00
13375	Ralph Lowe, Orphans, E. Liverpool, Ohio	1.00	13429	J. M. M. Tuchin, Orphans, Portchester, N. Y.	21.00	13485	M. Grazini, Orphans, Cicero, Ill.	10.00
13376	Z. R. Orphans, Kansas City, Mo.	25.00	13430	H. Gorkin, Orphans, Portchester, N. Y.	2.00	13486	Women's Div., F. S. R., to buy cows for Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	650.00
13377	M. A. Nightingale, Orphans, Montrose, Pa.	5.00	13431	A. Korwich, Orphans, Portchester, N. Y.	2.00	13487	Lucy Hall, Orphans, Watertown, Wis.	24.00
13378	W. B. Tyler, Orphans, Kiowa, Kan.	5.00	13432	Newton, Toys, N. Y.	2.50	13488	Geo. J. Birkel, Coll., Orphans, Los Angeles, Cal.	18.25
13379	Olaf E. Ray, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	13433	Felix Yang, Coll., Orphans, Valier, Ill.	8.50	13489	A. Johansson, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	15.00
13380	C. L. Tishu, Orphans, Jackson, Mich.	2.00	13434	E. M. Bader, Orphans, Louisville, Ky.	10.00	13490	Wasl Koss, Coll., Orphans, Detroit, Mich.	12.25
13381	Steve Chernow, Orphans, Browning, Mont.	2.00	13435	L. W. Pearson, Orphans, Roanoke, Va.	10.00	13491	A. Muhlberg, Orphans, San Pedro, Cal.	100.00
13382	J. E. LeBarre, Orphans, Washington, Pa.	1.25	13436	Fred Belmas, Orphans, White Plains, N. Y.	5.00	13492	Mrs. Justement, Coll., Orphans, Washington, D. C.	11.00
13383	John H. Waugh, Orphans, Sailors Snug Harbor, S. I.	1.00	13437	Otto Maladovan, Orphans, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	13493	Dr. S. J. Hurwitz, Orphans, Denver, Col.	10.00
13384	F. S. R., San Francisco, Cal.	180.00	13438	H. J. Muller, Orphans, Austin, Texas	5.00	13494	Mrs. R. Layer, Orphans, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
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13386	F. T. Dell, Orphans, Joplin, Mont.	5.00	13440	Emma Sarovari, Coll., TD, Detroit, Mich.	5.50	13496	Albert Gering, Orphans, Portland, Oregon	7.00
13387	S. Speropoulos, Coll., Orphans, Milwaukee, Wis.	4.50	13441	John Crawford, Coll., TD, Phoenix, Ariz.	8.38	13497	Julius J. Laukes, Orphans, Gardenville, N. Y.	6.00
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13397	K. Arttius, Orphans, Phila., Pa.	10.00	13451	M. F. Hawley & Linda S. Hires, Orphans, Wellesley, Mass.	7.00	13507	Max Witt, Orphans, Butte, Mont.	2.00
13398	Juelenk, Coll., Orphans, N.Y.	7.75	13452	C. R. Richards, Orphans, Wellesley, Mass.	1.20	13508	H. I. Zinn, Orphans, Bklyn, N. Y.	2.00
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