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### TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
"MOSCOW IN 1920", by <i>Alfons Goldschmidt</i> .....	322	STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU.....	334
MILITARY REVIEW, by <i>Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek</i>	327	THE ACTIVE OFFICIALS OF THE PETROGRAD	
THE HUMANITY OF LORD CURZON, by <i>Karl Radek</i>	328	UNIONS .....	335
COMPOSITION OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET.....	329	A LETTER FROM RUSSIA, by <i>G. M. Serrati</i> .....	338
A NOTE TO THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT.....	330	TREASON IN THE CENTRO-SOYUZ.....	340
PEACE WITH LITHUANIA.....	331	WIRELESS AND OTHER NEWS.....	341
EDITORIALS .....	332	BOOKS REVIEWED, by <i>A. C. Freeman</i> .....	343

## "Moscow in 1920"

*Leaves from a Diary*

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

[Preface: These notes were jotted down on the trip to Moscow, as well as in Moscow and on the return journey to Germany. After a hard work of scientific observation, these notes are merely a hasty discharge of accumulated observations. They were a sort of outline, of illumination, for my larger work; a sort of anecdotic inspiration in a vehement period of new birth. I was to undertake a sketch of gigantic phenomena, and needed diversion, in order not to become tired. These little sketches, although separately published, are nevertheless a portion of my scientific work. They are arabesques for this work, but are nevertheless organically connected with it. Always they have a connection, either latent or visible, with the efforts for the extension of the economic revolution of Soviet Russia. A mountain must be covered with verdure, otherwise its effect will be thwarted and it will appear brusque and sudden.—Neckarsteinach, End of June, 1920.]

### THE SHIP

A SHIP in a revolutionary period is not an ordinary ship. It is not a ship of peace, which one boards without preliminary cares, on which one lives through the day without special disquiet, to enjoy the ocean and the shores and to anticipate the pleasures of the port. It is not easy to go aboard a ship, particularly a ship sailing for the east. For on such a ship there is a supervision of passports, customs inspection, and, if you have not the swiftness of an eel and a *tarnhelm* to make you invisible, you will not succeed in evading all these examinations. Arguses are on guard, whose eager eyes shoot Roentgen rays of inspection on contraband of every kind. A veritable purgatory of siftings is passed through in the presence of these Arguses. For instance, ministers of police, who diligently pass their noses over anyone aiming for Moscow, and will not approve the addition of a visa until some interest of the fatherland appears to be at stake.

At last, we are on the ship; that is, you are sur-

rounded now only by the salt air and by the odors of tar and oil. A ship that sails in periods of revolution is infected with the pestilence: the espionage pestilence, the stool-pigeon pestilence, the disgusted epidemic of sniveling. Thick vapors, odors of mould, swift double-barbed arrow-glances, furtive amblings around your baggage, your cabin. The whole world is infected, but on a ship that sails in revolutionary periods there is pestilence in concentrated form, accumulated malevolence.

And you behold around you all the classifications, all the degrees of mind and fortune, all the groups, reserves, flights, agilities, and stupidities the revolution has revealed. There are new fortunes created out of foreign money speculation, the misery of emigrants in hail storms and on ice-clad decks, pale self-sacrifice for a great hour, and a placid nursing of time worn values.

I was soon in the midst of the babble of the revolution. There was a table at which were seated those who had been washed to sea by Soviet Russia, and who were again washing themselves to

shore, as they expected blessings and quiet from the border states. A former Czarist colonel; with a characterless Tolstoian beard on an egg-like head, and an unheard of appetite for cognac. He gave evidence of a veritable juggler-like skill in arbitrage, and juggled with the exchange quotations as a circus performer does with his balls. Sitting opposite him was a Czarist lieutenant, with his old swiftness in genuflection, his ramrod angularity, his monocularity of the old period. Opposite him, a Russian lady warmed with a sealskin, with long pendants attached to her ears and breast; and then, two border state jobbers, merchandise middlemen, purveyors, of base calibre.

On this table bottles of cognac and red wine were being decimated and completely annihilated. Here you beheld the Baltic fervor against Soviet Russia, inspired by brandy and tempered with the consultation of exchange quotations. While outside the little refugee children were freezing, and dishevelled Jews and homecoming prisoners of war were longing for peaceful barter and the mother's arms, this table was the scene of a boastful misery that was really not misery at all. Wretchedness was drowned in cognac and red wine and thus transformed to joy. Principles vacillated and found support only in the hope of a favorable development of the quotations. You will always find such rabble on the outer margin of purposeful action and incipient energetic cleanliness. You had it around Christ; you had it around the great French Revolution; you had it when the Americans were liberating their slaves; you find it wherever the clean will of man assumes energetic forms.

What a delight to be able to move one's eyes from this mess, from this unclean drunkenness, to the sea and to the distant coasts; what a joy to swing on the waves off Gotland, off Oeland. What a double delight to sail for twelve hours or more through the Finnish skerries, through this wondrous fairy land of polished stone toys, distributed with volcanic playfulness. Studded with Liliputian islands, neat little shelters for boats at their edges. Every possible form presents itself to your view: wreaths with water inside of them, giant turtles, lowering alligators, gay islets still dotted with snow in April. Robinsonian retreats, and between them the zigzag of twisting and surprise-strewn calm, placid water, with the most abrupt changes, and seamews flying above. This marvel lasts until you reach Hango, until the moment when the uncouth giant, the sea-lion, the Finnish pilot, with his catlike moustache, descends from the ship and is rowed off to one of the islands that surround Hango like so many castles. After leaving Hango the path becomes dangerous once more, as it was before entering the miracle of the skerries, for here we still have a great mine frontier. Great fields of mines, whole regions filled with pestilent explosives. Every moment the first officer must be on guard not to foul one of these monsters that will cast us into the air. The war ended in November, 1918, and to this day these vile things lie in wait, covered with blue

water cushions, a veritable association of sulphurous assassination. Why not remove the damned stuff? Who has the right to permit death to remain on guard in this way? In places, a disconnected cap will work itself loose and drift over the sea, lewdly shaking. One of them came within twenty meters of our ship, a dreadfully rusty cap of iron, ready to spew, which our captain shot at in order that it might spew harmlessly; but in vain, the moving pestilence wiggled on. It is harmless if it shakes its head over the quicksilver surface of a sunny sea, for then you can see it even kilometers distant. But, when it comes shaking along during a storm or under the cover of a fog, your ship will be shattered.

Our captain was a careful man. He sailed as it were by pen and slide-rule through the official mine chart and had his ship anchored in the fog. And thus the steamer,—its freight of salt still dry, and all its social classes, heterogeneities, self-sacrifice, vulgarities, longings, stock quotation sharks, and with considerable remains of ham and sausage and other amiable properties—reached Helsingfors. We sailed past the guns of Sveaborg, which were turned toward Soviet Russia, into the calm basin, interrupted by islands and animated with villas and parks, which edge about the modern city, through which electric cars, automobiles, and country-carts are constantly rushing. It is a city that has seen unparalleled terrors, frightful days of extermination, bloody heroisms for the new time, in this land of giant forests and almost vanishing coasts. I was not permitted to enter this city, which has no particular physiognomy in the strip near the harbor—nothing but churches, human caravansaries, customs sheds, shops, and banks. It is a clean city, less clean in its principles than its streets and its skin; for in Finland even the poorest peasant bathes at least once a week.

The trip from Helsingfors to Reval was in blue and moving waters, past a bright red lightship, still bumped by pieces of ice and snow-white foam. Again a narrow path between chains of mines, without any marks to steer by. This wretched business really must stop. The sea must again have its landmarks and be liberated from this pestilence of the ignition-caps. Is there no form of organization that can dispose of this work quickly? It is hard work, dangerous to life. A huge far-reaching pair of scissors is used to cut through the mine chains, and then the creatures are blown up. Many a man has lost his life, many a brain has been shocked, and yet many a mine still threatens, although its destruction has already been announced. For cheating is practiced at this game as in all other games.

No city looks lovelier from the sea than Reval, with islands in front of it, with promenades by the shore, with a handsome port, with towering church spires, visible afar, soaring in the blue. It is handsomer even than white Algiers. The view of the city from the sea is far more attractive than the life in the city. For this city is a grotesque and a slough. The city has wonderful

walls of masonry, cupolas, promenades and buffets. But it is nevertheless a grotesque and a slough.

#### BOUNDARIES

Formerly, before the war, boundaries were already boundaries. Even then there were customs officials, briberies, police spies, and other advantages of the kind. There were nationalistic delimitations, delicate rims surrounding the nations. But there was no such mistrust as there is today. Boundaries still had their pleasures, there was only a cursory ogling this way and that. There were outbursts of joy at the boundaries, loud handshakes, unforced joys at meeting old friends. There was a frictionless, well lubricated intercourse, which went off with the smoothness of the old regime. But today things are different.

Today the boundary is a stimulus to smuggling, much more than it was before. It is a cordon of corruption. It is a wall of distrust and a provocation of nationalistic megalomania, particularly the boundaries of the new small states, the girdle of the so-called self-determination of nations. We here behold an actual birth of madness. A regard which has been already completely undermined and upset by distrust.

You will observe no sign of handshaking, of dignified selfconsciousness, of a new pride of origin, such as is proclaimed by the League of Nations. When your ship moors at the Helsingfors quay, you will see customs officials with rigid eyes and Finnish policemen with English hairdress and London clubs. The port is lifeless and exclusive. As you leave the ship you encounter a humorous Prussianism, which is in no way in accord with this primeval forest, the ice and the world of waters. It is a ludicrous Prussianism, with new postage stamps and flags, with its "own" colors, all displayed on all occasions, but controlled by foreign money. A ludicrous Prussianism with an insane fear of the importation of political epidemics, and possessed of an abject paragraphic\* obedience, which only such money can attenuate.

The Finnish and Esthonian boundaries are dominated by a terror of the influx of political epidemics and exchange values. Attitudes are not assumed *toward* the neighbor nation, but *against* the neighbor nation. When the purchasing power of the Finnish mark is higher than that of the Esthonian mark, Esthonian potatoes may rot in the harbor of Helsingfors, although Finland may be suffering a potato famine. For they will not permit the Esthonian potato to exploit the purchasing power of the Finnish mark. Rather let the Esthonian potatoes rot. This is the self-determination of nations. The country now has a money system which is dictated by a foreign stomach, but it is not permitted to appease its own hunger for potatoes, for the self-determining government is operating with money and not with potatoes.

I never saw so many eyes look so suspiciously

\* What is meant is evidently the slavish respect for the letter (the *paragraph*) of the law, which is characteristic of "Prussianism".

on a single object as when the eyes of Finnish agents inspected our ship at Helsingfors. They were the eyes of an *Okhrana*. In the same ship I later stopped at Helsingfors on the return journey, and there beheld even more *Okhrana* eyes looking at the ship and me. I had been in Soviet Russia and anyone who has been in Soviet Russia is a wandering infection in the eyes of the Finnish political police.

On the Esthonian border, on the seaport of Reval, the gestures are somewhat freer and the longing for money is less concealed. Smuggling passes more easily ashore than at Helsingfors and the fear of political contamination is moderated by the administration of the coin.

First, the states that were erected on the principle of self-determination adopt postage stamps and flags. Then they create an official class which gradually assumes the proportion of an army. They are pension organizations, enormous new opportunities for uniformed collectors of annuities. The little potato republic of Esthonia, which has no possibility of existing alone, has 25,000 officials and at least 20,000 soldiers, while the total population of the country is about 1,250,000. The diligent peasants of a somewhat blond, Mongolian type, are obliged to support 45,000 parasites. The parasites are always bustling about, but they have nothing to do. When I left Reval, on June 9, 1920, there were five or six cabin passengers on board, to x-ray whom not less than twelve officials came aboard.

The official apparatus of Reval was founded by the German-Baltic army and retained or even expanded by the Esthonians. In every street you will find a government office or several such. They pass regulations, but create nothing. Reval is a colony of the English pound sterling. The dominant note is the pound note. It is an awful and grotesque democracy, whose new nationalism consumes, deceives, and develops its own conceit. It shoots down idealists, puts its betters to inconvenience, and founds banks, in association with the pound sterling. Ministers arrive and enter the directors' meetings, and become rich and independent bankers, while the working population becomes poorer and poorer and longs for true independence. Everyone is soliciting or howling or conniving for foreign money, while the common toiler finds it impossible to live. The port is idle, industry going to the dogs. The country is being drawn to the east while the officialdom is leaning to the west. It is a very inorganic form of life, even today. It is as if the umbilical cord had been severed.

You will find all that your heart desires in Reval: lubricious cinemas, magnificent serving-tables covered with delicacies, apples at three Esthonian marks each, girls ready to pounce upon you, gay little theatres, an insane taxation policy, postage stamps with venomous colors, western trust fabrications. Early in June, 1920, the German mark was worth five Esthonian marks, and even I felt impelled to speculate in exchanges, and

bought splendid furs for a song. The thing simply infects you whether you wish or not.

Reval is so to say a window into Soviet Russia. But those looking in see nothing, or when they see anything they see it wrong. It is from here that the fairy tales pass out into the world and do their damage. From here the forging of the news slowly infects the western lands. Those impotent of vision and producing colored news stories are stationed here, where they invent their malicious tales.

Much good might already have been done if stupefaction had not spread from this boundary to the corners of the earth.

Armies have staffs, and staffs are uncommonly important institutions. Particularly, boundary division staffs, with generals at their heads, are today the preservers of the happiness of the world. World happiness means neatly preserved democracy. It is preserved, it is protected with barbed wire, bayonets and paragraphed puppets. At Narva I witnessed a clicking of heels as once in Prussia in its palmy days. I saw half-baked adjutants with a graceful bow not unlike the imperial ball at Berlin, with a rectangular correctness, with jack-knife motions. At last I was again seeing Lieutenants of the old type, lieutenants standing guard, guardians of world happiness. Of course they were not guardians of world happiness at all. Misfortune is lurking all around them and even if bayonets are presented to its skin, it simply makes off for the moment.

Our locomotive passed through the blockade cunning of the Esthonian post near Yamburg, the telephone terrors, to and fro across the barbed wire entanglements. For a few days we were held in check by that terror to preserve the happiness of the world. But then on we went, on and on, although I was driven by a soldier and a bayonet into the German war prisoners' camp at the rushing Narva River, and although two soldiers with bayonets were guarding the official Soviet car. They even presented their bayonets to the member of the English parliament, Thomas Shaw, in other words, even to friends. They even turned their bayonets against the aged Ben Turner, the English textile-worker, who was lying so peacefully on his divan. If they held down their bayonets toward these two, how do you think they held them down toward me, and yet I passed through both ways, quite legally, accompanied by good wishes, by leers of distrust, by denunciations, and by a number of other vulgarities.

Such is the amiable character of a boundary on the east. It is a doleful boundary. But be consoled, ye who cross the boundaries on your own volition, or on the volition of others: ham and hard sausages are put on board at Helsingfors, to make your mouth water, and the pork chops at Narva are democratic enough to tempt you to overeat.

#### *THE RAILROAD JOURNEY TO MOSCOW*

A thousand people have asked me: How should one get to Moscow? To them I can now say: It

is not a simple matter, you will be passed through the sieve, seven times, and even then you will be found wanting. Soviet Russia is at war, there has been war for six years; they have passed through all sorts of experiences. I can say that I saw an international at Moscow that has nothing to do with the Third Internationale, but consists of extremely dubious characters.

The Russian boundaries are veritable tape worms in length. But though you be clad with every manner of legality, you must be tested and found clean. For they have had experiences in Soviet Russia. There have been and still are people in Moscow who are proof against any innovations. All adorned with war decorations in front, and with the eyes of prejudice stuck in their heads, spraying venom with their tongues, they infest the city. There are those who are slicker, and who foment on the quiet. They never even think of being without preconception, of examining with objective eyes. They come to Moscow with the superior attitude of Olympians. Though they look about they behold nothing. Their eyes are dimmed, and dimmed eyes see nothing. The Soviet representation at Reval is perfectly right in sifting its currents of scrutiny to and fro, and he who applies for admission waits at the door for weeks and even months before Chicherin will open it. But once the door is opened, the newcomer is a guest of the Soviet Government and travels unmolested in its courier-car, sleeping, eating, contemplating the scenery from the window, chatting with the other passengers in the car, all the way to Moscow. He is in a Russian car of first or second class, fitted out with Russian railroad comforts.

The locomotive covers about twenty or twenty-five kilometers an hour, not more. There are no longer any express trains in Soviet Russia, and the local traffic locomotives have wood fuel, and are somewhat antiquated and often asthmatic. They are not in a hurry. You at once begin to grasp the serious transportation problem, on the solution of which the economic future of Russia depends.

The road from Yamburg (boundary-station) to Moscow is clean, but run down. The body of the road is no longer sound. This of course goes without saying, and it is the chief trouble of Russia's economic life. Its veins are calcinated and must be rejuvenated. We made up our minds to do everything that can be done from Germany to aid in rejuvenating them: We made up our minds to this before we reached Moscow.

But in Esthonia also the trains do not hurry. It is a twelve hours' ride from Reval to Narva. You progress slowly, very slowly. At Reval I saw a locomotive in full fettle, which was a veritable antique. It had been delivered in 1871 by the Berlin Locomotive Works of Schwartzkopff. It still has the vaulted chimney piece and affects a pleasing embonpoint. It is a puffing little locomotive. It was once, together with all the gunboats, maritime steamers, and the rest of Esthonia's property, the possession of Russia. Today it is self-determined, and like the Esthonian of-

ficial government its self-determination takes the form of an aggressive snort. You might call it a symbolic locomotive, but a confoundedly old one. Even the notion of self-determination is mighty old and mighty rusty.

A quarter of an hour beyond Narva (the great textile works were idle) you passed through the barbed wire frontier. You might almost say that peace is lurking at the boundary and war not yet asleep. The Esthonian and the Red Guards are barely a stone's throw apart. Credentials are gone through and consultations exchanged as at Narva. We are now in Soviet Russia, in Yamburg.

There are still signs of Yudenich here. The little city had been a witch's cauldron of shells and bullets. There is now little life, but there are signs of vehement conflict, broken windows, and the shattered green cupola of the church. Across the rushing river, one section of the town is almost entirely destroyed. I recall the bareness of Belgium and France in 1914; it is a dismal scene, murder coagulate, hollow-eyed desolation. When on my return journey I again passed through Yamburg, I was invited, together with my English companions, to be a guest of the town Soviet at dinner. We ate and sang and I was asked to leave a souvenir. I wrote some poor verses in an album, but my feeling was genuine:

Shells exploded in this town,  
Where the idea was enthroned,  
Broken windows,  
Life dismantled,  
Already blossoms the IDEA  
Through joys and woe,  
Through blood and pain.

The Bolsheviks have much to do at Yamburg: at night Red Guards are doubled (no one is admitted after 1 a. m. unless he gives the pass word). There are many propaganda posters at railroad stations and on the houses. There are red flags, there is a club for boys and girls, a news stand with the illustrated monthly issue of the Third Internationale. The drug-store will sell medicaments only on a doctor's prescription, for Russia has not much in the way of medicaments. Distribution must be closely supervised. My stomach was completely out of order, and I entered the Yamburg drug-store for relief. But I got no relief as I had no doctor's prescription; to be sure they were very pleasant to a member of the German delegation, but gave him no relief for his stomach. This was quite proper, for nothing can be done if order is neglected (as we say in Germany).

I forgot to speak of the red flag at the boundary. Attached to its birch-sapling it flutters, already quite pink, among the huge shell holes. It has been waving there since the conclusion of peace with Esthonia.\* Its red is not a savage or a bloody red, a fierce red, but a gentle red, a red

\* Peace between Soviet Russia and Esthonia was concluded on February 2, 1920. The full text of the treaty will be found in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. II, No. 10 (April 17, 1920).

of the lamb (if there were such a red). But the flag at Yamburg is a more striking red, it hangs out on the Soviet office and is quite handsome on the railroad building. And the red of the Soviet posters is also more aggressive. Preparations are being made for May First. Red draperies are being removed from a train that has just arrived from Petrograd, colored cloths for meetings, for draping the speakers' stands. The significance of the First of May is already being proclaimed from the walls, the significance of this day for labor, for the First of May means something else here than in capitalistic countries. In capitalistic countries the proletariat demonstrates its Socialism by refraining from work, in socialistic Russia it works more intensively. Every effort is made to emphasize the difference in the two systems.

At all railroad stations there are armed Red Guards and often consignments of troops, but very few freight consignments; again you think of the transportation problem, and the war that cripples the arteries. Great piles of wood at all stations: preparations for winter. The hardships of the last period of snow have taught much. Fuel for the locomotives, a modicum for the factories, a modicum for domestic uses, must be on hand.

It is April, but already the winter crop is coming up. Long, thin, narrow fields, awakening my memories. Forests, forests, forests. Churches, churches, churches. Onion cupolas, silver as childhood's joy, ancient green, pale red, golden (bright gold, old gold, gold in every shade). There is still much praying done in Russia. I shall say more of this later. Millions still go on pilgrimages, millions still kneel, millions still long for heaven.

One forest after the other, with but narrow paths between them, worked only with the *sokha*. The *sokha*, (Russian *coxa*), the primitive thorn plow, is the cardinal sin of Russian agriculture. This *sokha* is guided by God himself. There are regions in Russia that are inhabited by peasants still living in pristine innocence, for whom the *sokha* is already a step on the road of sin; for God does everything: He created man, he fed him; why interfere with his handiwork? (see Tolstoy).

One forest after the other. Immense possibilities of exploitation. Even here, in this region not favored by nature. Many villa colonies, also factory towns, delightful country seats, little houses with filigree trimmings, brown idylls in logs, enveloped in the budding green bushes of early Spring; some villages like a flattened form of Swiss settlement. But the *sokha* must give way—the *sokha* must give way. We reached Gatchina, forty-five versts from Petrograd: not unlike Potsdam. A balcony on the great Dowager Palace is draped with red flags: a speaker's tribune for the First of May. Gatchina was as far as Yudenich got. Petrograd then became a regular fortress, a bridge for sorties, for the world advance from the fort of the proletariat organized for struggle. Men and women seized arms. Petrograd wrestled with aggression and depulsion and was threatened only in its rear by a little counter-revolutionary group

of officers.\* Even important Soviet leaders took up the rifle, and Mazin and others fell. Women fought like Germanic Valkyries, Yudenich had to withdraw. His effort has already become a legend. I heard a number of narrations of this period and all those who spoke were proud of their work.

### PETROGRAD!

We arrived at the Baltic railroad station. A shower is coming down. Our car is pushed about for hours until it finally gets to Nikolai Station. We go to sleep in the car, between an armored car and a propaganda train in somewhat extravagant colors with the inscription: "Bring the book to the people." Millions of books are thus transported through Soviet Russia and distributed everywhere. Propaganda speakers, artists and specialists of all sorts travel through the country in placarded trains and play, speak, dance and sing for Communism. The most famous propaganda train is the Lenin Train, adorned with the astutely smiling diplomat's countenance, the peasant head with the privy councillor's face, the genial revolutionary hotspur, Ilyich (he is thus affectionately called) on its walls.

I enter the city with the head of the delegation. In spite of all the glowing descriptions, I am nevertheless surprised, for here there is no desolation, no stagnation, there is no fallow land; there is live life. Electric cars full of passengers, although not overcrowded, circulating about the Nikolai Station, I see the first rushing Soviet automobiles, shooting along at an alarming speed, a speed to raise your hair on end. A military speed, a campaign speed, a speed for providing the munitions, a speed to replace men at the front.

My first impression: It is a city of proletarians. The worker rules, the worker dominates the streets, the life of the city. We enter the Nevsky Prospect, the principal business and pleasure street of the old empire. Many shops are boarded up, many shops are still open and doing business, but it is clear at first sight that they are selling out superfluous things, gewgaws, perfumes, expensive writing paper, photographs, pictures; 400 Soviet rubles for a small bottle of perfume, 500 Soviet rubles for a small silver mesh purse. I later grasped the money problem and was no longer surprised.

Nevsky Prospect is very lively about noon, there are no hitches in traffic. At street corners cigarrettes and pastries are being sold, and these places are respectfully avoided by foot traffic. Everywhere you still see the old signboards of former pastry-shops, tailors, etc. As a financial writer I am interested particularly in the bank buildings.

\* The staff of the Seventh Army was engaged in counter-revolutionary activities at this time and was ready to hand over the city to Yudenich. Fortunately the plots were discovered in time, (see article entitled "The Accomplices of Paul Dukes," in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 23, page 560) and due punishment was meted out to the traitors. The English not only supported Yudenich, but also were generally responsible for this counter-revolutionary attempt from within.—Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.

In my day I produced many a criticism of Petrograd stock speculation, contributed to German commercial papers. Now the building of the Petrograd International Commercial Bank, the chief financial institution of Russia, is hollow-eyed. Look behind the window panes and you will find nothing. Russian banks have ceased to be banks, there is only one clearing house still in use, at Moscow, the *National Bank*, it is really only a bank of issue, with distributing branches all over the country.

Preparations for the First of May: These are particularly active at Petrograd. Red everywhere. Troops marching along the Prospect, and here and there groups led by armed women. The groups include also bourgeois people, some of them calm, downcast, poorly shod; others, on the other hand, cheerful. There is no trace of terror, devastations, of the type featured in capitalistic propaganda, no ravages of disease, no persons falling dead in the street. The street has been deprived of its splendor, but it is a clean street; it has lost its wood trimmings, but it is clean. It is thoroughly swept; carriages move about; automobiles dash about; pedestrians walk unmolested. Everywhere in Russia I heard sung the praises of Zinoviev, the rations-dictator, the organizer of Petrograd. But I can only speak of what I saw; I shall say no more and no less than that.

The railroad journey from Petrograd to Moscow takes twenty-three hours; you still have cars of several classes, but the classification of humans according to their railroad purses has disappeared. You pay the same fare for all classes. They tell you that people travel only on regular traveling passes (this is made necessary by the desire to ration out the poor resources in transportation). But as a matter of fact people travel in other ways too; many travel as stowaways; to be sure punishment is threatened, but punishment does not appear to deter. A juristic adherent of deterrent punishment, of the school of Liszt, would find little grist for his mill; life insists on living and on traveling, and communications operate in spite of all threats. And even the threats do not bite as badly as they bark. Decrees in Russia are often propaganda decrees and not decrees of law. At any rate people do travel by the railroads, bargain, visit friends in other cars, and buy milk at the stations at the rate of 125 rubles for 1-4 litre, get hot water from the station supply, have a good time, perspire, and are distracted with care, sing, and hope, and everything goes on in the train itself. For the Russian railroad car is a moving dwelling, including everything, even the W. C.

Our progress is slow, but at least it is progress.

If Eichendorff has permeated you with his romantic lyricisms, if you have longings for forest arches, for white birch-trunks appearing between pines, for dancing trains between forests, and summer houses by the brown roadside, then take the railroad from Petrograd to Moscow; it is a beautiful journey, a fragrant journey, a journey in the spring. These wayside forests, these moun-

tains and fields, have all the poetry of the German forest. It is a simple sort of journey. There are cities with their onion-domed churches, groups of summer homes, and then again nothing but forests. There is no country in the world that has so many forests as Russia (it is an interesting problem from the standpoint of concessions and foreign trade).

Moscow does not extend its arms so greedily into the surrounding country as Petrograd does; Petrograd is surrounded with the bald industrial suburbs of a great city. Moscow is surrounded by green idylls.

We arrived at Moscow on May first at noon, under a bright sky. On the day of the proletarian festival, the Red day, the day of world jubilation.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE lack of news direct from Moscow and even of wireless transmitted via London makes it impossible for the moment to judge the real situation on the Polish front. The messages which appear in the American press from Warsaw and Constantinople are of the familiar sort which tell us that the Poles and Wrangel are winning "victory" after "victory" over the "beaten" Soviet armies. We have read such messages before, and know what they are worth. In the same vein is the Associated Press correspondence from Riga which would have you believe that a "victorious Poland" is about to dictate terms to a "defeated" Soviet Russia. This is far from the truth.

The Russian Soviet delegation, it is said, will insist that Poland must disarm, with the exception of a small defensive force, since Poland will be at peace with the world upon the conclusion of an armistice with Moscow. The Soviet Government, however, cannot undertake disarmament while it is still faced with other enemies.

The strategical position of the Soviet Republic permits its delegates at Riga to be as firm and decisive as they were during the former negotiations with the Poles. The appearance of the Allied navy before Riga will neither frighten them nor alter the terms which they are offering to the defeated enemy, to the same enemy who only several months ago declared "no peace until the Soviet regime is wiped out of Russia."

Diplomacy is strong only when it is properly supported by strategy; the latter is powerful only when it commands the necessary military strength and when it is able to bring all its forces to the battlefield. Tactics cannot expect from strategy anything more than that.

Russian strategists know that only a complete victory in the south can end the war. They know well that the Polish army has already been weakened to such an extent that it will be unable in the future to repeat its offensive performance of early in 1920. Having lost the initiative forever, the Poles do not now present any danger to Russian strategy, which successfully supported its tactics on the western front according to the best principles of the economy of forces. These principles consisting in throwing all one's forces at a given time on one point, in using there all one's troops, and, to this purpose keeping them always in close com-

munication. This principle has governed the action of the Russian Revolutionary Field Staff. Wrangel's bands were allowed to advance while the Russian army was busy crushing the Polish invasion. Once this end was accomplished and the beaten enemy was driven to the gates of Warsaw, the Red Army turned all its forces against Wrangel.

The Soviet General Staff knows well how to accept a loss when advisable and how to sacrifice a province. The Red Army is now directed with all its forces against Wrangel and will spare no effort for his destruction. When that is completed it will turn its attention to other adversaries. Therefore the Russian military leaders can look calmly on the tactical activities of the Poles on the western front, which is designed merely with the hope of securing more favorable terms at the peace table.

Turning to the East, we find that the situation there has become exceedingly unfavorable to the Japanese occupation. In addition to purely economic difficulties, the Japanese contingents are meeting hard treatment at the hands of the hostile population which acts in full harmony with the numerous partisan bands spread throughout the vast country. Experienced in guerrilla warfare and having nothing to lose and all to gain, the Russians are constantly making the most surprising and troublesome attacks upon the Japanese troops, reducing them to a state of real terror.

I was always of the opinion that Japan alone, or even in company with her western Allies, would never be able to hold the invaded part of Siberia for long and that, even without a real war with Russia, she would be compelled to withdraw from the occupied area.

According to *The Christian Science Monitor* of September 22 which is often well informed in these matters, "The Japanese Government has decided to withdraw all troops from Siberia." "This step," it is said, "is being taken partly for political, and partly for financial reasons. The Japanese people are strongly opposed to further military adventures, on account of the heavy burden of expense attached to them, especially to the military occupation of Eastern Siberia, and the Allied opposition to continued Japanese occupation has undoubtedly led, it is stated, to the present decision."

Explaining the Japanese invasion of Siberia as a step for the protection of the commercial interests of Japan, and in general for cooperation with the United States against Bolshevism, the Japanese Government now "categorically denies" that it "desires to set up a buffer state in Eastern Siberia, with a view to final annexation." Suddenly Japan has lost her interest in fighting Bolshevism and assures the world that she had no purpose in Siberia except to protect Japanese commerce. If it is true that the Japanese are quitting East Siberia, which is still doubtful, it is an open confession by Japanese statesmen that they have taken a burden beyond their strength.

The Japanese are practical people and they know well that, after the liquidation of her enemies in the west and in the south, Soviet Russia will not hesitate to deal with the eastern invader.

In China also, as well as in Korea, the situation is gloomy for Japan and prominent Japanese diplomats are already declaring that the annexation of Korea has proved to be a great mistake and that the Japanese Government is even considering the adoption of some form of autonomous self-government for the Koreans. If, then, the Japanese have come to this conclusion from their experience in Korea, what must they expect in Siberia?

## The Humanity of Lord Curzon

By KARL RADEK

FOR two years on end the British bourgeois press attacked Soviet Russia as a country in which the primitive barbarism of the mouzhik, united with the hatred of a Socialist fanatic, found expression in a kind of Satanic orgy, to which the flower of Russian society was daily falling a victim. There was no invention concerning the "Soviet Inferno" which the Northcliffe press did not put before its readers. And when the British ministers made pronouncements on the Russian question, they spoke of the Soviet Government like pirates of the pen, hired by Lord Northcliffe.

The masses of the people of Great Britain, as in other countries, did not believe the fables of the capitalist press, despite the fact that it had recourse to the evidence of the pseudo-Socialists in the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary camp. To these masses, even without a detailed knowledge of the situation in Russia, it was clear that, if the capitalist press of Europe itself described plots against the Bolsheviks, and told of the civil war organized with British funds by Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich, it was thereby supplying the best possible justification for the Red Terror, as the Soviet Government's method of self-defence. But now the public opinion of Europe, from which the capitalist press is attempting to conceal the fact that capital punishment has been abolished, is about to have the possibility of comparing in practice the behavior of the Whites and the Reds in their hour of victory.

Lord George Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston addressed a radio telegram to our Government, in which, on the day before our occupation of Archangel, he asked for mercy for the White leaders, and declared that the British Government, being responsible for the Archangel adventure, would be happy to learn that the Soviet Government would take into consideration its request, inspired by a sentiment of humanity. Reading this radio, one involuntarily recalls the couplet which, forty years ago, was written in Curzon's honor by one of his university colleagues:

"My name is George Nathaniel Curzon:  
I am a most superior person."

We bow reverently before the humanitarian feelings of Lord Curzon; and our Government replied immediately that the personal safety of the White Guards who lay down their arms will be guaranteed. We only regret that Lord Curzon had no opportunity of expressing his feelings at the time when Archangel, in the summer of 1918, was seized by a British Expeditionary Corps.\*

Before us lies a photograph found by our troops in Omega amongst the papers of the British staff, and reproduced in No. 5 of the "*Communist Internationale*".\*\* It represents the execution of a Russian Communist on a British naval vessel by British, French and Russian officers. British officers are watching the scene with great interest. How unfortunate that Lord Curzon has not seen this photograph! How unfortunate that Lord Curzon has not seen a photograph of the execution of Shaumian, the glorious leader of the Baku proletariat, with twenty-nine of his comrades—shot near Krasnovodsk, not in battle, but captured in a boat, by the order of the British Command, after the Bolshevik withdrawal from Baku!\*\*\*

How unfortunate that Lord Curzon has not seen photographs of the public execution at Budapest, on a square, in the presence of the Allied Command and the Allied mission! With sarcastic curiosity these representatives of the civilized world watched the death on a gibbet of Korvin,

\* To judge by reports in the British press, an amusing "Blue Book" has been issued by Mr. Churchill, Secretary for War, in explanation of the Archangel adventure. We shall print further comment on this publication as soon as we have received a copy.

\*\* This photograph was reproduced in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. I, No. 25 (November 22, 1919). In our note printed under the photograph, we erroneously stated that the execution had taken place on Lake Omega; as a matter of fact it must have taken place near the town of Omega, on the White Sea.

\*\*\* An account of the Baku executions will be found in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. I, No. 9 (August 9, 1919), in the form of a Soviet Government radio message.



one of the best representatives of Hungarian Communism. How unfortunate that Lord Curzon, despite his traditional connection with Indian affairs, has heard nothing about the ferocious massacre, a few months ago, of a peaceful meeting of Hindus at Amritsar by the British General Dyer! And how unfortunate that we cannot let him have pictures of the White Terror in Dublin and the other towns of Ireland!

But now that we are aware of the humanitarian sentiments of the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, we hope to see eye to eye with him on the following agreement: A defeated foe who has laid down his arms must not be the object of revenge.

And as, in contradiction to the English proverb that charity begins at home, it will be easier for Lord Curzon to defend the principles of humanity outside the borders of the British Empire, we anticipate that at least he will assist the Soviet Government in its attempts to save the Hungarian Communists from Horthy. It is too much to expect more, as even an expert in humanitarianism is at present very embarrassed in the civilized countries themselves, in view of the international collapse of morality.

*The London "Communist", of August 26, 1920, from which we copy the above translation, has the following pregnant addition to make, by way of comment:*

"To the instances which Comrade Radek cited in this article, five months ago, there now have to be added: 1, the treacherous abuse of those same "humane sentiments" by Baron Wrangel, who used the armistice they procured him to prepare a new offensive with British assistance; 2, the infamous conduct of the Polish landowners, the proteges of the Allied Powers, in Kiev, Borissov, Disna, etc.; 3, the imprisonment in and deportation from Batum of Russian Trade Union leaders by the British forces in occupation there. The article will then be quite up to date."

**COMPOSITION OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET**

*By Trades*

1. Mathematicians .....	1
2. Teachers .....	22
3. Doctors .....	13
4. Male Nurses .....	22
5. Female Nurses .....	6
6. Journalists .....	11
7. Lawyers .....	5
8. Musicians .....	8
9. Students .....	11
10. Managers .....	3
11. Statisticians .....	1
12. Bookkeepers .....	29
13. Telegraphers .....	20
14. Telephone Operators .....	4
15. Electricians .....	30
16. Stenographers and Typists.....	3
17. Draughtsmen .....	12
18. Accountants .....	17
19. Agents .....	5
20. Economists .....	1
21. Office Employes .....	118
22. Printers .....	16
23. Liberal Arts .....	16
24. Typesetters .....	34
25. Tabulators .....	2
26. Mechanicians .....	39
27. Metal Workers .....	18

28. Watchmakers and Goldsmiths....	7
29. Photographers .....	3
30. Comptrollers .....	2
31. Engineers and Firemen.....	38
32. Chauffeurs .....	14
33. Railroad Conductors .....	2
34. Locksmiths .....	240
35. Lathe-Workers .....	59
36. Water Supply Workers.....	9
37. Textile Workers .....	5
38. Fraisers .....	6
39. Lumbermen .....	7
40. Carpenters .....	5
41. Blacksmiths .....	24
42. Moulders .....	12
43. Spinners .....	7
44. Scavengers .....	10
45. Copper Piston Workers.....	10
46. Folders .....	8
47. Decorators .....	10
48. Drillers .....	2
49. Vulcanizers .....	1
50. Weavers .....	10
51. Street Car Conductors.....	6
52. Paper Box Workers.....	10
53. Modelers .....	5
54. Leather Workers .....	23
55. Stock Clerks .....	4
56. Shoemakers .....	22
57. Rubber Shoe Makers (Women).....	5
58. Tobacco Workers .....	3
59. Divers .....	2
60. Carriage Makers .....	3
61. Barbers .....	9
62. Gardeners .....	14
63. Clerks .....	45
64. Glaziers .....	4
65. Parquet Floor Workers.....	3
66. Joiners .....	46
67. Roofers .....	5
68. Painters .....	22
69. Fire Department Workers.....	3
70. Tailors and Tailoresses.....	104
71. Millers .....	2
72. Cooks .....	28
73. Chimney Sweeps and Stove Installers.....	8
74. Waiters .....	8
75. Servants and Messengers.....	14
76. Truckmen .....	5
77. Washerwomen .....	4
78. Coachmen .....	3
79. Postillions .....	4
80. Sailors .....	5
81. Butchers .....	1
82. Bakers .....	24
83. Housewives .....	6
84. Masons .....	13
85. Manual Laborers .....	240
86. Peasants .....	55
87. Porters .....	15
88. Miscellaneous .....	166
Total .....	1,924

The degree of education of the members of the Petrograd Soviet:

	<i>Persons</i>
With University Education.....	95
With Secondary School Education.....	393
With Elementary School Education.....	1,250
With Home Education .....	140
Miscellaneous .....	46

# Documents

## *A Note from the Soviet Representative in Austria to the Austrian Government*

VIENNA, August 20.—According to advices received by the Herzog Correspondence, the plenipotentiary of the Russian Soviet Mission in Vienna, Dr. Bronski-Warszawski, sent a note to the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Renner, on the tenth of this month, the substance of which follows:

On July 23, I requested the Austrian Government to permit me to get in touch with my government by means of the wireless telegraph. In response to this request, I was verbally notified that the Austrian Government would take the matter up with the Entente Mission. On the fourth of this month, Dr. Renner explained the Copenhagen agreement to the Entente representative, and stated that he saw no point which was at variance with the peace pact of St. Germain, "and even if there were such a point of variance, still the terms of the peace pact would have to be followed out, as a matter of course."

As was to be expected, this explanation was received as a revision of the Copenhagen agreement.

From the text of the official and semi-official reports, it is to be seen that the question at issue deals in the main with two points of the Copenhagen agreement, to wit, the second and third paragraphs, which refer firstly to the unrestricted use of the telegraph station, and secondly to the obligation of the Austrian state to absolutely forbid the shipping of all weapons, munitions, or other war-materials, as well as the use of Austrian railroads for foreign armies to aid the states at war with Soviet Russia.

According to an official report given out on the twenty-seventh of July, the Copenhagen agreement "was ratified by the assembled governing body, and indorsed by the representatives of all parliamentary parties."

The Copenhagen agreement was therefore entered into by a political body to which the peace pact of St. Germain was well-known, and with the assumption that it could not be at variance with the pact previously concluded.

Paragraph 143 of the St. Germain treaty forbade the Austrian Government, for a period of three months after the treaty went into effect, the use of the Vienna wireless stations for the purpose of conveying messages dealing with questions of the army, the navy, or politics.

It is difficult to understand into which of these three categories the question of war-prisoners can be fitted. It can readily be seen that this is undeniably a matter of mercy, which, however, has nothing to do with either the navy, the army, or with politics.

For that matter, it was foreseen in the above-mentioned paragraphs that the telegraph stations could be used for the purpose of transmitting com-

mercial telegrams. However, we all understand that charitable undertakings take precedence of commercial matters. If, therefore, the telegraph stations are now to be taken over for use on questions of war prisoners, the repatriation of the prisoners is made a political question, and by the very Entente powers which have made peace with German-Austria.

The acceptance, on the part of the Austrian Government, of the principle of the Entente mission in Vienna, that the repatriation of war prisoners is a political question, means an immediate relinquishing of the attitude hitherto held by the Austrian Government.

The Russian Soviet Republic has no cause to create any difficulties for the Austrian nation or the Austrian Government, either from within or without the country.

The result of this attitude on the part of the Austrian Government will be a strong dissatisfaction, on the part of the Austrian war prisoners with the Soviet Government, and will throw the entire responsibility for the unnecessary sufferings of thousands of Austrian families, upon the Soviet Government.

I entreat you, Secretary of State, to bring the true state of affairs before the Austrian public, in order to spare my government and the Russian nation from these unjust reproaches on the part of the families of the Austrian war prisoners.

The strict neutrality of German-Austria, concerning which Dr. Renner explained to the representatives of the Entente, is also guaranteed in Paragraph 3 of the Copenhagen Agreement, and was objected to by the representatives of the Entente, and that on the ground that such neutrality is contrary to the St. Germain Agreement. It is said that the Secretary of State, Dr. Renner, made the statement that he is ready to recognize the result of the negotiations of the Entente Powers with Germany in a similar transaction.

Thus the Austrian Government abandons the third paragraph of the Copenhagen Treaty, for it declines to take part in the defence of an agreement to which it affixed its signature. It abandons the defence of a pact which it made with Russia, to a third power.

I must affirm that the Austrian Government has adopted an attitude which must be looked at as harmful to the interests of the Russian Soviet Republic, and which is absolutely contrary to the spirit of the Copenhagen Treaty.

As the representative of the Russian Soviet Republic, it is my duty to demand that the Austrian Government live up, fully and entirely, to the terms of the Copenhagen Treaty, which it voluntarily entered into.

### PEACE WITH LITHUANIA

On July 12 a peace treaty was signed between Soviet Russia and Lithuania. According to this treaty Russia has recognized without reservation the sovereignty and independence of the state of Lithuania. The boundary between the latter and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic begins from the place of juncture of the Gorodyanka river with the Bobr river, passes to the south of Grodno between the stations Kuznitsa and Sokolka, further, somewhat to the south of Lida, then continues between Smorgon and Vileyka, the latter being left with Russia while Oshmiany is left with Lithuania, and ends between Kreslatka and Pri-drusk on the Western Dvina. The treaty contains decisions enjoining both contracting parties from permitting on their territories the formation or existence of organizations having as their aim an armed struggle against the other party, the recruiting for the armies of such organizations and the transportation through the territory of either party of materials that could be used against the other party. Both parties relinquish all accounts which might result from the fact of Lithuania's former subjection to the former Russian empire. The state of Lithuania takes over the title to all treasury claims on properties within the confines of the Lithuanian state.

As regards deposits with credit institutions, etc., Lithuanian citizens have the same rights as had been recognized as applying to Russian citizens. The property of the Lithuanian citizens, evacuated during the world war, is returned, in so far as it actually is under control of the Russian Government. But this point does not apply to sums, deposits, and valuables that had been held in the credit institutions in the territory of Lithuania. Part of the rolling stock and railroad as well as telegraph and telephone appurtenances, evacuated at the time of war are restored to Lithuania in quantities corresponding to the local needs. In view of the fact that Lithuania has been almost completely devastated during the world war, she is granted the right of timber-cutting in the nearest localities on an area of 100,000 dessiatins for a period of twenty years, according to the plans of the Russian forestry and receives 3,000,000 rubles in gold. Negotiations regarding a trade and transit agreement should begin as soon as possible. As a basis for the trade agreement there is laid down the principle of the most favored nation. Diplomatic and consul relations are to be established immediately after the ratification.

In a special declaration, the Lithuanian delegation, taking into consideration the fact of the war between Russia and Poland, had declared that the crossing by the Russian troops of the Lithuanian border and the occupation by them of parts of territories, which, according to the present treaty constitute a part of the territory of Lithuania shall not be considered as a breach of the agreement and an inimical act with regard to Lithuania, provided that after the military and strategical ne-

cessity has passed Russian troops will be evacuated from the territories in question.

### GREETINGS FROM THE MOSCOW SOVIETS TO THE ENGLISH PROLETARIAT

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow, August 31: After listening to the report given by Milyutin, who recently returned from England, of conditions in that country, the Moscow Soviets resolved to send their greetings to the English proletariat, on their proletarian solidarity with Soviet Russia, and their stand against the imperialistic English Government. In that message, they point out that, despite the fact that the Polish White Guards are being assisted by the French and English governments, they are being hard-pressed by the Red armies, and that the Russian workers, although they have no idea of seizing Poland or taking away her independence, have the desire and the power to defend themselves against any and all onslaughts on the part of imperialistic nations. The Moscow Soviet noted with especial satisfaction the formation of an English Committee of Action, and the resolution to stop English intervention through the general strike.

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

**A**N INCIDENT of the French imperialist conspiracy against Soviet Russia, little noted in the American press, has been the recently disclosed treaty under which Hungary, the political puppet of the French militarists, has been completely subjected to the control of Paris capitalists. Some time ago, English liberal and labor papers reported the conclusion of an aggressive alliance between France and the Hungarian White terrorists. The inspired Paris *Matin* on September 2 confessed the whole plot. The Hungarian Government had been induced to agree that France, in return for considerations not clearly stated, should assume control of the Hungarian railways and the navigation of the Danube, and should take over the principal Hungarian industries, the chief Hungarian bank and the Port of Budapest. The final term of this extraordinary conquest placed at the disposal of the French General Staff "all the military forces of Hungary which France and the Allies might, in case of need, use against the Red Army of the Soviets." According to the *Matin*, the signing of this treaty was significantly accompanied by reconciliation between Hungary and her enemy, Rumania. *Le Temps*, on the same date, attempted to evade the facts by declaring that "the acquisition of these various interests did not form the subject of an agreement signed by a representative of the French Government." It did not, however, deny the nature and extent of the concessions, which, by whatever machinery they were contrived, amounted to a complete abdication of Hungarian sovereignty.

The threat of this arrangement to the peace of South-Eastern Europe, where it so obviously endangered the security and ambitions of several petty nationalisms, was answered by the appearance of the so-called "Little Entente", fostered by Czecho-Slovakia to the undisguised annoyance of the French imperialists. The purpose of the "Little Entente" is to secure an agreement between Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Rumania, partly to maintain the neutrality of this group, threatened by the plans of the Allied imperialists in their support of the Polish war, and partly to protect themselves against the aggressions of a

militaristic Franco-Hungarian alliance. All this is but a small part of the sinister transactions developing in Europe under the fine phrase of "peace making" politicians. At the bottom of it all, of course, lies the insatiable hostility towards Soviet Russia, of world capitalism which contrives anything and stops at no risks of human sacrifice in its plans for the overthrow of the workers' republic.

Mr. Robert Dell, an English journalist well-informed in French politics and policies, has recently declared that to attain its desperate ends, "the French Government is prepared to risk another European war, although that would mean the final ruin of the whole continent of Europe, including France itself." Of the Franco-Hungarian conspiracy, Mr. Dell says:

"Should France call upon Hungary to attack Russia, the inevitable result would be a general war in Central Europe. For the Hungarian army would have to cross Czecho-Slovakian territory, and that the Czecho-Slovakian Government would not tolerate. Indeed, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia have already made a defensive alliance against Hungary, which has not given great pleasure in Paris. The Quai d'Orsay is now making desperate efforts to prevent Rumania from entering that alliance and to reconcile her with Hungary. But the Rumanian Government has discovered that France has secretly promised to Hungary that part of Banat transferred to Rumania by the Treaty of Trianon, although the fact was denied by the *Temps* on September 2. That France must have given some consideration for the extraordinary concessions of the Hungarian Government is, however, evident."

Such are the perils into which the capitalist rulers of Europe have dragged their subjects. Against this threat of endless wars stands only the Red Army of Soviet Russia and the growing power and determination of the European workers.

\* \* \*

**T**HE British Government's treatment of accredited representatives of Soviet Russia, whimsical as it appears on the surface, is not without a certain pattern of useful purpose. Mr. Litvinov, "persona non grata" in England, was convenient and suitable for prolonged negotiations at Copenhagen. Accordingly, Mr. O'Grady, ably assisted by the ubiquitous Mr. Nathan, was dispatched thither to negotiate at length and at leisure, while the British Foreign Office warned away all possible competitors with gruesome tales of the unethical and undiplomatic character of Mr. Litvinov. Mr. Nuorteva, hospitably received in Canada, was forwarded thence to England and graciously admitted, only subsequently to be discovered an unwelcome guest who must be suddenly transported to Russia to head a special bureau in the Soviet Government for the promotion of foreign trade. Mr. Kamenev, convenient scapegoat, is sacrificed to the exigencies of the Anglo-French-Polish situation. Mr. Krassin, absolved of Mr. Kamenev's alleged guilt, is allowed to remain—and continue his purchases of British goods. According to a note in a trade paper, Mr. Krassin is "inquiring for khaki yards from 2-10c to 2-40s

for Russian overcoatings and suitings." He has already purchased heavy woolen cloth for civilian use to the amount of one million pounds sterling. Twenty-five per cent of this purchase price, in "Russian gold," was handed over when the goods were delivered at the port of London. Among the purchases made recently by the Russian delegation in London were 36,000 yards of khaki flannel manufactured for American uniforms. The reactionary British press does not fail to twit the Government with the fact that the departure of Mr. Kamenev does not prevent his colleague from doing "business as usual." "Notwithstanding this adverse comment," however, says a recent dispatch to the *New York Tribune*, "Mr. Krassin is completing arrangements for the delivery of much food stuffs to him in England." The *Tribune's* correspondent notes with apparent surprise that "the Russian buying organization is so well arranged that Russians associated with Krassin are even negotiating for the purchase of between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 cigarettes, manufactured and owned by Britishers and stored at Reval, Esthonia, where they were in transit to Russia when the revolution removed Russia as one of the Allies." The correspondent apparently was under the delusion that Russians do not smoke under the Bolshevik regime. (We are informed by a traveler recently returned from Moscow that the official ration is twenty-five cigarettes a day.) Mr. Lloyd George, however, is under no misapprehensions. He knows that even Bolsheviks smoke cigarettes and wear clothes, and are prepared to buy both,—which is why Mr. Krassin remains in London.

**SIR PHILIP GIBBS** won distinction as a war correspondent with a fine sense of what could and could not be told about the war. His dispatches from France, though realistically flavored with mud and blood of the trenches, were yet always prudently restrained within the bounds of propriety set by the censor. After the armistice he won further fame by the publication of a volume entitled "Now It Can Be Told", which was a monument to his own discretion and journalistic economy. In this book he revealed some, but not all, of the sordid facts of the intrigue and blundering, selfishness and chicane, which lay unrevealed behind his previous tales of heroism and sacrifice.

With the same prudence which characterized his war correspondence, Sir Philip now reports upon the state of society in Europe. He has heard the cry of Anatole France that European capitalism is dying. He does not believe it, but he admits that "Europe is very sick." In a special cable to the *New York Times* he reports everywhere a "sense of impending ruin and dreadful anxiety." In some regions ruin is not impending, but "present and engulfing." Austria, for one, "stricken, helpless, hopeless," existing on charity, "sapped of all vitality." Germany in somewhat better state, but far from well; "people over here who imagine that she will soon be rich and strong and trucu-

lent again are deluded by false evidence." Poland is "typhus stricken and starving in her cities, ravaged by the tidal waves of war." France he depicts in the words of Frenchmen who say:

"Our million dead will never come to life again. Our debts will never be paid. Our industries are decaying for the lack of coal, which England sells us at outrageous cost and Germany does not deliver as she was pledged. Our best brains were plugged by German bullets and England won the peace which we lost . . . France, victorious, is dying."

"In Italy," continues Sir Philip, "there is no great comfort for the soul of Europe." They stagger under debt; their paper money is worthless; unemployment grows; strikes for higher wages are "ceaseless and futile." What then of England, so envied by her continental allies? Less hurt by the war than most of the other countries, concedes the journalist, but still, "it is enough to glance at the headlines of today's paper, or to have a little chat with any discharged and unemployed soldier to repudiate the gains of England in the war." England has "vast imperial tendencies" which can only be maintained by "our old prestige and some new wisdom, if we can find it." Meanwhile, in imperial England, too, "crippling taxation of moderate incomes, high prices . . . paper money worth little more than half its face value, lessening production and the black shadow creeping nearer of widespread unemployment because the markets of Europe are not buying or paying at English prices."

This is the account of a journalist distinguished for his fine sense of what can and cannot be told. Sir Philip's picture of the misery and sickness of Europe is as true as were his vivid sketches of the filth and pain of war—and as far from being the whole truth. He pretends to find a simple cause for all this sickness in the "failure of idealism" and calls vainly for new ideals, new leaders, but confesses that "just now we do not see them coming." The truth which he does not report, the truth which he conceals, was in that cry of Anatole France which he heard but did not believe, "Capitalist Europe is dying." But this is the truth which the prudent Sir Philip thinks cannot yet be told.

**BETWEEN** the intervals of his physical exercise in Holland, the late Emperor of Germany is said to be writing a serious book on "Bolshevism", for which he is said to be going through numerous issues of German newspapers. Not less sharp in their condemnations of the Soviet system, and therefore just as exploitable for Wilhelm's purpose as the German newspapers, are a considerable number of American journals. We recommend that the former Emperor do not limit his sources to German papers, but go carefully through at least some of the American sheets that are most hostile to Soviet Russia. He will not be disappointed.

**STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU**

New York, September 16, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Soviet Government, today issued the following statement:

"In spite of the impression apparently held by some persons, the Soviet Government has never made political recognition a condition precedent to the establishment of trade relations. It has come to the attention of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow that certain high officials of the American Government are under the misapprehension that the Soviet Government has demanded full political recognition before it will enter into commercial relations with any foreign country. This is not the case, and in a cable just received from the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, George Chicherin, I am instructed to correct any false impression which may exist in this regard.

"The Soviet Government is ready and willing to enter into commercial relations with any country, without waiting for the formalities of diplomatic recognition. Mr. Chicherin, in his cable requesting me to make this point clear, says:

"The only thing the Russian Government demands are *de facto* relations, without which it is obvious that trade relations are impossible. Resumption of *de facto* relations are inseparable from the resumption of trade relations."

"In other words, all that the Soviet Government asks is the resumption of the ordinary facilities for travel and exchange of goods, with means for the transfer of funds in payment for purchases, and communication by post and cable. International trade, of course, is impossible without these facilities; but they may be arranged without waiting for diplomatic recognition."

**A SIGNIFICANT ORDER BY TROTSKY**

Moscow, June 30, 1920. No. 230.

The issue No. 13 of the *Voyennoye Dielo* contained an article "The First Militant Steps of Marshal Pilsudski," which was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of gross chauvinism. It is sufficient to mention that the article speaks of "the inherent jesuitism of the Poles" as opposed to the honest and candid spirit of the Great Russians. There is no need of proving how much such crude and false generalizations contradict the spirit of brotherhood which permeates the attitude of the Russian working class to the toiling masses of Poland. The article "The First Militant Steps of Marshal Pilsudski" shows the complete inability of the present editorial staff of the *Voyennoye Dielo* to act in this responsible position.

Therefore, in order to prevent the possible further spread of the chauvinist poison by the military-scientific journal of the workmens' and peasants' Red Army, I hereby order that:

1. The publication of the *Voyennoye Dielo* shall be suspended until the composition of the editorial staff will be radically changed.

2. Steps shall be taken to ascertain what persons were directly responsible for the publication of the above mentioned article, in order to remove them once for all from any further connection with the work aiming at the education and enlightenment of the Red Army.

Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic,

L. TROTSKY.

(Pravda, July 1, 1920).

**RUSSO-POLISH PEACE NEGOTIATIONS**

Moscow, August 28, 1920.—On August 27 the Russian Government sent a radio to the Polish Government, emphasizing that the Dombiski journey to Poland signifies a new delay coming once more from the Polish side. All facilities for communication with Warsaw were given to the Polish delegation. In Minsk they were allowed to bring their own wireless apparatus, and five hours daily were designated for their own wireless communication with Warsaw. Those dispatches which they gave to the Russian Government for Warsaw were wirelessly there at the first opportunity. Unfortunately these facilities were made use of by the Poles for constant delays and conflicts. The Warsaw wireless station constantly refuses to answer Moscow and its work is so bad that it is hardly perceptible. In Minsk the Polish delegation continuously raised conflicts demanding uninterrupted wireless work with Warsaw. It was obviously impossible at a time of war for its adversary to pick up Russian military wireless dispatches. Nevertheless the Poles attempted to impose their demands by violence and to enter the wireless station by force. In general the Polish delegation tried continuously to create various conflicts and to delay the negotiations. The Russian Government has come to the conclusion that its decision to elect for the negotiations a town situated en route to Poland like Minsk, a decision dictated by the desire for peace, has unfortunately been the source of Polish attempts to protract the negotiations and to prevent peace. Answering faithfully to its peace desire the Russian Government is now of the opinion that negotiations will best be carried on in a neutral land, and proposes to Poland to transfer them to Esthonia.

This wireless message was sent to Warsaw yesterday and the Russian Government hopes to receive soon the desired answer.

**WRANGEL'S HINTERLAND**

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from Rosta, Vienna).—The following report reached us from Moscow, September 1, 1920: According to a wireless dispatch received here from Sebastopol, there has been a fearful increase in the price of necessities in the Crimea. English and French speculations have made Wrangel's currency almost valueless. As a result of the lack of foodstuffs, typhoid is raging throughout the country.

## The Active Officials of the Petrograd Unions

**BY ORDER** of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Trades Unions Council, the Sub-section for Labor Statistics undertook, in September, 1919, the registration of the active officials of the unions. The object of the registration was on the one hand, the drawing-up of lists of all these officials, and on the other hand, the determining of their numerical relations. According to the orders of the Executive Committee, the following were to be regarded as "active officials": 1, the members of the main committees of the union organizations; 2, all the employes cooptated by the collegiums of the unions, in so far as they performed responsible work in the union centers, and 3, the entire membership of the factory committees.

In the first place, the workers of the central and district collegiums—altogether 564 persons—were registered. This number can be regarded as complete. Only those members of the union collegiums were not included who, because of their activity in the Soviet or in other central organizations, were prevented from taking part in the immediate work of the unions, so that the union collegiums thought it proper not to include them in the list of their active officials.

By trade unions groups the above mentioned 564 members can be divided as follows:

Union Groups	Number of active officials	Number of members to every 1 official
1* Unions of the Manufacturing Industry.....	222	579
2 Unions of Transport Workers.....	69	985
3 Unions of the Exploiting Industries.....	23	1,628
4 Unions of the Manual Workers.....	114	421
5 Unions of the Intellectual Workers.....	136	578

The relatively smallest number of active officials falls to the group of the exploiting industries, but the greatest number to the union of manual labor, in which there are not more than 421 members to every active official. The relative number of union members to each active official in the unions belonging to the manufacturing industries and to the intellectual workers may be considered as normal, as these two unions are the best organized and the most active.

Among the registered officials, the elected officials formed the largest percentage group, that is 90.7 per cent; the next group was the one formed by the cooptated officials, 4.8 per cent; the next

\* To the first group belong the unions of the metal workers, wood workers, textile workers, needle industry workers, paper workers, glass and porcelain workers, food-stuff workers, tobacco workers, leather workers, chemical workers, printers, construction workers; to the second group: the unions of railroad workers, workers on water transport, automobile and truck workers; to the third group: the unions of fishermen, forestry workers, agricultural workers; to the fourth group: the unions of hairdressers, public hygiene (washerwomen and bath employes), domestic servants, firemen, militia, municipal employes, public provision; to the fifth group: the unions of financial employes, business apprentices and employes of the Soviet institutions, apothecaries, sanitation, culture and education, postal and telegraph employes and artists.

that appointed by the Communist Party, 0.6 per cent; and employes working for wages, 3.9 per cent.

But what are the callings and trades of the active officials?

The majority of them are factory workers (39.8 per cent) or persons who perform intellectual work (37.5 per cent). Members of both these groups are to be found not only in their own unions, but also in the unions of the other groups.

Distribution of active officials according to trades (in per cent)

Groups	Manufacturing Industry	Transportation	Exploiting Industry	Manual Labor	Intellectual Work	All other
1 .....	79.7	0.5	..	..	19.8	..
2 .....	20.9	49.2	..	..	29.9	..
3 .....	17.4	..	30.5	4.3	43.5	4.3
4 .....	20.1	5.5	0.9	53.4	18.3	1.8
5 .....	9.4	..	0.8	2.3	84.4	3.1
In all groups....	39.8	7.7	1.8	11.9	37.5	1.3

The metal workers, of course, form the largest percentage group (15.6 per cent). In the first group they number 22.8 per cent, in the second, 13.4 per cent, in the third, 8.7 per cent, in the fourth, 12.8 per cent, and even in the fifth they have 9.4 per cent.

The number of women among the active officials is even now very small. It amounts to not more than 15 per cent. Their number is largest in the first union group where they form 20 per cent of the total; in the second group they amount only to 4 per cent; in the third group, 9 per cent, and in the fourth 14 per cent; in the fifth 11 per cent. The number of women is smaller in the unions of intellectual work than it is in the unions of the manufacturing industries and even in the unions of manual labor.

The average age of the active officials is 34.1 years; but if the men alone are counted, the average age amounts to 35.3 years. This number is practically the same for all trade union groups.

With the exception of two persons, all responsible officials know how to read and write. An investigation of the degree of education which they possess, gives us the following table:

Active Officials (in per cent)

Groups	With an elementary school education	Attended Secondary Schools	Graduated from secondary schools	Attended Universities	Graduated from Universities
1 .....	83.6	10.8	7.2	5.6	4.1
2 .....	76.1	14.3	4.8	9.5	7.9
3 .....	57.1	..	..	42.9	38.1
4 .....	90.7	9.3	2.8	..	..
5 .....	37.5	34.4	22.7	28.1	21.8
In all groups....	71.6	16.4	9.5	12.0	9.5

The fourth group, that of manual workers, is the most backward as far as education is concerned, and, as was to be expected, the fifth group is the most advanced. The officials of the transport workers' union are more advanced as regards education than the workers of the production unions.

Among the active officials 21.5 per cent, that is more than one-fifth possess a secondary school education, while one-tenth possess a university education. If we exclude the unions of intellectual workers, in which the participation of persons with a university education is a matter of course, the remaining four union groups will show 5 per cent of active officials with a university education, and 11 per cent with a complete secondary school education. We see, therefore, that educated persons are taking an important part in a field of labor where we should least expect to find them, that is, among the regular officials of the trade unions.

According to the date of their entry into the unions, the active members may be classified as follows (in per cent):

Groups	Before 1905	Before March, 1917	March to November, 1917	November, 1917, to October, 1918	After October, 1918
1	4.5	26.8	49.0	14.6	5.6
2	..	27.1	49.2	22.2	1.6
3	..	9.1	40.9	27.3	22.7
4	..	14.7	56.9	10.3	9.2
5	..	10.9	62.5	7.8	18.8
In all groups.....	1.7	19.6	53.7	15.4	9.6

Therefore, only one-fifth of the active officials belonged to the unions before the revolution, while four-fifths joined the unions only after March, 1917. The functionaries of the first group are the oldest members. Among them, we find the patriarchs of the Russian trades unions: 4.5 per cent of them were members of the unions before the year 1905. Second comes the group of the transport workers unions; 27 per cent of the members of this union entered the union before the March revolution. The unions of the exploiting industries and the intellectual workers show the smallest percentage of members whose membership dates back before the days of the March revolution.

Aside from activity in the unions, participation in the workers' movement, in the period before the revolution, might be indicated by affiliation with one or other of the Socialist parties. The following table shows the relation of the number of active officials to the number of members of the political workers' parties (in per cent):

Groups	Total number of active officials who belonged to political parties	Date of admission to the party		
		Before the Revolution	Between March and November, 1917	After November, 1917
1	63.3	13.8	9.7	38.3
2	65.1	19.1	6.3	36.5
3	34.8	4.3	4.3	26.2
4	51.3	6.4	6.4	38.5
5	53.9	9.4	11.7	32.0
In all groups .....	57.5	11.4	8.9	36.0

Therefore, at present, only a little more than half of all the active trade union officials belong to one or the other party. The majority of them are, of course, Communists (55.9 per cent). Most of these, (36 per cent) only joined the party after the November revolution. The old party members whose membership dates back to the time before the revolution make up only 11.4 per cent. Moreover, this percentage is in reality large, as many of those of no party probably were at one time affiliated with some party.

Let us now consider the distribution of the active officials, from the standpoint of the work accomplished by them, and according to the degree of their experience.

Of the registered officials 75 per cent are members of the union collegiums. 15.4 per cent belonged to the union collegiums for over a year, 84.6 per cent have belonged less than a year. The average duration of their activity as members of the union collegiums is 6.6 months. The rapid change in the membership of the collegiums is explained by the fact that those officials who gain a certain amount of experience are called away from the unions and are sent to the front or are utilized in various departments of the government.

According to the kind of work which the active officials are performing at present in the unions, they can be classified as follows:

Kind of work	Total percentage	Have been at work		Average duration of uninterrupted work
		More than 1 year	Less than 1 year	
Organization Work .....	34.7	14.7	85.3	7.7
Elaboration and Regulation of Wages .....	9.4	9.8	90.2	4.3
Arbitration of Labor Disputes .....	8.1	4.4	95.6	3.2
Dissemination of Culture and Education .....	7.6	2.4	97.6	3.6
Distribution of Labor .....	0.9	..	100.0	5.0
Other Work .....	14.0	1.3	98.7	3.8

All the active officials by no means work directly in the unions themselves, but only 343 persons, that is 64.4 per cent. The remaining officials are either only members of the union collegiums or they work, by order of the unions, in government or public organizations.

The greatest attention is given to the organization work in the unions. Apparently the smallest number of officials is called from this department of work for other purposes, as the average duration of the activity is more extended in this department than in the other groups. Next in importance, comes the work of elaborating and regulating wages.

It very often happens that several tasks are allotted to one official. On the average, every official holds from 1 to 2 positions in the union.

The frequent change of responsible officials can hardly be said to exercise a very beneficial effect on the life of the trade unions, all the more, since officials entering upon their duties are usually inexperienced. 49.6 per cent of the registered officials began their work without any experience



whatsoever in the field of union work. Among the experienced officials, only 8.1 worked before the revolution, but their experience is very important as every one of them had, on the average, 29.6 months of pre-revolutionary activity.

As the majority of active officials possess little or no experience, they have to learn in the course of their work. But there is no lack of diversified and important work. Besides their work in the unions and in the party, 47 per cent hold various posts in the government. Often they hold several positions at the same time. The average duration of such work is 13.4 months.

The degree of experience of the active officials is not the same in all the unions. The members of the unions of the manufactories, the transport workers, and the intellectual workers have the most experience. In this respect, the unions of manual work and the exploiting industries are considerably less advanced.

The average number of months of work of every active official:

Groups	Work in the Unions	Work in the Party	Work in the Government
1 .....	17.9	8.1	5.4
2 .....	13.9	3.6	4.3
3 .....	7.7	1.0	14.6
4 .....	7.4	1.5	3.6
5 .....	13.1	3.7	6.9
In all groups .....	13.7	4.8	5.8

### OUT OF A JOB

The Petrograd *Pravda* of July 2, on receiving, the news that the Russian emigrés had decided to found a "new and final government" under the Presidency of Savinkov, ridicules the many short-lived White Guard Government formations: Yudenich, Tchaikovsky, Kolchak, Semionov, Dutov, Kornilov, Kaledin, Denikin, Wrangel, etc., and quotes a humorous contribution to the Riga newspaper *Sevodnia*, which itself ridicules this mania, even though it is a White Guard sheet. The text of this feuilleton is as follows:

#### *His Excellency's Diary*

March 21. Some Government has been formed somewhere. Sent an inquiry today to find whether there is need of an experienced minister:

"Distance is no objection. Ready to assume position for good wages, good title, and spacious office."

Answer:

"No need of ministers. But if you will sign a contract with us for effecting removals, we request that you communicate conditions."

Dirty dogs! Think they can understand the psychology of a man applying for a ministerial position.

April 22. Received an urgent communication, announcing formation of a Wrangel Government but I do not know whether it is in the Crimea or in Archangel. But it does not matter, so long as there are railroad cars.

Telegraphed as follows: "Minister out of a job, former real estate councillor, applies for ministerial post or other suitable occupation. Dis-

tance is no objection. Ready to undertake service in exchange for free board and lodging. Point of the compass not important. Prefer such as are not Communistic."

Answer received immediately: "Come. Cabinet not yet existing. Subjects also not yet existing. Available: Typewriting machine, capital city constructed, and two staff captains. 2,000 a month, warm food and boots as a present every Christmas."

May 17. Met a man on the street today, one of our people, a Russian. Appeared to be a very serious man. Asked him whether he did not wish to found a new Government on the Caspian Sea.

"Yes, I should not mind. If I had a hundred francs,"—I gave him a hundred francs. He gave me his word of honor that within two months he would have formed some kind of a government if not on the Caspian Sea, then on the Black Sea.

You could hardly expect me to quarrel with him about the name of the sea! Then I gave him fifty francs more, so that he would go away at once.

May 18. Miserable wretch! Met him again today. Was drunk and wanted 100 francs more. Said he had fallen in love and did not know what to do—whether to marry or to enter into diplomatic relations with Mexican diplomacy. Rascal! How many hundred franc notes have I not wasted in this way!

I think it will come off this time! I have been called, actually called. I got the following telegram today: "Your Excellency indispensable. Government being formed instantly for purpose of traveling in Russia. Three days stop at various places. Salaries paid after each fall of Cabinet. Advance salary by week. If you know any people out of work, bring them with you. There is required: a minister for postal affairs, and for common as well as wireless telegraphy. Also a minister for public education, who is acquainted with sign painting, and also knows some tailoring. Will have to earn his own living. Monarchistic government is planned, but if unsuccessful Socialistic not unacceptable. Answer requested by telegraph. Return charges paid."

I shall leave at once for a specialist cannot afford to remain out of work very long.

### THE FOOD SITUATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow on August 31: The arrival of food-stuffs from Siberia is increasing month by month. In May, Siberia delivered 800,000 poods of wheat, in the month of June, 1,300,000 poods, and in the first part of July, 4,400,000 poods. Half of this quantity comes from the district of Omsk. The territory of Cheliabinsk produced nearly half of the quota delivered by the district of Omsk. During the summer months, Siberia was the chief corn producer for European Russia.

## Letter from Russia

By G. M. SERRATI

ONE cannot learn to know a great city like this in four days, not even as a "tourist", in normal times, with every facility at one's disposal. Let us not even pretend to know and interpret its spirit, to perceive its intimate sensations, to appreciate its virtues, or criticize its vices or errors; especially if one does not know the language perfectly, and is unable, therefore, to grasp a situation as expressed in the words of the people, in their exclamations, their songs and even in the graphic manifestations along the roads or in the public places . . . manifestations very eloquent in their naiveté.

The journalist who passes and judges, who makes literature and proves a theory, is not a chronicler, still less a historian. The only eager readers of Barzini\* are those who are ignorant of what he writes and of the facts. He who knows laughs at him and sees in his prose only an object of mockery. There is not a soldier from the trenches who holds in the least esteem this narrator or the journal which opens its columns to him.

Only the ignorant, or fools, travel through a country in revolution with pencil and notebook and pretend to pass judgment upon it. To arrogate to one's self the right to point out errors and indicate the road which the army of citizens sans culottes should take in order to gain time and hasten their epic, is ridiculous. I do not investigate, nor examine, neither judge nor criticize; I feel. In the past a long history of centuries of prostration, of humility, of slavery and tyranny, of violence and absolute, irresponsible personal power. Every street, every square and palace, recalls the living memory of a time when one commanded and one hundred and twenty millions obeyed. In the present, a people who, ten, twenty, a hundred times a day sing the glory of the Internationale of Labor with a quasi-mystic fervor of social renewal. Where people fell stricken by tyranny, behold, the debut of the renaissance inspired by the communist spirit. This is a great thing.

Grass has grown between the paving stones of several streets in Petrograd. The city which at one time had two million inhabitants has today not more than 700,000 or 800,000, perhaps. I have seen Paris when the German Bertha hurled its projectiles against the French capital. In a few days the joyous city became funereal. In those terrible days there were no crowds except at the railroad stations, and in the trains which bore away the terrified inhabitants. The P.-L.-M. was taken by assault. To fly to Marseilles, to the Cote d'Azur, was to flee death and seek life. Now, after six years of war, when three armies have menaced its gates, when it has experienced two revolutions, and has had only yesterday to deprive

\* Correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera*.

its factories of those able-bodied men who remained at home, and of women and young people, to throw\*\* them, armed rather with heroism than with rifles, into the battlefields of Gatchina and Tsarskoe-Selo before the white armies of Yudenich,—Petrograd cannot give any thought to its own toilette. There is grass in its streets . . . there has been blood also. It cannot be otherwise in a revolution.

Yesterday, when my comrade and I visited the Putilov factories, and they asked a number of trifling questions of the engineer and the workers who accompanied us, I kept back. The questions seemed to me simply superfluous. In the immense factory—one of the three or four largest in the world, although it is not very well organized—from forty to fifty thousand workers were employed before the war. Today there are only a few thousand—mostly children, women and old people. The rest are soldiers at the front. Communists first. Scarcely has one entered the factory before he receives the impression of almost absolute cessation of life in this colossal body. Only a few puffs of thin smoke rise from an occasional chimney. A few blows of a solitary hammer resound through a hundred shops, the grinding of wood is scarcely heard from a few fraise machines. A few workers, mostly women and children, gaze at us with wild, curious eyes. The great, powerful pestle hammers are silent; the cranes with their immense nervous arms of steel are motionless; high furnaces are extinguished; the great rolling-mills, which can seize the red-hot iron in their steel claws and force it to bend in their powerful grasp, are in disuse and rusted. The many sounds of clanging steel, the roar of the foundries, the rolling of the pestle hammer, in the midst of millions of sparks and the ardent fires of a thousand flames, have yielded to a silence as of the grave—and the cawing crows pursue one another from iron truss to iron truss—and sometimes one hears the song of a bird, a veritable defiance.

In the back of the shop they are still repairing railway carriages; farther on four great locomotive boilers are only waiting for coal to be finished; another shop has already several cannon to be transported to the Polish front; they can still be manufactured here, the special steel necessary being abundant; but they are best manufactured at the place to which the manufacture of war material was transferred at the time it was feared Petrograd might be taken.

Other factories, one for cotton hydrophil, gauze, bandages, and other articles for sanitation, the other for caoutchouc, are working almost maximum. The central electric station is operating

\*\* In the text is the word, "cacciari" . . . to push, chase, impel—which does not correspond to the context or the general thought.

satisfactorily. But all the furnaces use wood fuel, so that the work is not very rapid, and industrial activity is reduced. On the other hand, the departure for the front of almost all the best workers, the great suffering due to insufficient food supplies, have deprived the remaining working masses of the zeal for work which they might have had, and which would not in any case be very great among people with the characteristics of the peoples of the Orient. Our Southerners, in comparison with the philosophic apathy of this Russian population—calm, serene, apathetic, slow even amidst the thousand tortures of the war, the revolution, and the blockade—appear to me today to be a most active and energetic people.

This native indolence of the Russians partly explains the grave difficulties which our Bolshevik comrades must encounter in the industrial reorganization of the communist society, and makes necessary the supremely grandiloquent proclamations of the governors. They employ the grand manner to overcome such apathy. I have seen posted in the factories a placard depicting an enormous, extremely repugnant louse, and beside this terrible parasite, Death, with his usual attribute, a scythe. Among us the ordinary proclamation of the mayor is sufficient to advise the population that they must take necessary hygienic measures to prevent the spread of disease epidemics. Here they need enormous signs, grand speeches, bold expressions. It is only thus that one can overcome the tendencies which naturally impel the Russian to the contemplative life.

The war, the revolution, and the suffering arising from them have doubtless accentuated this Mussulman spirit of the Russian people. In a country where the day is sufficient unto itself, and where the situation changes, or may change, so easily, where uncertainty prevails, it is very natural that the inhabitants should not give special thought to the morrow and that the gravest pre-occupation should be that of satisfying the most urgent and immediate needs.

This only emphasizes the merit of the work which is being accomplished by our comrades who—very few in number as compared with the great magnitude of the work—are working actively for reconstruction.

Together with Comrade Zorine, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Petrograd, which has about 35,000 adherents, we visited the rest homes for men and women workers who needed pure air, good food, and complete rest. These houses, built on a verdant island in the middle of the Neva, in the most delightful section of Petrograd, and which were formerly resorts for the pleasures or debauches of the Petersburg bourgeoisie and aristocrats, were, at Zorine's suggestion, rapidly transformed into health homes for the workers. They are magnificent villas in the midst of the verdure, with ample terraces, large stained-glass windows, and enormous bays, tastefully decorated; some of them are furnished with real artistic sense, others in the worst bourgeois taste.

In the entrance of one of them we saw a collection of eight magnificent Flanders tapestries, old gifts of Napoleon to some Russian Duke or Prince; their price is placed at eight million francs. I pass over in silence the furniture of incalculable value.

In these villas, amidst the most dazzling luxury, men and women, two and three in a room, who have hitherto lived like beasts of burden in the murderous factories, take their rest. They come here in turns—upon designation by the organization committees—and spend about a month in complete repose. They scrupulously respect the property, now become collective. Whatever the localities visited, everywhere was the greatest cleanliness, order and tranquility. Each in his room, or in the common rooms, and wearing their plain working clothes, men and women live serenely in these halls, on these divans, amidst the splendor of the pictures, the mirrors, the objects of art and luxury, as if they had lived there all their lives.

I asked an old woman tobacco worker who has been employed in the factory for more than forty years: "How did you get used to such a life?" "Eh! Comrade, when one is well off, one gets used to it quickly!"

For them Communism is somewhat like the first taste of revenge. Formerly the masters were there. It is just that the workers should be there today. This easy turn-about in the infantile spirit of the working masses was, moreover, easily affected, as soon as the communists overthrew the old regime. The villas are there, the proprietors fled; it is not at all difficult to organize in these pleasure resorts—formerly the dwelling-places of pleasure-seekers, some of them the *nouveaux riches* of the war—communal life. In the last analysis it is a question only of consumption. The consummate is easy. It is true that the former inhabitants no longer produce. But—now that the revolution has abolished the masters, that is, those who could make others work for their own well-being—will the Russian working class be able to find within itself, in its energy and its own virtue, the power to produce, with the incentive of its own collective interests, as much as it produced formerly for the benefit of its exploiters?

That is the very grave problem. In the letters which are to follow we shall examine the program by which the Russian Communists are seeking the solution.

From *Bulletin Communiste* — Paris — No. 25—  
August 19, 1920.

### *Soviet Russia*

will shortly publish an interesting article on the railroad situation in Russia, compiled from authentic sources. The article will be accompanied by maps showing railroad lines planned and built under the Soviet Government.

Original from

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## Treason in the Centro-Soyuz

By MESHCHERYAKOV in *Pravda*, April 30.

**T**HE arrest of the cooperators at Moscow seems to continue to arouse great sympathy among bourgeois circles in Europe. These convinced counter-revolutionaries are represented in many newspapers as innocent victims. It will therefore not be out of place to reprint here an article published in *Pravda* on April 30 by MESHCHERYAKOV, under the title: "The White Guard Conspirators." The old Russian cooperators often insisted on emphasizing their political neutrality, while they were in reality carrying on a secret counter-revolutionary policy.

The well-known Russian historian Professor N. Pokrovsky recently published in *Pravda* a number of documents which show clearly that in Moscow, in the house of the well-known woman conspirator Kuskova, meetings were held of representatives of the "National Center", the "League for the Rebirth of Russia", and other White Guard organizations. These meetings were also attended by the former chairman of the Centro-Soyuz, Korabov.

It was already a well-known fact that the Siberian cooperators gave very active assistance first to the Czecho-Slovaks, and later to Kolchak. At Moscow it had also become clear that a similar relation existed between the cooperators in southern Russia and Denikin. Now the editor of *Pravda* has received the cooperative periodical "Bulletins for the Cooperatives of Southern Russia" dated November 10, 1919, in which the White Guard cooperatives expose themselves. In this paper there are a number of interesting documents emanating from various southern Russian organizations, and addressed to "His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Russian Forces"—for this is Denikin's title among the White Guard cooperatives. These generally express their pleasure on the occasion of the successful advances of Denikin's army into the interior of Russia, and enthusiastically greet its "liberation from the Bolsheviki", as they put it. Thus, for example, the Provisional Committee for the Russian Southern Cooperatives, in its report to Denikin, writes the following: "Wherever the cooperative organizations have been active in the territory now occupied by the Volunteer Army (Denikin's army was so called), they gladly, honestly, and without delay entered into close communication with this army." This report was handed to Denikin by a delegation at whose head was a "well-known Menshevik", the lawyer Nikitin.

In another similar "address", the delegate of the Workers' Cooperatives, the former Assistant Minister Gvozdyov (in Kerenky's Cabinet) and Arayev, enumerate even more definitely the services they had performed for Denikin. They asseverate that "many of those persecuted by the Soviet power" (they mean the White Guardists) find a

refuge and a livelihood in the cooperative organizations. At the time of the advance of the Volunteer Army, many officers who had until then worked in this movement, in addition many court functionaries had considered the cooperatives as the only possible sphere of activity for them. The "neutral" cooperatives were thus perfect dens of White Guardist refugees.

The South Russian cooperators, through their "Provisional Committee", openly declared to Denikin that they wished to aid him in his counter-revolutionary work; they stated that it would be necessary for the cooperatives to begin taking part in the legal consultative and in the consultative organs within the administrative institutions. The conference of the cooperators at Kharkov declared in its resolution that "cooperation cannot stand aloof from questions touching the work of the state, and cannot avoid attaching itself to the struggle against the anti-state movement of Bolshevism."

In the commissions and other organs of the "Government", the old cooperators carried on the so-called policy of "free trade and free industry." Particularly characteristic is the instruction quoted in a Rosta radiogram, from the cooperators that had departed to foreign countries, to the head of the Petrograd section of the Centro-Soyuz Krokmal, which instruction dates from the period before Yudenich's offensive against Petrograd. The instruction admonishes him to apply all available means, and also all means he can obtain by selling goods held by the cooperatives in the purchase of goods to be sent to foreign countries to the cooperators who had gone thither without regard to price for "the gain or loss is to be calculated later." Krokmal is asked to purchase everything that is available for sale; flax, hemp, lumber, even books. His departed friends, it seems, had heard that it was possible to purchase the works of the Russian classic authors at rather low prices—they had been issued by the Bolsheviki—and the demand for such works, it was said, was great in foreign countries.

The "instruction" therefore constitutes an open admonition to plunder and to impoverish Russia in order to aid Yudenich.

Such was the economic problem of the "neutral", "non-political" cooperatives. These "innocent" gentlemen everywhere in Russia—in southern Russia, in Archangel, in Siberia—supported in the most energetic manner the White agents and carried on an active warfare against the Soviet power.

The above article which was published in *Pravda* a few weeks before the Moscow radio reported the arrest of certain Russian cooperatives, completes in a striking manner that short account, for it gives an insight into the attitude of the cooperatives in various parts of Russia toward the Soviet power.

## Wireless and Other News

### COPY OF RADIO SENT THROUGH MR. KAMENEV TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON AUGUST 25

The unusual tone of the British and Italian governments' communications, published in yesterday's London paper, and sent to us by Mr. Kamenev, is not apt to contribute to the establishment between both parties of permanent good relations so necessary for the world's welfare, and to the restoration of a general peace, which the British and Italian governments themselves declare to be their fundamental aim. We note especially that the same governments which have so often accused the Russian Government of interfering in internal affairs of other states have, in this communication, published a piece of propaganda work directed against our institutions and representing such an act of intervention in our affairs as would sufficiently justify corresponding action on our part. The desire of the workers' and peasants' government for peace is nevertheless of such paramount bearing, that it has resolved in spite of the just resentment that must be created by the above communication, not to dwell on this point, and to meet fully the wishes of the British and the Italian governments, with which it hopes, in spite of their unusual action, to establish as soon as possible permanent relations of peace and goodwill. Our astonishment was the more justified seeing that the divergence of views in this case is only that of the interpretation of a peace term about which full solidarity exists between us and the above governments. We find it really strange that a question of interpretation of a principle agreed upon should have given rise to a step of such a character. After the limitation of the Polish army to fifty thousand men had been recognized by the British Government as a just term of peace, it is on our part a concession to Poland that we admit besides this number the formation of an armed civil militia, which is in fact a supplement of the armed force, and we find it astonishing that an increase of Poland's forces has aroused the indignation of the British Government. Seeing that the British Government declares peace throughout Eastern Europe to be its aim, we can point to the fact that the workers in Poland have been for a long time the force which has steadfastly opposed the Polish Government's aggressive policy, and have in numberless resolutions demanded peace with Russia. If, nevertheless, the British Government stands up with such force against strengthening this fundamental pillar of peace it clearly shows that distrust animates the British Government with regard to workers. If the British Government believes that the workers are by nature inevitably receptive to the doctrine of Bolshevism, such a point of view will undoubtedly be welcomed by those who look forward to the spreading of Bolshevism in Britain. However justified our interpretation of this point of our peace terms may be,

we are nevertheless willing to remove this only point of divergence in order to establish full solidarity between us and the above governments as to the terms of peace with Poland. We firstly declare that we never considered our terms as *ad ultimum*, and are now, as we have all the time been, willing to discuss them with the Polish Government. This discussion takes place between us and the Polish Government, with whom alone we are treating peace in this case without outside interference, so that all the pledges in this respect are taken by us before Poland alone. In view, nevertheless, of our earnest desire to attain the important results for the world's welfare and peace which can be achieved by peace with Great Britain, we are willing to inform the British Government of the fact that the Russian Government has resolved to make in this question a concession, and not to adhere to the term of arming in Poland a workers' civic militia, thus attaining full solidarity with Great Britain as to all the terms of peace with Poland.

The Russian Government is not inclined to mix practical business transactions with theoretical polemics, but since the British Government has in this connection published a purely polemical communication directed against the principles upon which our government is constructed we cannot avoid entering, for the moment, the same path. The British Government having launched against the Soviet regime the strange accusation of being an oligarchy, it is impossible for us not to point out that all the states which have another kind of government than ours present, obviously to all, the most real oligarchy: the fruits of the whole nation's production being seized by a privileged few, whereas in Soviet Russia the whole nation works for the whole nation's benefit under the rule of those whom the above communication describes as an oligarchy. We can only remind ourselves of Mr. Chiozza Morey's calculation of the distribution of British income in 1904: Rich (one and a quarter million)—585 million pounds; comfortable (three and three quarter million)—245 million pounds; poor: (38 million)—880 million pounds. As to real participation in political power we ask what form of government gives more of such to the great masses of the nation: the parliamentary form, under which incoherent masses give their support once in many years to firmly established political parties directly representing the above oligarchy or strongly influenced by the latter; or the Soviet form under which the working people, at their place of work, form permanent local unities in whose hands rests the control of the whole Soviet fabric built up by delegation of the local Soviet. And more than that, it is the whole administration that is in the hands of the local Soviets. This structure in itself gives such power to the permanently organized working classes that its mention alone is suffi-

cient to refute all the fables spread by the dispossessed or frightened privileged Russians and repeated in the British Government's communication as to an alleged tyranny of an oligarchy, the latter being as a matter of fact an impossibility under Soviet rule and government, this regime being able to exist only through the will of the working masses. Being a truly popular government, the Soviet Government is by its nature peaceful and averse to conquests, its true peacefulness being of another kind than that of the governments of wealthy oligarchies which desire peace after having taken away the riches of their vanquished adversaries. A peace that has in view the maintenance of such a result can never be a firm one, whereas the peace of the workers' and peasants' government, being based upon the rejection of exploitation of others and upon the true solidarity of the great working masses of all nations, is the only genuine and really permanent peace. Animated with this spirit the Soviet Government as declared above, does not insist upon the interpretation of the peace terms with Poland which has given rise to a divergence with Great Britain and Italy, and renouncing the demand of the creation of a workers' militia in Poland, it thus restores the full agreement with the above two governments which existed before this divergence arose.

#### JAPAN AND SOVIET RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow, on August 31: Vilenski, the Soviet Russian plenipotentiary to the Far East, who has just arrived here from Vladivostok, stated to the representative of the Rosta, that no military or diplomatic clashes between Soviet Russia and Japan are to be expected for some time to come. Both the defeat of the party friendly to Japan in China, and the doubtful outlook for military assistance from the Allies, have forced the Japanese, impressed with the success of the Red Armies, to resume diplomatic and commercial negotiations with Soviet Russia.

#### REPRESENTATIVE OF SOVIET RUSSIA IN LITHUANIA

KOVNO, August 25 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—Dr. Axelrod, member of the People's Commissariat of Finance, and former representative of the government in Bucharest, has been chosen representative to Lithuania.

#### THE VERBAL NEWSPAPER

It is reported from Moscow that since it is impossible to supply every Russian city with enough newspapers, the custom of the verbal newspaper has been instituted. In public places, especially in theatres, the newspaper is read to the audience. There is always a large mass of auditors, consisting of inhabitants and soldiers.

#### CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—We received the following reports from Moscow, August 31:

##### *Education in Azerbaidjan*

The Commissariat for Public Education has resolved to help the Soviet Republic of Azerbaidjan as far as possible in the field of education, and to go so far as to organize higher education in that country.

##### *New Star Discovered*

Kovraisky, the astronomer, discovered a new star of the second magnitude on the night of the 23rd of August; this was made known on August 24.

##### *Culture of the Proletariat*

In September, 1920, the Fourth All-Russian Conference for the People's Culture (Workmen's Board for the Culture of the Proletariat) will take place.

##### *All-Russian Congress of Bacteriologists*

Yesterday the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Bacteriologists and Students of Epidemic Diseases opened here. Three hundred delegates from all districts of Russia assembled. The People's Commissar Siemashko, who was elected Honorary President of the Congress, stated that it was the duty of the conferences to find more effective means to overcome disease, and to protect the lives of the people.

#### THE DEFEAT OF WRANGEL'S TROOPS ON THE SHORE OF KUBAN

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow, on August 31: Many White troops, who landed on the coast of Kuban were literally wiped out. Only a miserable handful who had landed are now fleeing toward the south. Today, Trotsky wired to Moscow: This is an important victory, at which not only the Red Army of Kuban rejoices, but the entire army on the southern front, and with it, all Soviet Russia. The bloody riddance of Wrangel's landed troops demonstrates that this attempt on the part of the White Baron to extend his strategic base to the territory of Kuban has been shattered. So Wrangel is doomed to confine his operations to the limited field of the Crimean peninsula, and the activity of our 13th and 2d Cavalry Armies leads us to hope that we shall soon be through with this front as well.

#### SOLIDARITY WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

PRAGUE, August 20.—*Pravo Lidu* reports the following:

Committees of the Czech Social Democratic Party and of the Trade Unions of Prague have sent a telegram of greeting to the mass meeting of the English workers, scheduled to take place on Sunday, the twenty-second of this month, in which they declare their solidarity with them, in their refusal to take part in any hostile act against Soviet Russia.

## Books Reviewed

By A. C. FREEMAN

**THE GREATEST FAILURE IN HISTORY.** By *John Spargo*. Harper and Brothers, New York.

**THE RUSSIAN PEASANT AND THE REVOLUTION.** By *Maurice G. Hindus*. Henry Holt and Company, New York.

John Spargo is at it again. Pursuing his favorite sport (or business) of exposing the sins and shortcomings of the Russian Soviet Government, he presents a newness of "impartial evidence," chiefly gleaned from "Struggling Russia" and similar disinterested sources. Mr. Spargo is suspiciously eager to vindicate the accuracy and reliability of his book in the eyes of his readers. He says:

"It is no mere chronicle of scandal; neither is it a cunningly wrought mosaic of runners, prejudiced inferences, exaggerated statements by hostile witnesses, sensational incidents and utterances, selected because they are calculated to provoke resentment."

One does not have to be an expert in psychoanalysis to realize that these invidious phrases, which Mr. Spargo is so quick to repudiate, constitute a fair, if inadequate, indictment of his work. The author doubtless remembers the humiliating exposures which his first propagandist effusion, "Bolshevism", received at the hands of Mr. William Hard and other critics. He wishes us to believe that he has reformed his habits, that he has really written an honest book about Russia. Unfortunately, "The Greatest Failure in All History" does not show the slightest evidence of any such change of heart.

Mr. Spargo very solemnly asserts, on page 410, that "in no instance has the testimony of witnesses of anti-Bolshevist views been cited without ample corroborative evidence from responsible and authoritative Bolshevist sources."

On page 70, discussing the land problem, he says:

"The Provisional Government, under Lvov, dominated as it then was by landowners and bourgeoisie, never for a moment sought to evade this question."

Now everyone, Bolshevik or anti-Bolshevik, who is even slightly acquainted with the course of the Russian Revolution, knows perfectly well that the overthrow of Lvov, and of his successor, Kerensky, was largely due to the unwillingness and inability of a government composed partly of bourgeoisie to settle the land problem in accordance with the wishes of the toiling peasants.

On page 158 the author quotes the following passage from a work by a certain Maurice Verstraete:

"He (Uritsky) is a refined saddist, who does his grim work for the love of it . . . Uritsky is a hunchback and seems to be revenging himself on all mankind for his deformity."

Who is Maurice Verstraete; and where is the

responsible, authoritative, corroborative evidence show that Uritsky was a saddist and a hunchback?

On page 248 Mr. Spargo, among other unsubstantiated stories of alleged repressive measures practised against Russian workmen by the Soviet Government, makes the following accusation:

"At the Alexander works, Moscow, eighty workers were killed by machine-gun fire."

He gives neither date, nor details, nor authority for this alleged atrocity. As Mr. Spargo has not been in Russia himself at any time since the Revolution, we can only conclude that the source of his second-hand information was so dubious that he does not care even to indicate it.

These instances, which might be multiplied indefinitely, show clearly that Mr. Spargo does not even make a pretense of living up to his own profession of accepting only unquestionable evidence. The untrustworthiness of his book must be sufficiently obvious even to readers who possess very little knowledge of Russian revolutionary history. A few of the other palpable dishonesties and absurdities of the book may be now taken up.

In his first chapter Mr. Spargo, making a desperate effort to explain how the Soviet Government has survived, despite its "undemocratic character" and despite the tremendous external pressure which has been exercised against it, asserts that "on more than one occasion the overthrow of the Bolsheviks might easily have been brought about by the Allies if they had dared it." In the light of the aid which has been lavished by the Allied governments upon every counter-revolutionary movement, this statement is so amusingly untrue that comment seems superfluous.

In comparing the cost of conducting industry under the Czar's regime and under the Soviet Government, Mr. Spargo treats the ruble as a fixed quantity, making no allowance for its depreciation. Using this method of reasoning it would be easy to prove that a most appalling deterioration has taken place in the industrial life of every country since the world's currency was inflated by the war.

Like most reactionaries, Mr. Spargo is very solicitous for freedom of speech and press—in Soviet Russia. Apparently he believes that the Soviet Government was morally bound to show the utmost gentleness and consideration towards counter-revolutionists at a time when workmen were being butchered by thousands in Siberia and Ukraine, when Russia was being slowly strangled by a blockade of unexampled ferocity. Such a course might have been possible in a community of angels; but Soviet Russia cannot claim to have achieved this position as yet.

In an introductory note Mr. Spargo expresses his gratitude to a number of well-known Russian reactionary propagandists in this country and in Europe for their help in furnishing him with information and suggestions. And his book very

faithfully reflects the viewpoint of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and Wrangel, of the counter-revolutionary emigres and renegade radicals. In exactly the same measure it misrepresents and falsifies the viewpoint of the great masses of the Russian people.

In "The Russian Peasant and the Revolution", Mr. Hindus gives a vivid description of the systematic oppression and exploitation of the *mouzhik* under Czarism. In the eyes of the old regime the peasant was not a human being; he was only a source of cheap labor. He was never given an adequate supply of land; he was discouraged and browbeaten if he attempted to leave his own village; every possible obstacle was thrown in the way of his material advancement. He was periodically scourged with epidemics; in a land of plenty he often felt the pinch of famine. The most elementary comforts and decencies of life were beyond his reach; he was almost always unable to secure even the simplest education. Together with his fellow toiler, the town worker, he was compelled to sustain the whole weight of an outrageously unjust and incompetent political and economic system.

Now the Russian peasant, despite Mr. Stephen Graham and his "Holy Russia" myth, is by no means enamored of suffering and oppression. On the contrary, he cherishes a very normal human desire for his share of the material and spiritual benefits of life. As Mr. Hindus shows, the

*mouzhik's* attitude towards the Revolution was admirably expressed in the slogan: "Land and Freedom." He was naturally not attracted by the Cadets, with their vague promises of land reform and their tender consideration for the interests of the big landowners and exploiters. The Social Revolutionist, Kerensky, during his period of office as Premier, showed clearly that he possessed neither the will nor the executive ability to put his party's land program into operation. It was only after the establishment of the Soviet Government that the peasant's own firm conviction that the land should belong to those who work on it found expression in law.

Mr. Hindus is carefully non-partisan in his political viewpoint, and nowhere indicates a preference for the Soviet form of government. He pleads strongly for the lifting of the blockade and the restoration of commercial relations between Russia and the rest of the world.

The book effectively demolishes the fictitious reports from the familiar counter-revolutionist centers about the widespread opposition of the peasants to the Soviet Government. The old regime gave the peasant oppression, starvation and compulsory ignorance. The Soviet Government has given him freedom, land and education. The *mouzhik* is very far from being a fool; and he may be relied upon to go on heartily supporting Soviet Russia in its struggle with domestic reactionaries and foreign imperialists.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. EASTER IN MOSCOW, by Dr. Bohumir Smeral.
2. A STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MANagements OF PETROGRAD INDUSTRIES.
3. THE GRAVE-DIGGERS OF WHITE POLAND, by Karl Radek.
4. *The Second Instalment of "Moscow in 1920"*, by Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt.
5. PROFITEERING A HINDRANCE TO ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA, by Professor George Lomonossov.
6. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.

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