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State Construction under the Soviet Regime

I.

STATE CONSTRUCTION AND PUBLIC WORKS

THE construction of buildings by the State, and architecture in general, were always very little developed in Russia. From time immemorial, the country has suffered from the insufficiency and imperfection of communicating roads and other works of public utility. During the war, when about seventy per cent of all production and the creative forces of the State were consumed by the special military necessities, all construction work, even the more or less urgent work of reparation, was entirely suspended and displaced by the technical needs of the war. Before the October Revolution the question of a more intense and regular development of public works was not even discussed. There was at that time no general plan nor any system for State construction; this construction was ordinarily confined to numerous projects conceived separately and accidentally by various administrations and institutions. Conversely, the absence of a general plan for State construction accounted for the absence of a central organ to administer it.

The October Revolution having demolished all the artificial barriers hindering the development of the productive forces of the country, and having made of the latter the basis for solving all problems, opened up the way for the extensive execution of the projects for State construction upon a grand scale.

That the labor in this direction might be practical and systematic it was necessary that a special central organ supervise the direction and organization, undertaking the registration, regulating the

distribution of material and technical resources, and putting into execution the necessary work. In pursuance of this course, the Soviet Government, in 1918, created a Committee of State Construction.

If we compare side by side the grandeur of the projects of this committee and the necessity for their realization, on the one hand, and the extraordinary lack of resources and materials, and the obstacles of every kind, on the other hand, we shall have a faithful enough picture of the conditions under which the committee has worked from the time of its creation to this day, endeavoring despite all to develop its activity.

II.

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

The Committee of State Construction has completed numerous technical researches and planned a series of projects in connection with the construction of new railroads.

In 1918 these researches and projects covered 12,924 versts of railroad lines divided as follows: 1,337 versts—projects definitely elaborated; 3,480 versts—field and leveling work; 5,682 versts—construction from fifty to ninety per cent completed, and finally, 2,425 versts—prepared for field and leveling work.

Furthermore, in the course of the same year the private railroad companies which were still operating at that date on their part carried on technical researches and planned the construction of 5,600 versts of new railway lines.

In 1919 the figures relative to the completed technical researches covered 7,889 versts, part of which was for an earlier period, and the rest for the year 1918; moreover, new researches, compris-

ing in all 11,517 versts were undertaken in the same year, followed by several economic researches.

Summarizing, the Soviet Government has, during the last two years, performed all the preparatory work necessary for the construction of 7,889 versts of new railroad lines.

Technical researches recently planned and to be undertaken very shortly amount to 12,460 versts.

In addition, the construction of the following railroad lines is now being studied from the economic point of view: Moscow-Ukhta (1,400 versts), Moscow-Murmansk (800 versts), Korostene-Orel (900 versts), and Kiev-Voronezh (via Romny and Sumy).

Several of the above-mentioned lines are, however, of but secondary economic importance and they were projected for strategic reasons only, or to meet the special needs of the present moment.

As for the railroad lines which are already being constructed, they number fifty-five, the work being done under the direction of thirty-eight special technical administrations. The total length of these lines is 9,730 versts, apportioned as follows: lines begun and exploited, 374 versts; lines operating provisionally, 1,384 versts; lines from forty to ninety per cent completed, 7,370 versts, and, finally, lines to be constructed, but for which all necessary materials are already supplied, 602 versts.

It should be added, nevertheless, that by reason of the general economic situation and the incessant changes at the front, construction work of the above mentioned railway lines, was for the most part greatly retarded or provisionally suspended.

In 1919 the total length of railway lines in course of construction was 8,328 versts, apportioned as follows: exploited lines, 1,367 versts, and lines from twenty to ninety per cent completed, 6,961 versts. Moreover, all the preparatory work necessary for the construction of railroads had been completed, amounting in all to 2,557 versts, but following upon special economic conditions, the construction of these lines was postponed to a more favorable time.

Summing up, the Soviet Government, in 1918 and 1919 completed the construction of several railroad lines having a total length of 1,741 versts, and operating regularly. In addition it undertook all sorts of work looking to the construction of various auxiliary and connection lines necessary for the transport of fuel. The number of these lines is twenty-eight and they measure in all 498 versts.

Exclusive of the credits allowed the Committee of State Construction considerable sums have been given, for the construction of railroad lines of secondary importance, to various administrations, among others the Central Committee of Woods and Forests, and the Central Coal Committee. The above lines have a total length of 2,500 versts.

III.

RIVER CONSTRUCTION

Despite the very important role of river con-

struction in the national economy of the country its development was greatly retarded and it was not until 1918, after the Revolution, that such work was carried on with greater intensity. This work had for its basis a very vast and rich program of grandiose construction, but later, just as that for railroad construction, it underwent a sensible reduction due to the general difficult situation.

Thus the preparatory work for the irrigation of the so-called "hungry" steppes, and of Turkestan, commenced in the summer of 1918, was suspended; at this moment there is being pursued only the work relative to the arrangement and publication of the rather voluminous projects and results of economic and technical researches, which will be completed probably in January or March of the present year; for analogous reasons (and especially in view of its being impossible for the engineers to get to the place of work) it was necessary to abandon completely the construction of a system of necessary and valuable locks on the Tura and Tobolsk rivers, which were to connect by waterway the industrial region of the Ural and the coal basin of Kuznetsk. Owing to the lack of resources and food supplies, similar work on the rivers Svir and Volkhov likewise suffered a great reduction; at the same time it was necessary to abandon completely the construction of an interior river port on the Volga where a part of the banking work had already been completed.

Thus all the activity of the Committee of State Construction was in this important need of the national economy finally reduced to insignificant work looking to the improvement of already existing waterways, technical researches, the elaboration of projects, etc.

The following work has been organized:

A waterway has been created between the Sheksna river and the White Sea (utilizing a system of locks on the Sukhona river and the Little Dvina of the North).

On the great waterway between the Onega river and the White Sea, the exploration of the current of the Neva and the construction of the hydrometric station of the Neva where a very important hydrometric work is being carried on, have been completed; also, there is being elaborated a project relative to a system of locks in connection with the White Sea and the Baltic to meet the actual exigencies of river and naval navigation.

There have been completed the elaboration of a project and the necessary technical researches relating to the canal between the Volga and the Don.

A river port, called Borsk, has been constructed at Nizhni-Novgorod on the Volga.

A river port has been constructed at Rybinsk.

Several projects of reconstruction have been elaborated and technical researches made for the river systems of Maryinsk and Tikhvin, which are falling into neglect.

A series of general technical and economic researches have been completed for the creation of

a program of construction and improvement of riverways.

In addition, important secondary works have been executed and are proceeding constantly in the following regions of Russia:

In the regions of Moscow and of Nizhni-Novgorod, which embrace the whole basin of the river Oka and all its affluents, from Nizhni-Novgorod to the source of the Moscow river, projects for ports to be constructed at Moscow and at Nizhni-Novgorod have been elaborated, and followed up with vast researches relating to hydrometrics and perforation, and very detailed economic inquiries concerning this whole region.

Technical researches are now being carried on in the whole southwest region of Russia, notably in the provinces of Samara, Saratov, Astrakhan, Simbirsk and Penza; in addition, hydrogeologic researches are being actively pursued at the same time in the province of Saratov, and general researches have been made along the river Irghys, with the purpose of constructing there a system of locks to aid in the utilization of water power; projects have also been just drawn up for the irrigation of the province of Astrakhan by the waters at the mouth of the Volga.

Finally, the local sections of the Committee of State Construction, occupied especially with the solution of various questions in connection with waterways in fifteen provinces, are constantly carrying on, under the general direction and with the aid of the central administration, various works in connection with irrigation and drainage of terrains, the drainage of marshes, the construction of wells, the repair and reconstruction of dikes, etc.

IV.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF BRIDGES AND HIGHWAYS

Roads have always been in a very bad condition throughout Russia; the highways and other carriage roads, especially, were almost entirely impracticable.

The Committee of State Construction, from the time of its creation, saw the necessity of resuming the construction of connecting ways, leading principally to railroad stations, river wharves, and various industrial centers.

But here again, in view of the impossibility of constructing new ways of communication and repairing at the same time those already existing, the greater part of the work was soon concentrated upon repairing and perfecting already existing routes and especially upon the construction, the reconstruction, and the maintenance in a satisfactory condition of the bridges on all the most important communicating ways.

At the same time, pursuant to the orders of the Revolutionary War Council, the Committee of State Construction considered its principal problem to be the construction of communicating ways necessary to the Red Army. This very important task, which the Committee is performing with the

aid of special crews of military roadworkers, aims at perfecting roads and highways, constructing bridges, and consolidating strategic ways and other special works.

The needs of the war demanded, among other things, in the year 1918 alone, the accomplishment of the following tasks: the construction of a series of the most necessary carriage-roads, altogether 12,313 versts in length; the construction, less urgent, of a second series of carriage-roads of a total length of 5,067 versts; the construction of several highways measuring in all 2,800 versts in length, and the construction of a group of bridges each exceeding twenty-five sazhen and making up a total of 640 sazhen. It was at the end of June, 1918, that the execution of this program was begun. At the end of six months, that is, at the end of 1918 and the 1st of January, 1919, the results of the work completed in this connection were shown in the following figures: of the 5,663 versts of carriage-roads to be repaired, 1,700 were repaired, or thirty per cent; of the 20,250 sazhen of small bridges to be repaired, 8,200 were repaired, or forty per cent, and, finally, of the 1,321 versts of large bridges to be constructed, an average of twenty-six per cent were completed.

In February, 1919, in keeping with the changes at the various war fronts, the whole military program for bridges and highways was revised and subjected to essential modifications. This changed program included for 1919: 24,991 versts of the most important carriage-roads to be repaired, 3,507 versts of carriage-roads of lesser importance to be repaired, 6,060 versts of highways and 8,507 sazhen of bridges (each more than twenty-five sazhen) to be repaired. The results of the execution of this new program were indicated, on the 1st of October of last year, by the following figures: carriage-roads repaired, more than 1,000 versts of the 4,458 to be repaired, or twenty-three per cent; small bridges repaired, twenty-four per cent of the 16,272 sazhen to be repaired, and large bridges, 36 per cent of the 5,000 sazhen to be repaired.

In addition, the Committee of State Construction has completed a great number of works tending to place upon a rational and practical basis the question of the organization of the ways of communication: to this end the Committee accumulated the most necessary tools and machinery, and undertook various kinds of chemical and mineralogical researches, to replace by substitutes the natural stones in the regions where the latter are difficult to find; it made detailed calculations of the force of the provisional resistance of the temporary bridges upon various roads and highways, and elaborated a series of fundamental projects for types of specifications, tables, technical normals, etc.

V.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF PORTS AND VESSELS

Because of the military situation which followed the revolution, the concrete realization of the pro-

jects, as well as the technical researches relating to naval construction, were possible only in a small corner of the Gulf of Finland and on the littoral of Astrakhan. Nevertheless, in consideration of the importance and the necessity of improving our naval and river ports, and in anticipation of undertaking work of this nature on a vast scale, it was important that the active preparatory work should continue incessantly, in order to resume the naval construction in question as soon as more favorable conditions should arise in the country's affairs.

At the present moment the undertakings concentrated in the region of the Gulf of Finland comprise various kinds of construction on the ports of commerce and war of Petrograd and Kronstadt, as well as various technical researches in connection with it. In addition all the preparations were made for the researches to be carried on in the Gulf of Kaporsk and in the Bay of Luga.

The second group of naval works undertaken in the region of the mouth of the Volga includes the reconstruction of the canal which joins this river with the Caspian Sea, from the city of Astrakhan to the sea; to this group belong also various hydrotechnical works necessitated by the war, and the naval researches at the mouth of the Volga.

The Committee of State Construction has done important work in the White Sea and in the Arctic Ocean, looking to a detailed economic, technical, and hydrometeorologic analysis of all the data relating to the construction of ports on the shores of Murmansk and the White Sea, and the equipment of the ports of the North with reloading apparatus and ship equipment.

Moreover, naval researches have been carried on in the North at the mouths of the Obi and Yenissei rivers and in the Bay of Indig.

Important preparatory work, technical researches and projects have been undertaken in the ports of the Black Sea of Azov and in the waters of the Far East.

As for the construction of vessels, the general political condition and the extreme lack of our material resources have forced us to limit ourselves, while awaiting a change, to technical researches, all kinds of attempts and experiments, and the construction of wooden ships, although the naval needs of the country are much more important.

VI.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ELEVATORS AND REFRIGERATORS

In 1918 the Committee of State Construction undertook the administration and direction of thirty refrigerating plans installed at slaughterhouses, the construction of which was suspended by the war, as well as the management of two special refrigerating plants at Simbirsk and Samara; in addition, the committee had charge of completing and equipping two temporary refrigerating plants at the old war fronts. It discharged this task as well as possible during the course of last year,

completing from seventy to ninety per cent of the projected works.

The Committee is completing also the installation and mounting of refrigerating apparatus and machinery at Arzamas, Simbirsk, Cheliabinsk, Tiumen and Barnaul; all these refrigerators will begin to operate very shortly; at other places the per cent of completed installation and mounting of refrigerators varies between seventy and ninety.

To the end of a more rapid and regular development of refrigerator construction on a large scale, the Committee of State Construction accomplished a great work in accumulating numerous economic and statistical materials, relating to the regions which produce perishable products and at all refrigerating plants operating in Russia. It appears that the thirty-seven provinces of the Soviet Republic possess, in all 168 refrigerating plants, with a capacity of 11,000,000 poods; of this number twenty-eight plants, with a capacity of 2,000,000 poods, are in Moscow alone; while the other provinces have only from one to twelve, or an average of three, of widely varying capacity; all the refrigerators operate for local needs and very particularly for exportation. This unsystematical and altogether accidental distribution of the refrigerating plants was contrary to the interests of the country. The Committee of State Construction, in seeking to furnish the State with a rational system of refrigerating plants, in conformity with its economic and statistical researches, elaborated a general plan of refrigerator construction, to be realized in the course of the very next few years.

We should note very particularly the efforts of the Committee of State Construction to give the country necessary floating refrigerators, an absolutely new technical innovation in Russia and dating only from the end of 1918.

As for the construction of elevators, which had become particularly intense in the years which preceded the war, the People's Bank had traced in its time an enormous program, expecting to cover the country with a net-work of these structures. This program planned, in the provinces of South-east Russia in the first place, the construction of eighty-one elevators, with a total capacity of fifty-eight million poods and seventy-seven elevators with a total capacity of sixty-two million poods in the thirteen provinces of southern and central Russia; in addition, five elevators were planned for western Siberia. Of this program there are only forty-seven elevators whose construction was completed and which are operating regularly at the present moment.

During the war the construction of elevators was completely suspended, and it was not resumed by the Committee of State Construction until towards the end of 1918.

Besides the elevators of large capacity, the Committee of State Construction had also to contribute to the development of a net-work of small elevators for the local war needs, and for the peasants. These elevators are in most cases constructed by the cooperative or regional organs, under the technical

surveillance and with the material aid of the Committee of State Construction.

VII.

INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION

Before the organization of the Committee of State Construction, there was in Russia no special organ to direct industrial construction. Before the nationalization of industry (towards the second half of 1918) the government withheld only an insignificant percentage, while the greater part was restored to individuals; also, the creative role of the government in industrial construction was greatly restrained and almost nil, being almost entirely reduced to a police surveillance exercised over private industrial construction.

Since then there have been radical changes.

At present the State is the only proprietor and director of all the industry of the country, and it is bound by this fact to develop it and to carry on all sorts of construction of an industrial nature.

The work already completed and constantly pursued in this sphere may be divided into the following groups:

1. Construction of great factories and shops, already begun during the war, to meet the various needs of the country, and determined by the mobilization of industry; the industrial enterprises under this head are: the factories of the "Section of Automobiles of the Supreme Council of National Economy," notably "Russo-Baltic," "Ame" and "Rene-Russ" at Rybinsk.

2. The restoration, capital repair, and enlargement of factories and shops which are already in operation and several of which are at present adapted to other branches of industry. This category comprised the cloth and fabric factory of Istomine, at Bogardsk, the old factory at Riabushinsky, at Vyshny-Volotchek, the schist factory at Briansk, the group of chemical product factories of the regions of the Volga and of Kama, the electric station near Bogorodsk, and the first factory for mechanical construction at Nizhni-Novgorod, etc.

3. The construction of new factories and shops of great importance for the development in the Republic of branches of industry still unknown and the necessity for which depends upon the economic conditions of the present time created by the displacement of the industrial centers and by the cessation of foreign importation. In this way was constructed the factory of agricultural machinery called "The Star," at Saratov (it cost the government sixty million rubles), which is already in operation; next comes the sugar refinery of Novokamensk at Penza, for the construction of which the necessary materials are being collected, and the earthwork begun.

4. Further, the Committee had planned and even commenced the preparatory work for the construction of a whole series of factories and shops of the greatest necessity, but it was soon forced to abandon this work under pressure of various conditions of the present moment.

But the work of the Committee was more im-

portant and productive in so far as it concerned the analysis and approval of numerous projects, technical plans, and devices which were submitted for its examination by various central and local institutions. In the course of the last year the number of these projects and devices was about 300, representing a round sum of several milliards of rubles.

VIII.

ELECTROTECHNICAL CONSTRUCTION

It is useless to emphasize the important, even colossal, role of electrical energy in the national economy, in the mechanical industry, and in the utilization of the natural forces and resources of the country (water currents, cataracts, peat soil), as well as its valuable properties during a general fuel crisis.

Before the October Revolution, electro-technical construction was of very little importance: in the whole country there was only two or three regional stations. Similarly, there was no central state organ to regulate this branch of industry. It was only with the constitution of the Committee of State Construction that this branch was placed upon a new basis, having been given the necessary special organ of direction and taking on considerable dimensions as a result.

Since then a whole series of technical researches have been undertaken and with the participation of more than a hundred engineers numerous projects have been carried out, important preparatory work has been done on the sites, great quantities of construction material collected, and provision for workers, temporary stations, wharves, etc., created.

Last spring, in view of the lack of resources and of the necessity for the employes of the immediate construction of a part of the projected stations, the decision was taken to reduce the general working program, limiting it to the construction of a single station on the Svir river and of a station on the Volkhov, postponing to a later time the construction of all other projected stations.

In the same way necessary work has been begun for the construction of regional stations near the city of Kashira, 126 kilometres from Moscow, with utilization of the local coal mines, and on the marshes of Shatour, 150 kilometres from Moscow, using for this purpose the peat soil of this region. These two stations are to furnish the electrical energy to the cities of Moscow and Kolomna and to other central points in the industrial region.

At present, in addition to the stations already under construction, projects for others are elaborated for the central industrial region; all these stations will be constructed on the peat marshes of the region of Ivanovo-Vozniessensk, and will perhaps be able to supply the cities of Yaroslav, Kostroma, Kineshma, and Vladimir; electrical stations are planned on the peat marshes near Nizhni-Novgorod to supply the region about this city and Murom, utilizing for this purpose the coal in the neighborhood of Moscow and the provinces of Riazan and Tula.

The greater part of the work which the Committee of State Construction is now carrying on is influenced by the urgent necessities of today and tomorrow, and by the questions relating to the war, fuel and transport, or even the mechanical industry, dwellings, their sanitary condition and the provisioning of the people.

This brief and rapid expose of the activity and the successes achieved by the Committee of State Construction is incomplete. We have passed in silence the enormous number of merely local constructions by the provincial sections of the Committee, the vast municipal works, the organization of workmen's quarters, which are particularly important in view of the dwelling crisis which is everywhere more or less acute. Nor have we indi-

cated the rather important work of the Committee in connection with the development of urban culture and the organization of new places for habitation.

Unfortunately, under pressure of very difficult economic conditions and the circumstances of the war the Committee was all this time just passed forced to reduce its program considerably, instead of developing it. Nevertheless, it should be affirmed and recognized that the Committee of State Construction has achieved a capital work and that in this direction the success of the Soviet power is not inferior to that which it has attained in the other branches of social life and particularly in that which concerns the ordinary work of construction in most of the countries of western Europe.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

IN SPITE of all the efforts of the censors to keep in the dark, as far as possible, the real situation on the Polish front, the truth about the desperate conditions of the Poles has become more and more evident every day. A very important cable from London, dated June 29, and published in the *New York Call* of June 30, said that according to a Moscow official wireless message, the new offensive launched by the Russian Red Army against the Poles had "put the Second Polish Army entirely out of action and had cut the Third Army off from all communications." This was the case in the Kiev region as well as in the Podolia and Volhynia, on the so-called Southern Polish front, situated between the rivers Dnieper and Dniester. In regard to the northern front, which extends to the north of the Pripet Marshes, the same dispatch gives but little information that the Sixth Polish Army was "retreating rapidly in the region of Podolzk" There have been no details as to the new Russian progress in that part of the war area, at least for the last three weeks, while it has been certain that a decisive operation of the Red Russian Army is in full progress. It was hard to believe that the Russian General Staff would have lost a favorable opportunity to defeat partially the retreating armies of the enemy, which, after a series of tactical reverses, were compelled to abandon some most important strategical points, such as Borisov, Kiev, Minsk, and Vilno.

It is very interesting to note that the above mentioned wireless message from Moscow did not appear in any New York newspapers, in spite of its great strategical and political significance. Two armies put out of action! This means nothing else than a debacle confirming my former statements relating to the successful enveloping maneuver of the South Russian Red Army against the right flank of the Polish battlefront.

There is no doubt that all the wireless reports from Moscow have been held up, and we know nothing about the most remarkable enveloping

movement of the Russian armies in Podolia, which has been accomplished with much vigor, so vigorously that the Poles could not retreat.

It is important to note that with the complete destruction of the Southern Polish armies, the Russians hardly can meet with any serious obstacles in their future advance, even as far as Galicia, with Lemberg as their objective. Once in possession of the Mohilev-Kiev railway parallel, they easily can use for the purpose the double-track railway extending northwest from the very important railway-junction of Zhmerinka, and passing through Proskurov and Tarnopol to Lemberg. Such a movement into Galicia can be accomplished without any serious danger from Rumania, because the latter is anxiously watched by the Russians along all the length of the Dniester, which represents the natural frontier between Russia and Bessarabia, now occupied by the Rumanians, and is simultaneously a protection to any movement of the Red Army on its left banks.

On the front situated to the north of the Pripet Marshes, the same thing has happened as on the southern front, with the difference that the enveloping movement was accomplished by the Russians gradually, moving on the enemy from the north.

Already about June 18-19, when I was in Detroit, I noticed in the local press a sensational item on the capture of Minsk by the Reds. It was said also that Vilno, the capital of Lithuania, had been evacuated by the Poles. That dispatch, repeated in the morning papers, never appeared in the New York press in spite of the fact that there was nothing unusual in the possibility of such an event.

In my statement to the representative of the *Detroit Free Press*, published June 17, 1920, I firmly insisted that Poland is on the verge of defeat and this reactionary newspaper found space for the following lines of my remark: "A year ago, when the press of the whole world prophesied

the victory of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, I declared that the days of Kolchak were numbered. With the end of that Russian adventurer—a puppet of the Allies—came the end of Yudenich and then of Denikin. Now I see the end of the Polish army” (Detroit *Free Press*, June 17, 1920). In the same newspaper, and in the same issue, the recognized ambassador of Poland, Prince Lubomirsky, who was also in Detroit, published a statement in which he described the “brilliant victories” of the Polish army, and prophesied the early defeat of the Bolshevik forces. This Polish statement tried to convince American public opinion that it is the Russian Bolsheviki who attacked unfortunate Poland, and that the Poles are far from any idea of any offensive against Russia; and, on the basis of these misstatements, he appealed to Americans for their financial support.

The Polish military experts, to prove the strength of the Polish front, always point out of the unbreakable resistance of its center, situated at the eastern extremity of the Pripet Marshes, namely, in the Mozir region, which was, since its capture by the invaders in the early days of March, 1920, an object of constant attacks by the Red Army.

In reality, the Mozir region was of great strategical importance for the Polish battle front. It was practically a junction for the northern and southern Polish armies, divided from each other by the impenetrable Pripet Marshes, about 120 miles from east to west, and more than fifty miles from north to south. Just in the middle of these famous swamps, a navigable river, the Pripet, affords communication for the town of Pinsk, situated on the western extremity of the marshes, with Mozir, situated on its eastern end, and a double track railway built along the northern border of the Pripet Marshes also connects Pinsk with Kolenkovitz (ten miles northeast of Mozir). Being more than 100 miles from any railway system north or south of it, in the region of the marshes, this railroad when attacked, cannot be supported in any way, according to the principles of modern war, which does not recommend any military operation more than seventy miles from a railroad.

Now it becomes clear why the Poles were so anxious to capture Mozir in the early days of their offensive against Russia, and even made Mozir their first objective. In losing that point, they are losing the Pinsk-Mozir railroad, which they are unable to defend, either from the north or from the south, especially at the moment when their southern front is defeated, and two of their most important armies, namely, the third and second armies, thrown out of action, encircled and perhaps capitulated.

On the other hand, the Russians, while furthering their enveloping movement on both the extreme flanks of the enemy, have maintained only a steady strong pressure against the center of the Polish battle front in the Mozir district. They did not intend to advance in that sector, unless their strategical enveloping manoeuver in the

north, as well as in the south, would be successfully accomplished, and only under such conditions would the Russians have been able to start their decisive operation to the westward, along the river Pripet, and simultaneously along the Mozir-Pinsk railway, with the task of cutting off the southern Polish army from the north entirely, thus easily solving the problem of encircling each of them separately.

According to the dispatch from London (Moscow wireless) of June 30, “In the Mozir region, after fierce fighting, our troops have occupied several villages from six to ten miles east of Mozir, capturing prisoners and machine-guns” (*The Christian Science Monitor*, July 1). This news only proves that the previous dispatch about the defeat of the southern Polish armies was accurate, and that the Russian General Staff has begun a decisive blow on the Polish center. The further report from Warsaw about the fall of Mozir and Kolenkovitz, according to the *New York Globe* of July 1, confirms absolutely my supposition: that only after a complete victory over the southern Polish armies could the Russians without any risk accomplish such an important movement in their center, during the progress of their encircling manoeuver in the northern theatre of war.

The *New York Times* of July 2, confirming the defeat of the Polish army in the Mozir region, explains the Polish hasty retreat as a measure undertaken by the Polish command, “for the purpose of shortening the front.” Such a blunder I leave with the Polish experts, and merely say that the Red Army had shortened the Polish front quite sufficiently and I do not think it was with the consent of the Polish General Staff.

In the above-mentioned dispatch from London of June 29 (*N. Y. Call*, June 30), it was said that “the army of General Baron Wrangel, anti-Soviet leader in the Crimea, has been completely destroyed.” This also means that after having completely defeated the Poles on the Podolia front, where the Russian cavalry of General Budenny is engaged in vigorous pursuit of the beaten and flying enemy, the parts of the Red forces now freed from engagements against the Poles in Podolia have been rapidly turned against the advancing Wrangel, whose victorious offensive was so widely advertised by the *New York Times*, as were, at an earlier date, the campaigns of the Russian counter-revolutionary leaders: Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich. And while there was no longer, in reality, any Wrangel army at all, in the July 1 issue of the *New York bourgeois press*, we have noticed with astonishment a delayed dispatch, dated May 25, on the successful advance of the Wrangel army, which has captured Berdiansk on the northern bank of the Sea of Azov.

Only one completely ignorant of the military art could have failed to foresee the inevitable end of this new Allied adventure, in this case carried out by their newly created puppet, Baron Wrangel. Within the Crimean peninsula, the army of this adventurer was in a very safe position. Supported

by the Anglo-French navy, Wrangel could have held the Crimean peninsula for a long time, protected, as he was, from the north by very strong positions on the narrow neck of land of Perekop. For the Reds, on the other hand, it was not an easy task to recapture Crimea from the usurper, in view of the Allied naval forces, and the regular supply of the enemy with ammunition, war material, foodstuffs and money.

But, unfortunately for Wrangel, he could not remain always only on the defensive. The Allies paid him for his activity; he had to crush the hated Bolshevik regime in Russia, and being assured that the Polish victory was imminent, he started his famous invasion of Russia.

The weak local Red forces, which succeeded some months ago in capturing Perekop, were naturally defeated, mostly by the activity of the Allied naval artillery, which shelled the Russian Soviet troops from the Black Sea and later from the Sea of Azov. Wrangel's advance in the meantime encouraged the Poles and other Russian reactionaries, such as the former Russian War Minister under Kerensky, M. Guchkov, who, with the Allied help is about to repeat a new Yudenich adventure, using the remains of the Avalov-Bermond "army," but at the same time the Wrangel's advance to the north and northeast was just a movement which was very eagerly expected in Moscow. In order to put an end to the counter-revolution in South Russia, the Wrangel army had to be destroyed entirely, and for this reason it had to be drawn out of Crimea. Giving a chance to the new hero of the western capitalistic imperialism to gain

some "brilliant" victories over their own forces, the Reds at last very skillfully got him out of his shelter, and once his bands found themselves far from the naval support of their protectors, they were vigorously attacked and completely defeated.

The victory over the Poles and the extermination of the counter-revolutionary hordes of Baron Wrangel will doubtless encourage the desire of the Turkish nationalists to defend themselves, whose common disaster under the pressure of the civilized countries, which are still fighting for the sake of Democracy, is gradually bringing them together under the new standard of communism.

The Turkish people are anxiously watching Soviet Russia, they know that only the Russian workers and peasants can save them from imminent disaster, and they know also that the declaration of the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Chicherin, that Soviet Russia would support any oppressed nation, communistic or not, in case such a nation should appeal to Moscow for support, was not a promise which would not be fully carried out, and the Turks are now defeating the Greeks. The Mohammedans of the world during last two years have learned to trust Russia and to love her working people. They have realized the real strength of this giant and his unselfish and fair policy, and they all seek union with him, perhaps with the intention of forming one common body, under the standard of real freedom and equality, which only the real proletarian social structure can give to humanity.

The Mussulmen of the world are with Soviet Russia, and nobody can tear them away.

The Creation of the Laboring Army of Petrograd

I.

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE

The Seventh Army is being transformed into a labor army, forces of considerable strength being maintained for military service on the frontiers of Finland and Esthonia. The Seventh Army is to be called the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd.

The principal work in which the forces and means of the Seventh Army must now be employed are: (1) the exploitation of peat and schist deposits indicated above; (2) the preparation of wood supplies; (3) the transportation of prepared fuel (peat, schists, wood) to the industrial factories of Petrograd and to the railway stations, and the loading and unloading of this fuel; (4) the organization to this end of horse transport; (5) the cultivation of all the wild land of this region, capable of being utilized for vegetable gardens; (6) an extensive organization of potato plantations in the Soviet exploitations; (7) the acceleration and reinforcement of the work of repairing rolling-stock, unloading fuel and prod-

ucts arriving at Petrograd by waterway; (8) the repair of agricultural machinery, agricultural work of all kinds, aid in the cultivation of the soil, the gathering of harvests, and (9) the reinforcement of labor discipline in the enterprises and supplies of manual labor.

The council of the labor army may also take part in the exploitation of the coal mines in the region of Borovichi.

Specialist workers, in so far as they are not absolutely indispensable in supporting the forces of the Seventh Army, must be transferred to local factory institutions and those of every kind of exploitation, according to the indications of the members of the council of the labor army.

The revolutionary council of the labor army is the directing organ for all the above-mentioned activities.

The representatives of the power of the Council of the Defence of the Republic, the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Zinoviev, is placed at the head of the Labor Army.

The President of the Council of Defence,

N. LENIN.

Moscow, February 10, 1920.

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

II.
THE REVOLUTIONARY LABOR ARMY OF
PETROGRAD

(*A new era in the life of Petrograd.*)

The glorious Seventh Army, which has twice defended against the enemy Red Petrograd, our dear native city, becomes on this day a revolutionary labor army. This transformation constitutes one of the most important events in the life of Petrograd and that of all Soviet Russia.

Workers of Petrograd! Today—I am sure of this—is the beginning of a new era in the history of our city. We have won the right to work. We have created, after victorious battle, conditions permitting us to proceed in the right way to the construction of a new life.

For two consecutive years you have battled without respite on all the war fronts, glorious proletariat of Petrograd! There is no front where the soil has not been generously sprinkled with the noble blood of the workers of Petrograd. But—we dare to say it—there is also no city in all Soviet Russia where the workers burn always with an inextinguishable enthusiasm, where they are so firm, so tried in battle, and so strong in spirit as those of our city.

In short, Red Petrograd is indeed Red Petrograd, sole and unique! All the world knows it.

The spirit of Petrograd is not dead. But the physical forces of our beautiful and admirable city have weakened little by little to the last degree. It is only at the present hour that we are finally permitted to proceed to the restoration of the material powers of the giant city.

The workers of Petrograd have given their blood and their lives without stint to the work of the revolution, accomplishing it with devotion on all the war fronts and wherever the situation was most dangerous. Our best comrades of Petrograd dreamed, as of a supreme happiness, of the hour when the war should have been brought to a successful issue and they should be able to devote themselves to the reestablishment of the economic life of the people on a communist basis, the hour when they should be able to devote themselves to the purification of Petrograd.

But few comrades, alas! have seen this happy day arise. Many of them, and of the best, repose in eternal sleep in the damp earth. Some have disappeared, others are far away . . .

But these cruel losses are one more reason that the responsibilities of their comrades who survive should be emphasized and be tendered more serious. A new dawn is rising upon Petrograd. Weakened and half-dead with hunger and cold, but always standing, and not flinching even for an instant, the city is about to receive significant support.

More than 100,000 men, levied from the organized effectives of the Seventh Army, are to be incorporated in the labor army of Petrograd. Of this number, more than 25,000 are communists. Although the old Seventh Army is not the richest of the Soviet Republic, it possesses nevertheless

considerable material and numerous beasts of burden. It is thus a very great, strong hand which will be able to offer us powerful economic assistance. These 100,000 men will be our advance-guard, powerful and numerous, which, if we support it in turn, will finally enable us to leave behind our present state of stagnation.

We must, in the first place, wash Petrograd, clean it, warm it, and make it eat to satiety. Peat will have to be brought to it, and not the five million poods of last year, but twenty-five, at least, extracted from the earth and brought to the very gates of the city. Wood and schists must be brought, so that we may not lack these fuels next fall and winter. The workers of Petrograd must be assured of the potato supplies necessary to them; our province produces a sufficient quantity, but up to this day the Petersburg proletarian had, often enough, to sell his last shirt to buy five pounds of potatoes from the greedy suburban cultivator. We must repair our locomotives. Transport is everything; it is the measure of the final triumph of the revolution; it is the salvation of our children, who are dying of hunger. We must renovate our buildings. We must resume the operation of our great factories. Let us but put a pair of the best in operation, and our guard, the Petersburg workers, will return to us, flying like moths towards a flame.

The creation of the labor army of the Petrograd Soviet opens a new page in the history of our city. Petrograd has suffered more than the other Russian cities, from famine, repeated evacuations, lack of fuel, and other misfortunes. But our city will also be the first to recover from the paralysis which is enchaining it. Petrograd is situated at the crossroads of European routes. In a little while it shall become again an enormous, universal economic center.

The construction of the labor army of the Petrograd Soviet puts before us a series of difficult and complicated questions. They are all in a sphere where there are no well-beaten paths. All here is new and unusual. At each step we shall have to surmount enormous practical embarrassments of which we shall speak again more than once.

However, at the present time, there is only one thing which concerns us: our whole communist organization, all our Soviet organs, the entire working family of Petrograd—must fix their attention upon the labor army which has just been created.

Let the best forces of the elite come to the support of the labor army!

Let the best organizers of public life enter the ranks of the labor army!

We are passing our examination before all Soviet Russia and even before the whole world.

And this examination is definitive. We have already proved that the communists are no mean soldiers when they fight for the cause of the workers and peasants. We must now prove that we are good architects of life and good masters, that,

alone, we are able to heal the wounds of the war, that, alone, we can regenerate the disorganized economic life, and save humanity from hunger and cold.

The bourgeoisie of the Entente countries some time ago created an institution thoroughly bureaucratic—an "international committee to combat cold." The Soviet Republic has already created four labor armies, all for combatting hunger and cold.

We shall see which of the two will be successful.

It is Petrograd which will form the rear of the labor army of the Petrograd Soviet. If in October of 1919 our rear had wavered were it only for a second the city would have been condemned to destruction. That is precisely the situation at the present time. If the rear does not this time support with all its force the laboring van, our labor army—our experiment is condemned to failure.

But we know Petrograd and its workers. We are therefore sure that our experiment will succeed.

We must have iron discipline! The labor army must be fortified with it as is every military army, and the communist must be in the first ranks of the labor front just as he was on the war front.

We address our fraternal greeting to the Red soldiers of the old Seventh Army, who have been renamed from this day soldiers of the Labor Army of the Petrograd Soviet.

All the workers of Petrograd follow you. Let us roll up our sleeves, then, and set to work.

G. ZINOVIEV.

III.

TO WORK!

The government has just published a decree which sends the soldiers from military work to the work of peace, from destruction to creation.

"War produces heroes"—that is very true, but the real hero, is the worker, whose energy has created, and is always creating the innumerable values of this world: material and moral values, the possession of which renders humanity more stable in its war against Nature and against the forces of Nature which it seeks to vanquish.

But war produces also stupidity and greed, and the soldiers know it better than the others, for they see that war destroys, brutally and implacably, the precious results of long years of human effort.

It is only the amicable and close collaboration of all the good men of our republic which can assure to our country the first place in this world, where all the beautiful and precious things are created only by honest and peaceful labor.

We see coming at last the day when we shall be able to take to the reparation of the destruction made upon the body of our country, by healing those deep bleeding wounds and cleansing the ancient dirt of the past; the day when we shall be able to make of half-devastated Russia a beautiful country where men shall live in ease, enjoying

liberty and ignorant of suffering; a country where every citizen will be able to cultivate the best in his nature.

At the present time, when we are free, we can blame nobody for the sad existence we are leading, because we are masters of our destiny and must understand that all here below depends upon ourselves, alone, upon our will, our work.

Let us always recall that all the marvels of this world were created only by the hard enthusiastic labor of man.

It does not suffice simply to take the things that have been created before our time and derive profit from them; it is necessary to know how to use them rationally, and above all, to know how to produce similar things. Now, two forces alone can give us this knowledge: science and labor, and these two forces are within our power!

To work, comrades!

If we do not succeed, this time again, to organize our life as is fitting, we shall have ourselves to blame, for there will be no others to blame.

Long live peaceful labor for the common good!

Let us be courageous and brave in spirit, and let us not forget that the things we lack can be created only by ourselves.

M. GORKI.

IV.

TO THE LABOR ARMY OF PETROGRAD

Order of the Day No. 1

[To be read in all the companies, to the squadrons, and batteries, and in the barracks of the old Seventh Army, the garrison of Petrograd, and the military units of the Petrograd Districts, forming part of the Labor Army of Petrograd.]

Soldiers of the labor army, commandants and commissaries!

1. The Seventh Army, which has twice defended Red Petrograd and saved it, has irreproachably performed its duty towards the Socialist Soviet Land. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the Seventh Army, we have concluded peace with Estonia. The blockade ring which has encircled Soviet Russia and condemned it to famine, has been broken in some measure following the military successes of the Seventh Army, which has beaten Yudenich.

2. But the enemy has not yet been completely annihilated. The strategic situation of Petrograd is such that attempts to attack it by sea or by land are always possible, as long as the bourgeoisie govern the neighboring states. Also, our army must be on its guard. "Pile arms!"—that is the watchword for the present. But if the least danger threatens the Red Army, we must be ready to hear the old war order: "Shoulder arms!" The Seventh Army has been transformed into an army of labor. But it must not for that reason lose its readiness to fight or reduce its force.

3. On the 13th of February the Council of the

Labor Army of Petrograd was definitely constituted, and it then set to work.

4. Red Petrograd has given all its forces to the front. Red Petrograd is being exhausted under the burden of the privations imposed upon it by the sacred war for the rights of the workers and peasants. The revolutionary army of labor of Petrograd must therefore aid the glorious city where the revolution of the workers and peasants was born. Petrograd is in need of fuel. There is fuel very near the city. Peat, schists and fire-wood are in the vicinity of Petrograd. The soldiers of the labor army must aid the workers of Petrograd to collect this fuel and bring it to Petrograd.

5. The labor army must also aid the peasants in the neighborhood of Petrograd to repair their agricultural tools. Some of our detachments have already done this in several rural communes. Glory and honor to these soldiers of labor. Let us aid the peasants. Let us give electricity to the villages. Let us aid the peasants to perfect their agricultural tools, and help them this spring in their work in the fields, and they will share with us their last bit of bread.

6. Eruptive typhus is raging in Petrograd. After five years of war, the city needs a radical cleaning. The men and women workers of Petrograd are charging themselves with this. The Communists are with them in the front ranks. The military units of the fortified region of Petrograd have the task of aiding the workers of Petrograd in this work. For a soldier of the labor army there is no "dirty" work, if the interests of the workers and peasants demand it.

7. The soldiers of the labor army and their commandants shall have to work side by side with the labor unions and other organizations of workers and peasants. You, who are yourselves laboring men, treat with love and respect these workers' organizations.

8. We order that a detailed investigation be made within ten days of the profession or specialty of every soldier of the labor army. The technicians and special workers will remain in the army and direct its work. We must give all our best working forces to the work of repairing locomotives and trains. Specialist workers will not be sent to the factories and shops except in special cases.

9. The command and the commissaries will have now to perform much more responsible duties than before. They are responsible for the discipline, the execution of work, the maintenance of the fighting strength of the army, the zeal and punctuality of the workers, the exactness, reliability and good condition of the liaison service, just as they were responsible formerly for the execution of military orders.

10. The political section of the army has the very important task of explaining to all the soldiers the enormous role of the labor army, and it must therefore hasten its political work.

11. The revolutionary tribunal of the army has

the task of eradicating by sword and fire the speculators, the deserters, the idle, the indolent, and the thieves.

12. The executive organs of the army are enjoined to reduce as much as possible the military functions of the rear of the army. Besides the measures already taken to this end, similar action also must be taken in all units of the labor army of Petrograd.

13. The more a soldier of the labor army manifests zeal, the more he economizes the national good; the more energetic and constant he is, the sooner shall we conquer hunger, cold, and disorganization, and the sooner shall every soldier be able to return to his domestic hearth.

14. Soldiers, commandants, and commissaries of the labor army of Petrograd! Keep always in your memory the words which the president of the military Revolutionary Council of the Republic addressed to the soldiers of the labor army: "Worker-soldiers, do not dishonor the Red Flag!" The Soviet and the workers of Petrograd will aid you as well as they can. The revolutionary labor army of Petrograd must become a model army for all Russia of the workers and peasants.

*President of the Council of the Revolutionary
Labor Army of Petrograd,*

G. ZINOVIEV.

"SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS"

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau has issued a series of pamphlet reprints of important Soviet documents. The following are the first three of these pamphlets:

1. *The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia.* Official text, with introduction, by the Bureau, and an answer to a criticism by Mr. W. C. Redfield. 52 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.
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This weekly will carry articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles.

THE London correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce* warns his American readers against the current propaganda which pretends that Soviet Russia has no goods to export. "These statements must not be accepted as accurate without substantial proof," he cites, "or without considering the channel through which they come, and the purpose for which they are circulated. It is to be remembered also that in numerous cases where it has been possible to test these depressing reports, quite a different aspect has been given to the facts" (*Journal of Commerce*, June 30). As an instance of this "harmful inaccuracy," the correspondent cites the often repeated statement that there is no surplus grain in Russia and that the present cultivation is not even adequate for the domestic needs. To demonstrate the utter falsity of this story he quotes the reports published last January in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which contained the findings of the German commissioners who visited Odessa, Kherson, Nikolaiev, Simferopol, Taganrog, and Novorossiysk, for the purpose of learning the truth regarding the available grain stocks. With two exceptions, all the German commissioners reported that they had found immense accumulations of wheat and barley which could be made available for export. According to one of the commissioners, it would be possible to export from Odessa and Nikolaiev, alone, 90,000,000 poods of breadstuffs during 1920. The German reports of January put the acreage of wheat, rye, and barley at about the same figure as in 1919. A later report in March, however, asserted:

"We are now able to state with tolerable confidence that while the acreage this spring under oats, rye, and barley is practically that of 1918, there will be a striking increase under wheat, especially in the Black Earth Zone, where confidence is returning to the peasants and where they are looking forward to secure markets. The desire of agricultural machinery of all sorts is spreading, and the best known manufacturers of Germany, England, and America, if they only seize their opportunity, are certain of doing a roaring business."

The writer in the *Journal of Commerce* concludes that while America hesitates to enter the open field of Russian trade, "there is nothing resembling hesitancy in Germany." He quotes the words of a well-known German businessman, Herr Butman, who recently, in an address before the Bremen Chamber of Commerce, spoke with satis-

faction of the progress which German manufacturers and merchants were making in establishing commercial relations with Russia.

ANOTHER dispatch to the *Journal of Commerce*, this one from Ottawa, reports the lively interest aroused in Canadian commercial and financial circles by the announcement that the Soviet Government is contemplating extensive purchases in Canada. The correspondent learns that the Canadian Government will place no obstacles in the way of trade with Russia. Indeed, he reports, "the proposal is likely to be received with favor, and it is quite probable that the attitude of the government is identical with that of the Imperial Government, which is now conducting negotiations with Krassin looking toward the resumption of trade with Russia." Canada is suffering from an adverse balance of trade which is causing much concern and has seriously affected Canadian exchange. "Such being the situation," the correspondent of the *Journal reports*, "anything that is likely to start a stream of gold into Canada would undoubtedly be welcomed by those prominent in the financial and industrial life. Under existing conditions, Russia seems to be the only source from which this can come in appreciable quantities in the ordinary course of time."

A writer in the *Financial Times* of Montreal, January 26, gives similar explanation of the favorable attitude of the Canadian Government towards the resumption of trade with Russia. "The great attraction for the Imperial Government in the resumption of trade with the Soviet Government is that there is \$300,000,000 in gold in sight, a commodity that is badly needed. Consequently the passing of a goodly portion of this to the United Kingdom for commodities that the Soviet Government badly needs, would do much to strengthen Britain's financial position . . . It would seem probable that the possibility of securing a large supply of gold is a consideration that may influence the Dominion Government towards the proposal of resuming trade with Russia. It, too, has commitments in the United States, though not on anything like the scale that the mother country has; but for these gold is required. Already it is contended in some quarters that the reserve held in this country is too low and the trade situation is becoming such that an even greater demand will be made of Canada for the precious metal."

Propagandists may play with academic arguments to prove that a capitalist country cannot afford to do business with Soviet Russia. More practical considerations, however, prevail upon politicians and financiers. The question which has become immediately pressing in many countries is how much longer they can afford to do without the advantages of Russian trade.

THE departure of Krassin from London was of course eagerly "interpreted" by the Tory press as the "breaking off" of negotiations between England and the Soviet Government. Ever since Lit-

vinov arrived in Copenhagen last fall, these same newspapers, on one pretext or another, have been breaking off the negotiations which threatened to interfere with their plans for intervention and endless war. The negotiations, however, have proceeded slowly but steadily, without interruption, and with constantly increasing significance.

Professing loudly that their conversations with the Soviet delegates related solely, at first to prisoners, and later to trade, the European participants have with increasing insistence interjected matters of wholly political nature into the parleys. The question of Czarist indebtedness, uppermost in the French consideration, and the matter of Persia, haunting the minds of English politicians, carry the negotiations into a much wider field than the mere business of arranging commercial barter. Krassin, no doubt, has been willing enough to discuss any question which might interest his hosts. But he is no imperialist diplomatist, commissioned to sign blank checks upon the policy of his government. He will not go a step further than he is authorized to go. He will make no secret commitments in the name of the Russian people, returning to Moscow with the bond signed and sealed. He will get his instructions first and sign afterwards. The Allies can have any kind of negotiations they want. They can have trade negotiations or they can have peace negotiations. But if it is only trade that they want, then they must talk only about trade. If they want to talk about peace and international guarantees, then they must be prepared to make peace and to give guarantees.

Far from indicating an interruption of the negotiations, Krassin's trip to Moscow plainly discloses that the discussions have entered upon a decisive political phase. The Soviet delegation to London was fully empowered to negotiate all matters of a purely commercial nature. There is a rumor that Chicherin may return with Krassin to London. In any event, we can assure our readers that there has been no breaking off in anything. Quite the contrary.

* * *

DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN, trying to salvage a small part of the vast human wastage of the war, has reported to the League of Nations upon the conditions of the former prisoners of war still remaining in Russia and Siberia. They are no longer prisoners, save under the duress of distance and destitution. There is nothing to prevent their repatriation but the indifference and inhumanity of their own governments. From Vladivostok to Turkestan 160,000 to 180,000 men and boys—termed Germans, Rumanians, Hungarians, Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Rumanians, Jugo-Slavs, but men and boys in spite of these labels—scattered like chaff across the plains of Russia by the winds of war and left there neglected and forgotten by governments more interested in the fate of a handful of Russian grand dukes and landowners than in the welfare of their workers. The Soviet Government, in spite of blockade and invasion, has not failed in its duty to these unfortunates. It is test

and proof of the thoroughness of the revolution that the Russian masses have never hesitated to share their scanty stores with these fellow workers, with whom so shortly before they had been engaged in deadly, slave-driven combat, and have even stunted themselves to place their meager facilities of transportation at the service of these forlorn bands.

"What is the attitude of the Soviet Government in the matter?" Dr. Nansen was asked.

"They are really behaving extremely well," he answered. "They are extremely anxious to send home the prisoners they still hold, and despite their difficulties of transport they are sending trains of prisoners regularly from Moscow through Petrograd to Narva on the Esthonian frontier . . . There is an old fortress there used as a depot and disinfecting station, but it is found that at present a trainload a day means more than the shipping available can clear, so one train every two days is the rule at present. The Bolsheviki are prepared to double this service when required."

"And how have the men been treated?" he was asked.

"Very much better than I expected," was the reply. "They have, of course, had a hard time, but most of them say they have no reason to complain, as they got as much food as the ordinary population of the district they were in. I met several batches who came through to Berlin, and was favorably struck with their appearance . . . There is no doubt that the Soviet Government is acting in good faith in the matter and doing all it can to get the prisoners out." (*New York Tribune*, June 27.)

Isaac McBride, in his book "Barbarous Soviet Russia," which we have already recommended to our readers, gives a similar report. He questioned a group of English soldiers whom he met walking freely in the streets of Moscow. "Of course food is scarce," said one, "but we get just as much as anyone else. Nobody gets much . . . We are free to go where we please . . . They send us to the theatre three nights a week. That's what they do with all prisoners." And these English soldiers were not, as were most of those described by Dr. Nansen, the survivors of the previous nationalistic conflict, but were prisoners taken on Russian soil in the act of invasion and assault upon the workers' government.

Dr. Nansen's report will be passed over in disregard by those whose eyes and ears are trained to catch only the headlined atrocities. It may perhaps serve somewhat to spur the European Governments to take a more active interest in the fate of their "nationals" hitherto abandoned to the mercies of the "murderous" Bolsheviki. It will serve not at all to restore life and happiness to the hundreds of thousands of Russians who have suffered ruthless barbarities in German, Austrian, and French prisons.

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Poland and Ukraine

ON APRIL 22 the Polish Chief of State, Joseph Pilsudski, a "Socialist" and a "General," who obtained his first military laurels on the suburban fields of Cracow, where years before the war he had been training Polish volunteers, under the benevolent supervision of the Austrian General Staff, so-called *strzelcy* (fusileers), for a future war against Russia, concluded an agreement with Petlura, an *Ataman* and a "Socialist," too, who again obtained his military fame by forming irregular military bands of Ukrainians with whom he was robbing the peasants and making bloody pogroms on the Jews until the exasperated populace of Ukraine drove him out of the country so that he had to take refuge in the Polish capital, Warsaw. Although no official text of this agreement has ever been published, some details of it have found their way into the Polish and the Ukrainian press from which we were able to compile the following version:

1. Poland recognizes Ukraine as an independent and autonomous state within definite boundaries.
2. The Polish Government refuses to recognize the Soviet Government of Ukraine, considering it as a usurper, and recognizes the government of Petlura as the rightful Ukrainian Government.
3. Poland agrees to leave with Ukraine all the territory lying between Dniester, Dnieper, Zbruch, Gorin, Styr, and Pripet. This territory Poland will demand from Soviet Russia on the ground that it was a part of the Polish Kingdom prior to the year 1772, and will return it to Ukraine immediately after peace is concluded.
4. Poland enters into a military pact with the Ukrainian Republic with a stipulation to clear the part of Ukraine lying on the right bank of the Dnieper from the Bolsheviks, but Poland is not obliged to participate in the military operations on the left bank of the Dnieper.
5. Poland agrees to recall its troops from Ukraine upon the latter's request and promises to defend its land with its own forces.
6. Ukraine drops all claims on the territory located west of Zbruch, Gorin, and Styr, and, in the main, on Eastern Galicia.
7. Ukraine guarantees to Poland free access to Odessa.
8. Two Polish ministers must be admitted to the Ukrainian Cabinet, one a resident minister, and the other delegated.
9. The land question in Ukraine shall be settled by a Constituent Assembly. Until that time the status of the large landowners—Poles—may be changed only upon a special agreement between Poland and Ukraine.

According to this Polish scheme, Ukraine has been divided into three parts: one, comprising Eastern Galicia and parts of Volhynia, Kholm and Podolia, is to fall under the permanent rule of Poland; the second, lying within the boundaries

indicated in point three of the above pact, is to be a "buffer" state under the protectorate of Poland, with Petlura as its political chief; the third, situated on the left side of the Dnieper is to remain, so far as Poland is concerned, as it is, which means a Ukrainian Soviet Republic in union with Soviet Russia.

In a world of general turmoil and depredation it matters but little that by this act Poland has arrogated to herself, among others, a permanent right to Eastern Galicia, a right which the Versailles Peace Conference, despite its friendliness toward Poland, did not feel able to accord her, granting her only the right of administration for a period of twenty-five years (this decision was subsequently reversed and the question left open, supposedly for a settlement by the League of Nations). Nor is it a fact of over much significance that Poland, herself a member of the League of Nations, has completely disregarded her duties with regard to that body, and has acted as if no such thing as a League of Nations were in existence. After all, since the time of its inception, the League was able to manifest a policy common to all of its members and so to be representative of that "comity of nations" for which it is supposed to stand, only in the case of Soviet Russia: by the marvelous silence with which it has viewed all the imperialistic attacks upon the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Otherwise, things are taking place in Europe that mock any idea of harmony between the nations, cynical imperialism coming now into the open, nations fighting with each other and displaying impudent greed for the possession of raw materials and land, while the League of Nations in its role of supreme arbiter is giving occupation to some renowned international lawyers who, undisturbed by the events of the day, are busy drafting all kinds of regulations, orders of procedure, etc., all of which will probably go as far in mitigating the forces of imperialism and militarism as the laws of "humane" warfare, composed by the Hague tribunal and subscribed to by all "civilized" nations, went in mitigating the horrors of the Great War.

To be sure, League or no League, the success of the Polish plan will depend largely, if not mainly, on the resistance of the Red Armies of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine and on the development of social antagonisms within the territories of Ukraine that do not constitute its Soviet part, and no less within Poland herself. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that in carrying out the designs of her master, France, and in striving to become a "Greater Poland," (according to the French plan she is to border in the south on Rumania, while in the north she is supposed to swallow up Lithuania and base herself on the Baltic Sea) Poland is developing the same methods which Germany did when she tried to become a "Greater Germany" and which cost her so dear in the end. Particu-

larly in dealing with the problem of Ukraine, Poland is copiously repeating the methods of Germany in dealing with the problem of Poland, the analogy going so far as to apply even to the internal political divisions regarding the best methods of annexation. As an indication of this we may regard also the fact that the political alignment in Ukraine with regard to the Polish annexation schemes reminds one much of a similar alignment in Poland with regard to the German annexation schemes.

History is regarded as a guide to peoples and men. And doubtless, in a limited sense, it is for those, of course, who are able to read its lessons and are prepared to draw their line of action accordingly. Their number is, however, small. On the other hand, it is remarkable how a set of men, nay whole social classes, are acting in a similar manner when they find themselves in similar conditions, repeating what the historians are apt to consider as "mistakes" with regard to the predecessors of these classes, and thus tending to prove, against the popular assumption of a "free will," the iron strength of historic determinism. It was a remark of the German philosopher Hegel that historic situations repeat themselves, and, although Hegel himself had in view a rather metaphysical formula of historic evolution, his remark stands true insofar as it means that men act in obedience to certain laws of history of which they themselves are but the instruments.

Viewed from this angle it is not altogether surprising that the kind of social elements which had been directing the policy of Prussia, or Germany, toward a subject nation, when permitted to rule, are developing in Poland identical tendencies towards a subject nation of the latter, Ukraine. A sign of the times being only the circumstance that the same press which had been heretofore untiring in engineering the "Prussian horror" is somehow silent now concerning the "Prussianism" of Poland, though the latter country has much perfected the methods of its predecessor.

The colonization methods by which the governing classes of Prussia—upon the initiative of Bismarck, who, in his ignorance, regarded the Poles, and particularly, the Polish nobles as a band of insurgents—were trying to displace the Poles from their inherited lands and to colonize the country with German peasants, is but recent history. The Prussian expropriation laws and the practices of the *Ansiedelungskommission* were arousing the protests of all Poles, contributing to the world reputation of Prussia and its junkerdom. Is it not remarkable then that the same Poland which had been the victim of this Prussian policy of extermination should apply the same methods with regard to the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia? Still, such is the policy of Poland there, and many a Prussian "Hakatist" would stagger at the ruthlessness and brutality of the Polish methods. The land law regarding the parcelling out of large land holdings and their sale to the peasants, adopted by the Polish Diet on July 10, 1919, does

not apply to Eastern Galicia (and other border territories) with its large Polish estates and predominant Ukrainian peasant population. Polish land owners in Eastern Galicia are enjoined from selling their land to Ukrainian peasants. The large estates in Eastern Galicia are to be colonized with Polish peasants who are to be brought over there from Poland proper. It was partly to stimulate this colonization and to induce the Polish peasants to migrate to Ukrainian territory that the Polish Government stopped the operation of the land law, leaving the Polish peasantry in quest of land the only choice of finding the land in the border territories.

Those acquainted with European affairs and particularly with Polish affairs might recall another little incident that took place in 1902 in the little Polish town of Wrzesnia, at that time in Prussia. A German teacher flogged Polish children because they refused to say their prayers in German and insisted on saying them in Polish. The incident—an instance of the policy of Germanization—aroused general indignation and was widely commented upon in the European press—not excluding the German press itself—and was pointed out as an example of Prussian cultural methods. Today Poland is carrying out in the border territories, particularly in Ukraine, a policy of Polonization which leaves the methods of Prussian officialdom far behind. The Ukrainian language is forbidden in the schools and the children are maltreated for using it, everything reminding one of Ukrainian culture is banished from all official institutions; Ukrainian youth, a thing unheard of in the past, are not permitted to study in their own universities. In Kamenetz-Podolsk, hundreds of Ukrainian young men were compelled, by order of the Polish authorities, to leave the university and abandon their studies, which they had already undertaken.

A most remarkable analogy with Germany will be found in the policy adopted by the Polish governing classes in the problem of annexation. It will be remembered that after the occupation by the armies of the Central Powers of what was formerly the Kingdom of Poland (Russian-Poland), there developed in Germany a sharp struggle within the governing circles themselves as to how to solve the Polish problem. There were tendencies active that asked for the creation of an autonomous Polish state, to act as a "buffer" against Russia, and to be dependent on Germany; there were other influences asking for a partitioning of the occupied country between Germany and Austria, and warning the German Government against the formation of an autonomous Poland, as this would mean a constant danger to the Polish provinces of Prussia, which, to be sure, not even the Social-Democratic sponsors of Polish independence thought of returning to this new Polish state. The government adopted neither of these policies, or, more correctly, a combination of both. Acting hypocritically as a "liberator" of Poland, it proclaimed in November, 1916, the independence of Poland, in

the meantime dividing Russian Poland into German and Austrian administrative spheres, thus accomplishing a further division of the Polish lands.

In exactly the same manner, the plan adopted by the Polish Government regarding Ukraine is a compromise between the elements in Poland that are against the creation of an independent Ukrainian state and which want to solve the problem of Ukraine by dividing it up between Poland and Russia, and those that look for a formation on the boundary of Russia of a small Ukrainian "buffer" state under the domination of Poland. For, according to point three of the above pact, Poland is interested only in the creation of a Ukraine whose boundaries are limited by the Dnieper. In the opinion of the Polish politicians, this means leaving a part of Ukraine under the rule of Russia, for they are not able to regard the union of Soviet Ukraine with Soviet Russia in any other light than that of political subjection. Moreover, like Germany, which declared that as a price for the "liberation," Poland must completely drop all claims to its Prussian part and to permit Germany to have her "special economic rights" in "independent" Poland, the pact between Poland and Petlura calls for the abdication of Eastern Galicia and other Ukrainian provinces (point six) and the granting of "special rights" in the "independent" Ukraine (points seven and eight). Point nine is the result of the Russian revolution with its revolutionary settling of the land question, and bears a strong resemblance to the protection accorded by Germany to the Baltic barons against the claims of the native peasants.

It would lead us too far to follow up the analogy and to show how the Ukrainian people are behaving in much the same way towards the Polish aggressor as the Polish people did towards the German conquerors. In both cases the majority of the people look with distrust upon the new masters, and their professions of liberality, and in both cases there was found a group of middle class intellectuals, who, eager for the administrative positions that would open up in the autonomous state, were ready to strike a bargain with the "benefactor" and to become its plenipotentiary. Just as the followers of Pilsudski in Poland did not shrink from bargaining away Prussian Poland for the "benefit" of an autonomous Poland of a German pattern, Petlura and his retinue are ready to hand out to Poland Eastern Galicia and other Ukrainian provinces, only to get hold of a stretch of Ukraine, cut out by the Polish designers.

However, the analogy has its limits. For, whereas the German domination—despite its determining economic factors—appeared to the Polish people predominantly as a form of national oppression, the Polish domination over Ukraine assumes in the eyes of the majority of the Ukrainian people first of all the appearance of a social and only in the second place that of a national (and religious) oppression. Whether toiling on the large estates in Eastern Galicia, or in the naphtha fields

of Boryslav, or in the sugar refineries of Volhynia and Podolia, the Ukrainian worker feels and experiences that his places of work are owned or managed by the Poles. Thus, independently of the national question, which is causing the Ukrainian worker and peasant to desire to unite with their brothers of the same nationality who live on the other side of the Dnieper, the workers and poor peasants of Eastern Galicia and other parts of Ukraine behold in Soviet Ukraine a country where their class is not dominated by the Polish masters, where it has liberated itself from economic bondage and is itself exercising the power, and to which, consequently, they are looking for their liberation.

The governing classes of Poland might nevertheless have agreed to conclude peace with Soviet Russia, but it was impossible for them to decide for a peace with Soviet Ukraine. A rumor in the Ukrainian press, which we are not able to confirm, had it that the Ukrainian Soviet Government intended to bring up, during the peace negotiations, among others, the question of Eastern Galicia, and Poland knew too well on what foundation its domination there was based.

To be sure, the pompous appeal of Pilsudski to the Ukrainian people tries to make believe that it is Soviet Russia which is the invader of Ukraine, from whose "foreign" rule Poland is endeavoring to free that country. We shall not dwell now upon the nature of the union between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, as we intend to discuss the matter in the near future. For the present we may say this much: First of all, Soviet Russia, by the nature of its political program, the basis underlying the whole structure of Russia, even if it should invade another country (which it does not), can never develop the usual tendencies and functions of a capitalist aggressor, because, in order to carry out its social program, it would have at once to call into life in the invaded country all its own political and social institutions, viz., all the kinds of *Soviets* instrumental in the carrying out of such program, and which must be made of the masses of the local working population. Secondly, the character of Soviet Russia's economic and social policies absolutely excludes the necessity of a national (cultural) domination and oppression. Thirdly, a union with Soviet Russia can only be based on the consent, still more on the support of the toiling masses of the population, forming the majority of the people. We shall find opportunity to show that such is the case with regard to the adherence of Soviet Ukraine to Soviet Russia. However, the peace submitted by Soviet Russia to Poland is a sufficient proof, if proof be needed, that it is Soviet Russia which always stands out for the rights of small or weak nationalities. According to the Moscow *Pravda*, Soviet Russia has offered Poland the following terms:

1. The Polish troops are to evacuate the territories of Ukraine, White Russia and Lithuania, and to allow a plebiscite to be taken in these territories.

2. A militia of the local population shall be formed for the duration of the plebiscite.

3. The plebiscite commissions shall be mixed, and shall include one-fourth for the representatives of Poland and one-fourth for the Soviet representatives.

4. The communication between the plebiscite territories with Russia and Poland shall be free.

5. All the native inhabitants of the plebiscite territories to have the right to vote.

6. Russia will demand free communication with Germany across Poland.

Confronted with an eventuality of a free decision on the part of the peoples whom she is so desirous to liberate, what wonder that Poland found no other way out by to have recourse to the force of arms, confident as she was in the support of the Entente.

History will record with irony the fact that by her present schemes of aggrandizement and by her war upon Soviet Russia, Poland has at last assumed that role which the powers of reaction were eagerly preparing for her since the time of her coming into life as a so-called independent state, that is, to stand as a barrier separating the Western European "civilization" from the danger of Soviet Russia, or to put it correctly, as a bulwark of western European reaction against the Russian system.

In his "Eighteenth of Brumaire" Karl Marx, commenting on the remark of Hegel that historic situations repeat themselves, added: "First as a drama, next as a farce." In the case of Poland, it is cogent to note that it is not merely a travesty on her past that the Polish governing classes are performing now, but a direct reversal of that international role which Poland was playing, but to a greater extent, up to the eighties of the past century, was still expected to play in the progress of European democracy. It was Marx who, during the German revolution of 1848, was clamoring for a war against Russia in defense of Poland. The same influence manifested itself at the time of the Polish insurrection in 1863, and later in the First Workers' International. Poland then was regarded as the incarnate fighter for freedom. Polish emigrants could be found wherever a suppressed nation or a class was struggling for its liberation. Polish troops were fighting under their own generals by the side of Hungary in the Revolution of 1848, Polish generals were leading the defense of the Paris Commune in 1871. The restitution of Poland was demanded by the democracy of Europe as a barrier against "Cossackdom," that is, Czarist Russia, whose pernicious influence displayed itself in the crassest way in the aid given to Austrian absolutism against revolutionary Hungary. "War on Russia," and "Free Poland," were for decades the slogans of European democracy, and the knowledge of this fact was used by the German militarism in drawing to its imperialist plans the somewhat disturbed consciences of the German social-democratic workmen. True, as has

been pointed out by some socialist historians and writers (among others Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring), Poland's economic and social structure in 1848 was not what Marx and others thought it to be, and Poland was in no way ready to play the progressive role of a bulwark against Czarist Russia, allotted to her by the democratic world, none the less the fact remains that up to the most recent times Poland's freedom was regarded as being indispensable to the progress of Europe, while the Poles themselves were looked upon as its foremost bearers.

It needed the bloody plough of war and the dissecting knife of the social revolution in Russia, in order to throw full light on the changes that history has brought upon the face of the world during the last decades. And possibly no country has come out in such a surprising costume, no nation has so reversed the verdict of history, as has Poland. It would fill pages to show all the reactionary features of this changeling of international imperialism. It would fill pages to recount all the rotten practices of this new pretender to world power. Suffice it to say that where the thin layer of civilization is a distinct hindrance, viz., in occupied regions, Poland is showing a face that is ugly to the point of abomination. The Ukrainian press of all shades of opinion knows of instances of brutality on the part of the Polish military and civil officials that call forth horror in the reader. Tens of thousands of innocent Ukrainian people suffering in prisoners' camps or in jails for their "disloyalty" to Poland, and dying in batches of hunger and sickness, peasants robbed of their grain, which is being sent to France in payment for ammunition, an entire people starving from hunger and disease, and driven to continuous outbursts of despair and to riots that invariably end in people being shot down by the Polish military, as happened but a few weeks ago in several peasant districts of Eastern Galicia; that is the kind of "liberty" that Poland is holding out for Ukraine, the only consolation for the Ukrainian people being the fact that under the same benevolent rule the Polish people themselves do not fare much better.

Under these circumstances we must not wonder that it was this country (with its favorable geographical position) that France, which is also a country that is playing grim tricks with her glorious revolutionary traditions, has selected to act as a barrier against revolutionary Russia. *Sic transit gloria mundi*, a pessimist might say, mindful of the French and Polish annals, and recollecting the tension with which the democrats of the past were watching the destinies of these two countries. The revolutionary optimist, however, will keep up his spirits with the belief that after all the French rooster has repeatedly changed its mood, and, as for Poland, feudal and bourgeois Poland has displayed more than once its inability to play any kind of historic mission, except that of a historic failure.

Press Cuttings

DEBATE ON RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS

The following discussion took place in the House of Commons between Lloyd George and several members of the House on the evening of June 7, 1920. Lloyd George gives his reasons for beginning negotiations with Russia.

In the House of Commons.

Colonel Gretton (C.U.—Burton) moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the negotiations between the Government and Mr. Krassin. According to the best information, he said, the present Russian Government was not a national government and did not represent the people of Russia. It had repeatedly committed acts of war against this country, the most recent being the expedition into Persia. It had entered into an understanding with Afghanistan, and was maintaining an active propaganda in various countries. He asked whether we proposed to enter into negotiations with a Government of violence of the kind existing in Russia?

"Who is Mr. Krassin?" he asked. He wanted full information as to whether Mr. Krassin represented the Government of Russia and held full credentials to act for them in this country and whether he was empowered to conduct negotiations. As a preliminary to such negotiations had we insisted on full satisfaction and reparation to British subjects who had been tortured or murdered during the Bolshevik régime? Also he wanted to know whether a condition of trade relations was that British traders should not enter Russia, and that such relations should be carried on with representatives of the Russian Government. What reason was there to suppose that Russia was producing any surplus quantities of corn, and were we negotiating for gold that belonged to one of our Allies?

It was notorious that Russia owed enormous debts to France and also was under obligations to British subjects, and he asked whether we were negotiating for gold that belonged to others. He implored the government to give the fullest information about matters that were causing the greatest uneasiness and perturbation throughout this country.

Admiral Hall (C.U.—West Derby), who seconded the motion, questioned what Russia had to send in exchange for our trade.

The Need of Peace

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Lab.—Derby) gathered that the view of the previous speakers was that the opening of relations with Russia would not be advantageous because there was little to trade with. He submitted that that question had no bearing on the situation. (Cheers.) The view the Labor Party took was that never was peace in the world more necessary than now, and that whatever might be the objections to Soviet rule the war could not continue without our feeling its effects. He submitted further that all the predictions about Bolshevik rule coming to an end had been falsified, and that war against a country like Russia tended rather to strengthen than to weaken it.

He noted in particular that a distinction was sought to be drawn between trading with Russia privately and trading officially. If we were not to trade with Russia officially because of the Red Terror, why should we trade with Hungary, where there was a White Terror almost as bad?

Mr. Lloyd George

Mr. Lloyd George: First of all I should like to give the House just a narrative of how the present negotiations have arisen. The decision to trade with Russia was taken in Paris, with M. Clemenceau in the chair—he certainly is not a Bolshevik. All the Allies were

represented. It was after a year or fifteen months of other efforts to produce some sort of settlement in Russia. To put it quite mildly; those efforts were not a success. The produce of Russia, the contributions of Russia to the essentials of life, were seen to be as remote as ever. Peace in Europe was seen to be as remote as ever, and we came to the conclusion, quite unanimously, that it was desirable, at any rate, to open up trading relations with Russia.

We took the evidence of refugees from Russia who had been driven out of the country by the Bolsheviks. We did not act upon Bolshevik evidence—we acted upon anti-Bolsheviks' evidence. They were Russians who had associated with the cooperative movement in Russia, and upon their testimony and upon the general review of the situation we came unanimously to the conclusion that it was in the interests of the world that we should reopen trading relations with Russia.

That was the first step. Then there was the meeting in London at the latter end of February. France was represented by M. Millerand and Italy by Signor Nitti, and Japan was also represented, and then this decision was taken:

"The Allies cannot enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, in view of their past experiences, until they have arrived at the conviction that Bolshevik horrors have come to an end, and that the Government of Moscow is ready to conform its methods to those of all civilized governments. The British and Swiss Governments were both compelled to expel representatives of the Soviet Government from their respective countries.

"Commerce between Russia and the rest of Europe, which is so essential for the improvement of economic conditions, not only in Russia but in the rest of the world, will be encouraged to the utmost degree possible without relaxation of the attitude described above."

Unanimity at San Remo

That was decided in February. Action had been taken upon those two resolutions, and Russia had offered to send over a delegation to this country, headed by Mr. Krassin and Mr. Litvinov. We knew Mr. Krassin's position in the Soviet Government. With a full knowledge of these facts the Allies passed this resolution at San Remo:

"The Allied representatives will be prepared to discuss with the Russian delegates the best methods of removing the obstacles and difficulties in the way of the resumption of peaceful trade relations, with a desire to find a solution in the general interests of Europe."

Thus by a perfectly unanimous decision of the Allies—France, Italy, Japan and Great Britain—it was decided not merely to open up trade relations with Russia, but to open up those relations with the delegation that was then at Copenhagen, including Mr. Krassin, but excluding Mr. Litvinov.

It is upon that we are acting at the present moment. This was a decision taken by the official leaders of the Allied nations—taken after consultation with their governments. We each were armed with authority from our respective Cabinets before we committed ourselves to this policy. It was discussed fully in Italy, in France, and in Great Britain, and we came to the conclusion unanimously—all the official Allied leaders came to the conclusion—that it was essential in the interests of the world to resume trade relations with Russia.

It is a very serious thing to reverse a policy come to reluctantly, with all the evidence of dislike of shrinking from and natural aversion from doing something which looks like going back upon a policy which you have already embarked upon. In spite of those things, these Governments came to the conclusion unanimously

that it was in the interests of the scores and hundreds of millions they represent to resume trade relations.

Mr. Kennedy Jones (C.U.—Hornsey): Who proposed the policy, may I ask?

Russia Essential to Europe

Mr. Lloyd George: I really do not think it very much matters, but if my hon. friend thinks that any one of us shrinks from it I accept full responsibility, not only by taking part but in promoting it, and I am glad that all my colleagues agree with me. Why did they do it? Is it not obvious to any man who looks at the facts through the world that there was an imperative need of it?

Russia is essential to Europe. Russia is essential to the world. Has anyone been looking at the figures of the world production of wheat and raw material, and will anyone—I mean will anyone responsible,—will anybody who can be called to account as I could in every court—the court of public opinion, the court of the conscience of the world and my own,—will anyone with that responsibility stand up and to save his own *amour propre*—because he is afraid of being misinterpreted and misrepresented,—will any man with responsibility say that he will bar the door of Russia against the millions who are waiting in order to get what Russia can produce?

It is because we realized the peril, because we knew the limitations, because we knew the dangers, because we knew the fact that the world was running to a shortage, and that here was a country which before the war produced twenty-five per cent of the imported food of Europe, that we decided that steps should be taken in order to restore relations with her. (Hear, hear.) You may say you cannot do it. If you cannot, then the blame will not rest with us, but you certainly cannot do it unless you try.

Great Supplies of Wheat

But I am told, why should we restore relations? I tread with considerable diffidence upon this ground, because I don't wish to misrepresent anything that my hon. friends said. We are told that Russia has not got any food and material. It is more than any hon. member here can say, but the statement I made in this House originally I make again. There are men who say that there is a prodigious quantity of grain and raw material in Russia. I can give a telegram which came this morning from Poland in which the Poles say that they have come to the conclusion that there is a considerable quantity of wheat for export abroad in the Ukraine alone. Men who had got the same opportunities of obtaining information say that there are prodigious quantities in the Ukraine, in the Kuban and in Siberia, and that the peasants are storing because they cannot sell. The mere fact that Central Russia is starving is no proof at all that there is not plenty in other parts.

I agree it is transport stands in the way. There is no doubt from the evidence we have got there is grain in Russia; there is oil, there is flax, there is timber—all of them essential commodities for this country. Equally there is no doubt that the transport is insufficient. But trade is necessary to improve the transport.

Trade With Turkey Under Abdul Hamid

I am told that we must not adopt this policy because we disapprove of the government. Is it really suggested that we are not to trade with a country whose government we condemn, that we are not to trade with a country that is misgoverned? When was that doctrine laid down? Unless war has been declared between the countries there is no precedent for declaring that you cannot trade with a country because you abhor its government.

Take the case which has been given by my hon. friend, the case of Mexico. We had a Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico the whole of the time to which reference has been made. Where you have anarchy and where you have civil war, there trade is impossible.

But apart from that, we would have traded with Mexico—we did as a matter of fact trade—where we could.

Take another case. I am told you must not trade with Russia because of the atrocities of the Bolshevik Government. Have we never traded with countries which have been guilty of atrocities? What about Turkey? Were not the atrocities in Russia, bad as they were, exceeded in horror, in number, and in persistence by the atrocities perpetrated in Turkey under Abdul Hamid against the Armenians? Violations, murder, wholesale—hundreds of thousands. Did we cease trading for a single hour?

Mr. Billings: We ought to have done.

And With Czarist Russia

The Prime Minister: What a misfortune the hon. member was not in power. Nobody proposed it from any part in the House to my recollection. Our trade with Turkey was a very substantial one, but never was it suggested that we should cease trading with Turkey or leave off trading relations or even diplomatic relations because of these atrocities. It is quite a new doctrine that you are responsible for the government when you trade with its people. Were we responsible for the Czarist Government? Were we responsible for it with its corruption, its misgovernment, its pogroms, its scores of thousands of innocent people massacred? We were not responsible for that, yet we continued our relations.

Why, this country has opened up most of the cannibal trade of the world, whether it was in the South Seas or in Kumassi. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Have we ever declined to do it because we disapprove of the habits of the population. (Laughter.) We exercised caution. We chose our representatives. It is really a new doctrine that you must approve of either the habits, the customs, the government, the religion, or the manners of the people before you start trading with them. (Renewed laughter and cheers.)

It would be very pleasant if there were no trading relations except with people just like ourselves, those who had a sane government—(loud laughter),—and who show the same wisdom and judgment. (Laughter.) But we cannot indulge in these things; they are a luxury. They are beyond the reach of anyone except a favored country. We must take such governments as we find them and thank God how very happy we ourselves are here. (Renewed laughter.)

I think we have displayed in this matter, even if we had taken the initiative, the sort of rough common sense that leads the British people in the end to the right conclusions. They may not be able to give good reasons for it (loud laughter),—but they are generally sound and their instinct has led them to the right conclusion.

Prejudice—and the Facts

Let us look at this matter without prejudice. You cannot afford to have prejudices if you are a trading community. Certainly not. You cannot always examine the records of your customers. Let us look at this matter from the point of view of the realities of the situation. What is the position?

It is very easy to get up in this House and say, "Look at this horrible thing; look at this and that atrocity; are you going to grasp this tainted hand"—(laughter)—with a sort of Pharisaic principle that you must wash your hands for fear you touch a tainted customer.

Russia exported 4,000,000 tons of grain before the war, and every grain of it is needed by Europe now—and in Europe I include Great Britain. Millions of tons of timber, scores of thousands of tons of flax were exported before the war, all needed by the industries of the world. When are you going to trade with Russia? Is there any man here who will get up and say: "We will never trade with Russia as long as there is a Bolshevik Government"?

Colonel Page Croft (N.P.—Bournemouth): Not so long as a single British subject is imprisoned in Russia—you ought not to trade with them.

The Prime Minister: My hon. and gallant friend will perhaps be very shocked to hear that in fact I have said so to Mr. Krassin. I am asking is there anybody here who is ever likely to win the confidence of the people to the extent of being chosen to fill the office which I now hold or the office held by my right hon. friend who will say that he will never trade with Russia as long as there is a Bolshevik Government? All I can say is, if there is anybody who says it, then it would be an act of gross folly which either he would repent of or the country that trusted him would repent of.

Lieutenant Colonel Archer-Shee (U.—Finsbury): M. Clemenceau said so.

The Prime Minister: He did say so. I know far more of M. Clemenceau than the hon. and gallant member does. M. Clemenceau said that as long as the Bolshevik Government are guilty of atrocities—

Lieutenant Colonel Archer-Shee: They are.

The Prime Minister: Then they will not be recognized, but to say that you cannot trade with a people whose government is guilty of atrocities is to rule out more governments than I care to think of. To see peace established in the world is not an easy task. I wonder whether any of my hon. friends who ride this particular prejudice have ever put themselves in the position of those who have got to consider the whole situation. We are responsible not merely for what is to be done today but we are responsible for the future. It appals me when I think what may happen unless peace is restored in Russia.

What War With Russia Means

Lieutenant Colonel Archer-Shee: Why do you not win it?

The Prime Minister: What is the good of talking like that? That is the sort of flighty, irresponsible talk that is responsible for more mischief than I can tell. How can you win unless you are prepared to lose? What do I mean by that? If you are going to crush Bolshevism because it is an evil thing, put your might into it, put your manhood into it. We have lost hundreds of thousands of lives and are we prepared to lose hundreds of thousands more? We have £8,000,000,000 of debt, and are we going to pile up another £3,000,000,000 or £4,000,000,000 more? If you are not prepared to do that, what is the good of talking lightly?

I sincerely hope that my hon. friend's views about the Polish prospects are right. I wish I could be as sure. I think they were badly advised. I earnestly hope that my reading of the situation is wrong, but is there anyone here will predict that I have taken the wrong view?

A World Peace Vital to All

It is easy to find quarrels. The world is bristling with them. Hand-grenades are scattered over the ground, and you have got to walk carefully forward or you will have an explosion. The world is full of explosive matter. You have quarrels here and quarrels there where the blood pressure is still too high. You won't restore its health until you bring it down to something like a sane normal.

Do not let us excite it. Do not let us stir it up. Do not let us have a prejudice here, a quarrel there, an outrage somewhere else, and do not let us say, "I will quarrel with that man who is not of my way of thinking. I do not approve of him." You will never get peace in the world in that way. I would not guarantee, nor would any Minister holding any responsible position guarantee, the stability of any land unless you get peace in the world. (Loud cheers.)

Sir Donald Maclean

Sir Donald Maclean (L.—Peebles) said the House now knew that the action taken by the government was the action of the government as a whole, with the full assent of the Allies. He welcomed heartily what the Prime Minister had said with regard to the mistakes made during the last eighteen months in our dealings with Russia, and wished well to this first step towards bringing about relations which, he hoped, would create a condition of things in which Bolshevism in the future would be impossible. (Cheers.)

Colonel Archer-Shee, answering the challenge of the Prime Minister, declared that he supported the view that we ought not to trade with the Bolshevik Government at all.

Mr. J. O'Grady (Lab.—Leeds), on the other hand, asserted that commercial men, together with the working classes, had made up their minds that whatever might have happened in the past commercial relations should be resumed freely and openly.

Colonel Page Croft continued the debate and the motion was eventually talked out.—*Manchester Guardian*, June 8, 1920.

CZECHO-SLOVAK MINISTER REPLIES TO CHICHERIN

On the basis of a report in Czecho-Slovak newspapers, we print here the principal parts of the reply of the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs to Chicherin's peace proposal:

No one has ever doubted the sincere loyalty of the Czecho-Slovak people to the great Russian people. During the war we have raised the banner of rebellion for our political and social freedom. Our nation and state has really come into existence as a result of our revolutionary struggle. No one could therefore question our profound loyalty to the ideal of freedom and revolution, which broke open for us the jails of the monarchy. With the object of removing all misunderstandings between the two sides regarding the question of our Siberian army, I am at present preparing a compilation of documents which will make clear the position of our government and of the official leaders of our revolutionary movement, particularly in Russia. This, of course, requires some time. Nevertheless, I am even now already able to state that from the standpoint of law your note does not quite correspond to reality and that the Czecho-Slovak Government has never been in a state of war with Russia.

In Siberia, it is true, some agreements were entered into, which were of a purely local character. But from the standpoint of law, this question should be regarded in a different light. I will therefore, take the liberty soon to send to you the compilation of documents and

BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

At the end of June, 1920, which marks the close of our second volume (January to June), we shall bind two hundred full sets of *SOVIET RUSSIA* for this period (26 issues—half a year), and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for such a volume, bound uniformly with the first volume, is five dollars. The volumes will be delivered promptly in July.

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We need, in order to be able to bind so many sets of *SOVIET RUSSIA*, a few more copies of Vol. II, No. 6 (February 7, 1920), which we are willing to pay for at the rate of ten cents per copy.

our delegates, who will be able directly to discuss with you the question of the situation of our citizens in Russia and of our future economic relations.

This commission could at the same time determine what other questions should be discussed.

The Czecho-Slovak Government expresses the hope that this will lead to successful results which will be of equal advantage to both nations.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA—UKRAINE— RUSSIA

Vechernik Prava Ludu, an organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Czecho-Slovakia, the strongest party in the country, published in its issue of May 11, 1920, an article entitled: "The Direct Negotiations of Our Country with Russia," which we print in full translation below:

Remove all ambiguity!

Yesterday there was published a note sent by the Czecho-Slovak Government and the Soviet power with regard to the relations between Central Europe and Russia, and states that *this constitutes a basis for direct negotiations without any delay*. Simultaneously, the Czecho-Slovak Government communicates that it gives consent to having representatives of the Russian Red Cross come to the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Thus relations are being started, and soon direct negotiations will follow. Just at a time when Poland is attacking Russia, this act will be greeted with joy by the whole Czecho-Slovak working people, and we are sure to greet with all the greater joy the whole Russian people and nation, which is preparing now to a man to repel the Polish attack.

We consider it, however, our duty to point out that it is necessary to remove all ambiguity. There are residing in Prague and in our republic a number of *reactionary* Kolchak and Denikin officers who are representing here, in some unofficial manner, non-existing governments, and to whom—as we learn—pensions are being paid out which, it is said, the Russian Government will repay in the future; thus these men live here on our money even publishing two reactionary dailies; they have their own Red Cross and receive support from the American Red Cross; and are being used in a political way for purposes of reactionary propaganda among the Russian prisoners. Moreover, in Teresin, a small detachment of the Russian army is still undergoing military training. What does all this mean?

There have remained in our republic about 10,000 Russian prisoners almost all of whom sympathize with the Soviet power. They have thrust and are thrusting aside, away from themselves, those reactionary officers, the masters and their representatives. The situation of these prisoners has been and is still very sad. They stay in camps (in Josephov about 1,300 men), or they are obliged to work for farmers and allow themselves to be shamefully exploited, subjected to the scorn of the local working people. The millions which were handed out to these reactionary officers and representatives might have alleviated, here and there, the difficult situation of the prisoners. It is necessary to ameliorate their conditions immediately: it might be good to issue at once a Russian newspaper for the Russian prisoners which would be run by the prisoners themselves according to their sympathies, and to inform them clearly of the probable negotiations. It is very important to us that these prisoners (who are mostly workers and peasants who will soon return to Russia) think well of us.

In his latest note Chicherin pointed out the fact that Petlura's armies are now in our republic. In Yablontz there is interned the so-called Ukrainian Brigade, an army which after the attack of Haller on Prezemysl had crossed the Carpathians. In this army, Petlura's officers hold sway, and persecuting every one who is opposed to Petlura's views. A communication has reached us from the camp of this army to the effect

that the majority of the camp is against Petlura and his partners, the Poles, and asking that the Czech comrades take up this matter, in order that they may not fall victims to the pressure of Petlura's agents. To what extent the conceit of Petlura's agents, may be judged from an impertinent note of a "representative of Petlura's government" at Prague, Slavinsky, sent to Dr. Benesch.

No ambiguity in these matters must be permitted to stand for even a day, if we are to enter into direct negotiations with Soviet Russia. We learn with horror of speeches which we—if we had known of them before—could not under any circumstances have endured.

We demand that pensions to reactionary Russian officers be immediately stopped, that complete liberty of opinion and choice be secured to all Russian prisoners. We also demand the absolute termination of all Petlura agitation in the Ukrainian brigade.

And we ask for a full explanation with regard to these matters!

THE RUSSIAN ICE-BREAKER SOLOVEI

Our readers will remember reports appearing in SOVIET RUSSIA concerning the Russian ice-breaker *Solovei*, adrift in the Kara Sea. It will be remembered that preparations were being made in Norway to dispatch another ship in order to rescue the crew of the *Solovei*, and, if possible, to tow the steamer out of its present perilous position among the ice packs. From various issues of recent Norwegian newspapers we now are able to report that the position of the *Solovei* on May 10 was 72 degrees 80 minutes north latitude and 63 degrees nine minutes east longitude; and that on May 18 the position had changed to 72 degrees 38 north latitude and 63 degrees and 36 minutes east longitude. Both these figures were communicated to the Norwegian newspapers by Russian Soviet officials; the first by Dr. Shklovsky, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs stations at Murmansk; the second by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs at Moscow.

THE UKRAINIAN PRESS ON PETLURA

The Ukrainian Socialist (non-Bolshevist) papers are subjecting Petlura's agreement with Poland to a destructive criticism. For example, the paper *Gremadska Dumka* says among other things: "The agreement of April 22 was entered into by officials and persons who cannot be considered as the authorized representatives of Ukraine. The Directorate and the Government of Mazepa actually no longer exist, for their members have departed for various quarters of the globe. What then can the Polish Government hope for in concluding agreements with persons behind whom there is no one, who are by no means the representatives of the whole Ukrainian people, and who have even ceased to represent their own political parties?"

V'bryod writes: "History is repeating itself. Within the boundaries of Ukraine the Polish troops have penetrated. They come with the same slogans as did once the German troops: to liberate the Polish people and to give them an opportunity to express their will. We say what the result was then—what shall we see now?"

Radios

POLISH AEROPLANES STOPPED

SANTHIA, ITALY, May 22.—As has been already announced, a train stopped at our station with war materials addressed to Poland. This train consists of cars bearing the following numbers: 346,444; 346,439; 346,252; 346,235; 346,467; 346,406; 346,283; 346,264; 346,269; 346,211; 346,202; 346,203; 346,273; 346,426; 346,461; 346,286; 346,219.

Almost all these cars contain SVA aeroplanes which, according to information collected by the railroad workers, were put on board at the station of Collegno, by the Ambrosetti Forwarding Company, to the account of Ansaldo-Pomilio. Two of these cars are also said to contain explosives, although they are put down as cargoes of return freight.

All the railroad workers have unanimously refused to permit these trains to depart. But it is necessary that the railroad administration should not find at any station a crew ready to carry out work of this kind, and it is also necessary that the railroad workers of Turin and of the surrounding stations should organize themselves, together with the truckmen and chauffeurs of the above mentioned forwarding company, to undertake the most rigorous surveillance in order that such attempts may be frustrated in the future.

THE BOLSHEVIKI IN PERSIA

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 23.—The naval forces of the Russian Bolsheviki on the Caspian Sea left Baku on the 19th of May, and entered the harbor of Enzeli, on the night of the 20th. Here they landed their troops in the harbor city of Kasma. Russian troops are also marching towards Resht, to take possession of that city. The Persian Bolsheviki in Tabris have proclaimed the New Persian Republic, and have mustered a force of 18,000 men, supplied with arms and ammunition, partly by Russia, and partly by Turkey. On the 20th of May, several gunboats steamed into the harbor of Abbasabad, situated north of Teheran, and landed 800 men. The city is being occupied by these troops, among whom there are Persians and Turks: but a force of 10,000 men is expected to reinforce them, to proceed to Teheran. In Tabris, too, the Bolsheviki are pushing on to Teheran, for they are expecting reinforcements from the Caucasus. At Aukhabad, on the boundary of Turkestan, there is a large army of revolutionists, who are ready to cross the boundary. The Shah of Persia has gone from Bushir to Ispahan, but it is believed that he will not return to Teheran so long as the city is in danger. The English troops are so widely scattered throughout the southwestern part of Persia that they can have no effect on the development of events in the north. The Persian gendarmerie are not sufficiently prepared to defend Teheran, unaided. The Russian Bolsheviki are aided by the Persians everywhere. The

foreign representatives at Teheran have all, with the exception of Sir Percy Scott, the English representative, decided to remain in Teheran, even if the Bolsheviki should succeed in taking it. The English troops are retreating toward Ispahan. In the English circles of Persia, it is understood that it is useless to resist, because the Bolsheviki are themselves very powerful, and they are being aided by the population everywhere, so that the danger is doubled. An English squadron, which has just left Alexandria and passed the Suez Canal, is expected in the Persian Gulf. The Indian squadron of the English fleet is also expected to follow with troops. But no military expedition can be thought of for the time being, because conditions in India also demand a great deal of attention. According to wireless messages received by English military authorities on conditions in Teheran, the situation is more serious than the English Government seems to realize. It has come to such a pass that the English are no longer attempting any resistance, but endeavoring to leave the country as soon as possible, and confine themselves to controlling the situation in British India, where a revolution is also expected.

TWO NOTES ON POLISH ATROCITIES

I.

Copy of a radio sent to Earl Curzon, of Kedleston, Minister of Foreign Affairs, London; M. Millerand, President of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris; M. Scialoja, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rome; M. Colby, Secretary of State, Washington.

May 29.—Information coming from the districts occupied by the Polish White Guards continues to mention acts of violence committed by the Polish civil and military authorities against the peaceful population. The Polish Government does not content itself with reestablishing the old regime, with appointing such outspoken reactionaries as Krachkevich, who have nothing more urgent to do than to publish severe orders for the restoration of the rights of landed proprietors of the soil and of the forests. That government does not content itself with closing the Ukrainian schools and sending the teachers into concentration camps at Demba near Cracow. It hands over the population to systematic pillage. The Polish cavalry particularly distinguishes itself in this matter. By way of example we shall point out an incident that took place at Razivirovka district of Mayoehennian, province of Berdichev. A detachment of Polish cavalry, consisting of ten men, immediately on its arrival assembled the village council and ordered to hand over all militant Soviet adherents. When the peasants answered that not a single such person had remained, the cavalry detachment scattered about the village pillaging and sacking all that it could lay hands on. It stole twenty-one horses, eight pigs, 350 poods of flour. In the vil-

lage of Vatavnikha, in the same district, this detachment demanded forty horses, twelve pigs, 350 poods of flour. All this booty was actually carried off with the exception of two horses, whose owner refused to hand them over to the mayor, who had tried to take them by force. This peasant was shot on the spot and his house burned down. As for the policy of national oppression which began to flourish after the Poles arrived, the following facts may give some idea of this work. They are concerned with the province of Volhynia. At Luninets, the director of the High School was obliged to resign his duties to a Pole and to take up the functions of a station employe. The Russian and Ukrainian railroad workers, station masters, lower officials, and conductors have all been discharged and replaced by Poles. The railroad school at Luninets has been transformed into a Polish school, where instruction is given in Polish. Questions and petitions are received only in Polish. The Poles cynically declared to the Russians and Ukrainians that they (the Poles) were once held in slavery and obliged to speak the language of the enemy, and that they were now going to force the latter to speak their language. In a word, the barbarous procedure and action by which the Polish authorities have distinguished themselves in Galicia and in all the territories in their power, are being reproduced on a larger scale, with the difference that the scene is now Ukraine. The Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine protest most emphatically against these acts of violence and are informing of these facts the governments of those Entente Powers who are primarily responsible for the attack that has been launched by Poland against the above described regions.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs
of the Russian Republic,*

CHICHERIN.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs
of the Ukrainian Republic,*

RAKOVSKY.

II.

June 2.—Information which reaches the Russian Soviet Government about the Polish atrocities forces the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to call the attention once more of the powers of the Entente to the responsibility incurred by them for the unjustifiable acts of which the armies of a state which is a member of the League of Nations, and obviously supported by them, is guilty. The commander of the Red Armies on the Western Front gives an account which follows: "The city of Borisov was occupied by Red troops at noon on May 25. The 28th of May, at three o'clock in the morning, the enemy commenced a systematic destruction of the city by a bombardment of the right bank of the Berezina. At nine o'clock in the morning, the Poles opened a rolling fire of artillery with asphyxiating and incendiary shells. About 800 shells of six and eight inch dimensions were thrown, setting on fire several buildings, and, because of the wind, enveloping half of the city in flames. Notwithstanding the rain of enemy shells,

the devotion of the communists and the energy of the Revolutionary Committee made possible the protection of the other half of the city against the fire. The enemy attempted to place obstacles in the way of the extinction of the fire by firing at those engaged in this work, with a resulting loss of more than 500 lives among a peaceful population of men, women and children; more than 100 people seriously wounded perished in the flames, and the rest of the corpses were collected and buried on May 29. The same day the enemy set fire to the rest of the city, and continued during the two mornings of the 29th and 30th so intensive a firing that the rest of Borisov was destroyed. The city is turned into a mass of smoldering ruins; 10,000 inhabitants who escaped from burning buildings are scattered in the woods, naked and starving, without having had time to take aught with them. The condition of the inhabitants is frightful; the number of victims, among whom are women and children, increases constantly. The Military Revolutionary Council of the Army knows the urgency of relief measures, necessary to furnish the victims provisions, money and lodgings. Thus, by the taking of Borissov, thanks to the valor of our military troops, a vindictive army has replied in anger by completely destroying the city and massacring hundreds and thousands of peaceful inhabitants, including women and children."

In bringing these facts to the attention of the governments protecting and allied or associated with Poland, the Soviet Government raises the most energetic protest against these foolish acts of cruelty of an enemy who attacks tens of thousands of innocent women and children, and calls the attention of all peoples to so odious a violation of the most elementary principles of humanity.

Commissar for Foreign Affairs: CHICHERIN.

AGAINST THE "RUSSIAN PERIL"

Comrade Victor Kopp, representative of the Russian Soviet Republic in Berlin, has published the following statement in the *Rote Fahn* of Berlin:

"Following up the failure of the Polish offensive, and the breaking up of the Polish front by the Russian troops, alarming reports of the danger threatening Germany through Russian invasion appeared in the German press. Although the object of these reports is transparent enough, the undersigned considers the matter important enough to assert and affirm that neither the Soviet Government nor the Russian people have any hostile feelings nor intentions against Germany, and that the 'Russian Peril' belongs in the realm of fable or vicious libel. And furthermore, the baselessness of these rumors may be seen, when we consider that the battle front is a distance of 300 kilometers from the frontiers of German territory, and that, between these are two independent states, Lithuania and Latvia, whose independence Russia recognizes, and which are on friendly terms with the German people."

VICTOR KOPP.

SOVIET RUSSIA PROTESTS

We have received the following dispatch from Stockholm:

Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, has sent a note to the Austrian Government in which he expresses the extreme displeasure of the Russian proletariat with Austria, because of her continued deliveries of munitions to Poland. The Soviet Government calls the attention of the Austrian Government to the fact that this will doubtless affect the fate of the Austrian officers in Russia and cause the exchange of prisoners to cease for the time being.

KINDERGARTEN AND SOCIAL WORK

Pravda reports that at the beginning of May a conference of kindergarten workers took place, for which there had assembled fifty-three delegates from thirty-four Russian provinces. It was learned from a report made to the conference, that there were in the Soviet Republic on January 1, 1919, 1,799 kindergartens, which were attended by 90,950 children altogether. On January 1, 1920, the number of kindergartens was 9,623, with 11,234 workers, and 204,913 children in attendance. The work in the establishment of rest homes at Petrograd is rapidly advancing. Fifteen rest homes are already in operation, providing accommodations for about 1,000 workers. The opening ceremonies will soon be held.

A NOTE TO COL. BEK'S MILITARY REVIEW

HE news from London dated July 3 about the capture of Lemberg by the Soviet Army reached us when the Military Review by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek was in print. Col. Bek, in his statement, indicates that the Red Army, after having routed the Poles in Podolia and Volhynia, is moving into Galicia with Lemberg as its objective. Today, when asked, Col. Bek confirmed his opinion that simultaneously the Soviet armies are marching also on Rovno, after having captured the most important railway junction of Shepetievka, southeast of Rovno.

Lemberg, which formerly was the capitol of Galicia, and belonged to Austria under the delimitation effected by the peace treaty, became a part of Ukraine. It was captured by the Russians early in the Great War, and evacuated after the German offensive by General Mackensen's army. The fall of Lemberg (Lvov) indicates that neither the Southern Polish army nor its Galician reserves are any longer in existence, and that the enveloping movement of the Red Army in the southern theatre of war has been brilliantly accomplished.

Col. Bek predicts an important movement in Hungary as a result of the successes of the Russian Red Army in Galicia.

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