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## Pro Barba!

By ISAAC A. HOURWICH

(An historical inquiry into the causes of the popularity of Karl Marx's beard in Russia.)

MR. H. G. WELLS in his recent contribution to the *New York Times* has touched upon a question that must interest every Anglo-Saxon mind. He tells us that he had never wasted his time upon the abstruse speculations of Karl Marx until they were forced upon his attention during his stay in Russia, where the whiskers of that closet savant obtruded themselves upon his gaze wherever he went. The frame of mind of the great British novelist has brought back to the present writer memories of the early days of the Russian immigration to the United States, some thirty years ago, when the 100 per cent Anglo-Saxon dwellers of the Water Front, especially of the younger generation, gave expression, in various vigorous ways, to their aversion to the beards of the newcomers. We are tempted to paraphrase the familiar physical law by suggesting one of our own creation, to wit: "Anglo-Saxon nature abhors a beard."

These preliminary reflections have led us somewhat astray from the subject of our inquiry, "Why the beard of Karl Marx is so popular in Russia?" Mr. Wells is unfortunately unaware of the close connection of whiskers and politics in Russian history. Prior to the reign of Peter the Great, all adult Russian males were bewhiskered. That Russian revolutionary monarch, after returning from his voyage to the western lands, decreed that all his subjects of the upper classes were to shave off their beards. This decree aroused great discontent, which led to conspiracies upon the life of the mon-

arch as well as to open rebellion. The beard was sanctified in the minds of the disaffected by the observation that all saints of the Greek Catholic Church had worn beards. The decree directing the subjects of the great Czar to shave their beards was one of the counts in the popular indictment charging him with being the "Anti-Christ".

The act of Peter the Great remained in force for more than a century and a half. Shaving was obligatory for the nobility and the office-holding class. Even in private life the discharged soldier was admonished "to shave his beard and to beg no alms." There were two styles of shaving prescribed by the law, one for the civilians, another for the army. The civilian was required by law to shave his moustache and chin, the military man was permitted to retain his moustache, but he was required to shave his chin. Whatever the critics of Czardom may hold against it, it is an historical fact that in the enforcement of that particular statute a certain amount of reasonable freedom was left to individual taste. The civilian was at liberty to wear side-whiskers without restriction of size,—either of the British banker style, or like those of the late John Stuart Mill, and of course he enjoyed the privilege to exhibit to the world a smooth-shaven countenance. The army man was likewise at liberty to add side whiskers to his moustache, or to confine himself to a moustache of the Anglo-American style, as exemplified by the picture of Mr. Wells himself.

In the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, a strong movement in favor of whiskers developed

among the Russian intellectuals of that period. The remarkable feature of that movement was that it succeeded in uniting on that one issue the two warring factions of the intelligentsia, the "Occidentalists" and the "Slavophiles". The latter, who condemned the tendency of the St. Petersburg period of Russian history to imitate the ways of "the rotten west", affected the old Russian style of clothes and defiantly wore whiskers. The Occidentalists, who studied in German universities, came under the influence of "Young Germany", which repudiated the ways of the Prussian Police-State and favored the return to Nature. The principal character in one of the novels of Zschocke, a popular writer of that day, argues in favor of the beard as the masculine weapon with which Nature has endowed man to captivate the heart of woman. All Russian writers of that period wore full beards,—*vide* Herzen, Bakunin, Turgenyev, Byelinsky, etc. This seditious tendency, of course, could not escape the eyes of the government. Emperor Nicholas I (penned by Count Leo Tolstoy under the name of Nikolai Palkin), on one of his visits to Germany, ordered the Russian students of the Berlin University to present themselves to him. One of them had the hardihood to appear before his sovereign with a moustache on his face. The Emperor directly ordered him to shave off that appendage, which was the privilege of military men only.

The enforcement of that law was relaxed under the benign rule of his son, Alexander II, the Czar-Liberator. An inspection of the pictures of the writers of that generation would reveal to the disgusted gaze of Mr. Wells a series of bearded faces. The one exception known to the present writer is Chernyshevsky, who before his exile to Siberia had a smooth-shaven face, although he had reached the age at which he was physically capable of

growing a beard. But even that exception soon yielded to the spirit of the time. He returned from his twenty-year exile in the wilds of Siberia with a fairly long beard, which he retained until his death (1889).

Liberal high school teachers of that "epoch of great reforms" dared grow moustaches and chin beards, and the principals, falling in with the prevailing spirit, would wink at that exhibition of license. But whenever the Curator of the Educational District (an official representing the ministry of education) would come on a tour of inspection, the teachers would report with their moustaches and chins duly shaved.

At last even in Russia the government had to yield to public opinion. Alexander III, shortly after ascending to the throne of his fathers, repealed the law regulating the shaving of male faces. This must by no means be construed, however, into a concession to Liberalism. Alexander III was a strong Nationalist, and his enabling act permitting his loyal subjects to wear beards was a belated tribute to the old Slavophiles. It is the tragedy of history that ungrateful posterity has quite forgotten this act of Alexander III,—indeed, the only liberal reform enacted by that monarch.

A useful lesson may be drawn from this brief essay of a history of beards in Russia. So long as the wearing of beards was prohibited by law, the spirit of sedition delighted in showing an unshaven face, as it were, to law and order. Directly after the repeal of the anti-whiskers legislation, diversity of barber styles freely displayed itself among the Russian intelligentsia. Every student of Russian literature knows that one of the most popular Russian writers, Maxim Gorky, shaves his whiskers and wears only a moustache, even as the author of "New Worlds for Old." Such are the beneficent effects of liberty.

## Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine

### THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS AND DESTINIES

By K. RAKOVSKY

THE socialistic revolution not only transforms the internal economic and political structure of states, but also fundamentally alters the relations between them. The relations between the Soviet states are essentially different from the relations between bourgeois states. The bourgeois statehood is distinguished from the proletarian statehood even in its rudimentary principles. The proletarian statehood does not fit into any of the classifications that have been set up by the political economists of the old world.

The general presupposition of all forms of administrations—the aristocratic, the democratic, the absolute monarchy, the constitutional monarchy, the republic, etc.—was the exclusiveness, the segregation, of the state organism. The most democratic of the democratic republics put their own citizens

into a sort of opposition to foreigners. In the most democratic republic the foreigners are not admitted to the political life of the country. The political life was a privilege of the national classes concerned, or at best, of the citizens of the state in question. In the constitution of the Soviet nations on the other hand, both of Russia and Ukraine, one fundamental principle is precisely the abolition of all racial privileges; thus for example, paragraph 20, section C of the Constitution of the Ukraine Socialistic Republic states: "Foreigners belonging to the working class or the peasants actually working as such, enjoy the right of suffrage". Such a constitutional provision is completely incomprehensible to the bourgeois jurist who customarily begins by assuming the opposition of his own state towards other states, of its citi-

zens to foreigners. But this provision is a logical result of the most fundamental quality of the proletariat.

What is the main difference between the proletarian and the bourgeois state in their different economic bases, which are entirely exclusive.

The bourgeois state as well as the forms of state organs which preceded it, is based on the principle of private property in land and in the means of production. The whole so-called bourgeois law, regulating relations between the private owners, is based on this principle. The state as a whole, with all its institutions, its military, administrative and economic organisms—together with its church—likewise constituted such property, but of course not the property of the possessors of the means of labor, but the property of the entire possessing class, of the bourgeois landed proprietors or slave holding classes. The object of each private owner is the extension and enlargement of his holding. Competition is a means for obtaining this goal. The outcome of the law of competition is destruction or at best subjection of the less wealthy and the less skilled owners to those owners who have greater means, greater capital, and greater ability. The same law controls also the development of the bourgeois states. They constitute precisely such organisms, competing among themselves, and the outcome of this competition is the same,—the complete destruction of the weak states or at best their subjection to the strong states. The principle of bourgeois statehood is expressed precisely in the creation of these individual mutually hostile national states. Between these states, there may be concluded commercial treaties, postal, telegraph and railroad agreements; as the international situation varies, there may be defensive and offensive alliances between them, but such arrangements are temporary, fortuitous and incomplete in character. Such arrangements cannot eliminate the peculiar and profound antagonism existing between these states and in the entire capitalist order of society. As soon as the danger uniting various countries, or their temporary coincidents of self-interest are passed, struggle and hatred once more blaze up between them with increased force, for such conflict grows out of their very nature. Particularly characteristic in this connection is the history of the coalition of the entente states and of their allies before and after the imperialistic war. The ideology of bourgeois statehood is nationalism. Diplomatic intrigues, "spying" of every kind, mutual deception, are the regular devices of the bourgeois power. When Marx, in the first manifesto of the International in designating the foreign policy of the capitalist states, held up to them by contrast a policy that should be based on the laws of human morality, he of course did not mean that the socialists in bourgeois society should support the Christian morality as opposed to this policy of the state: "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you." He called the attention of the proletariat to the fact that only through the victory of a proletarian revolution could the condi-

tions for honest and straightforward relations between all nations be brought about. As opposed to the bourgeois statehood the proletarian statehood, which rejects private property as a means of production, simultaneously defies private property as an attribute of the state itself. In the socialistic state the normalizing principle is not the interest of the private exploiter, but the interest of the entire working-class. The boundaries separating socialistic states will no longer have a political character, but will be transformed into simple administrative limits. Likewise there will disappear the frontiers between the individual private productions which are regulated only by the law of competition. Instead of the chaotic, capitalistic economy, in which the most voluminous production of manufactures and the most intense exploitation of the worker alternate with industrial crisis and unemployment, there will be an organized nationalized production, rationally developed according to the general needs on a nation-wide plan, and not only on a national scale but also on an international scale. The tendency of socialistic revolution is political and economic centralization, provisionally taking the form of an international federation. Of course, the creation of this federation cannot be effected by a stroke of the pen, but is the result of a more or less extended process of elimination of particularism, provincialism, democratic and national bourgeois prejudices, which will result from mutual acquaintance and from mutual adaptation.

The above principles, which were already announced by the first workers' International, were naturally the cases for the relations between the already existing Soviet republics, particularly between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. From the first moment of the joint existence of these republics, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine began laying the bases for economic and political relations along federative lines. Although during this phase, which extended up to June, 1919, both republics had independent commissariats for all branches of their national affairs, there was nevertheless already a connection and a joint plan of work existing between these commissariats. In the course of time these two republics found their organized expression in the creation of common central organs. In June, 1919, the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic adopted a resolution on the necessity of uniting a number of the commissariats of the two republics, namely, the Commissariats for Army and Navy, Transportation, Finances, Labor, Postal and Telegraph, and the Supreme Councils of National Economy. This resolution was ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Republic, and in 1920 the First Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets of Ukraine also approved, on its part, the decision of both Central Executive Committees in a modified resolution. A precise constitution of the federative organs, that is, of the organs uniting the Ukrainian Commissariats, has not yet been worked out. The Central Executive Commit-

tee of Soviet Russia, in its February session, proposed a list of members of commissions which were to occupy themselves with the elaboration of the federative constitution. But because of the fact that the responsible members of these commissions were assigned to military and political duties outside of Moscow, it has not been found possible to undertake the discharge of this task, and the federative relations are still regulated for each case separately, by immediate agreements between the two republics.

Such an agreement was made in January last year, concerning military affairs. In uniting the army apparatus, this union also provided for a creation, in the immediate future, of separate cadres for the Ukrainian Red Regiments, with the Ukrainian language used in commands. For this purpose, the creation of a school for Red Ukrainian commanders was provided, and this has been already realized. In Kharkov the founding of a central school for Red commanders has been already undertaken. Already in this agreement the creation of a military section in the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine provided for the purpose of maintaining permanent liaison with the military and administrative apparatus in Ukraine, which is immediately under the revolutionary military council of the republic, which is simultaneously a revolutionary military council of the federation.

There still remain separate, in the two republics, the People's Commissariats for Agriculture, Education, Internal Affairs, Social Welfare, Popular Health, Provisions, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, as well as the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution. The Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars at present constitute the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, and the authorized plenipotentiaries of the United Commissariats. The latter have the same suffrage right as the Ukrainian commissars.

This system of federative relations may not be considered as either complete or perfect. We did not approach the question of the federative relations in a dogmatic spirit, for we were never of the opinion that national relations, particularly the relations between Soviet republics, could be regulated on the bases of abstract provisions. The federative constitution of the Soviet republics was dictated by necessity itself, and fully considered the acquired national experience. The particular relations in which Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine stood toward each other considerably facilitated the task of a swift creation of close federative relations between them. The proletariats of the two states were, historically, closely connected through their past, through their common struggle against Russian Czarism. Besides, Ukraine and Great Russia were united by a common economic life. After the November Revolution, Soviet Russia became the national support for the struggle of the workers and peasants of Ukraine against the Central Rada, against the Austrian-German occupation, against the Hetman authority, against the Denikin government,

and now, finally, against the Poles. The Ukrainian workers' and peasants' revolution naturally had to guide itself by Soviet Russia, which was the only Soviet center. The Communist movements in Ukraine and in Russia were already historically connected through their common past. The party of the Bolsheviks organized the working class within the entire former Russian Empire. In Ukraine, this task was made easier by the fact that the city proletariat in that region is, to an overwhelming extent, of Russian origin.\*

But the various Ukrainian petit bourgeois "socialist" parties, which put the national element into the foreground and sacrificed the social revolution of the working class, evinced a tendency from the very earliest days of the revolution, already in February, 1917, to split the working class in Ukraine, to put up the Ukrainian workers, and particularly the Ukrainian peasants, in opposition to Russia. During the Provisional Government of Kerensky, they concealed their national policy behind the slogans of federalism, for they beheld in this government a petit bourgeois government very much like their own, a policy related to their own. They were led to sacrifice even their national policy.

After the November Revolution, these nationalistic parties openly set their course toward a complete separation of the Ukrainian working-class and peasantry from the Russian working-class and peasantry. In the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, they definitely entered the camp of the Austrian-German nationalists. From this moment

\*In the thesis elaborated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, concerning national relations between Russia and Ukraine, these views are developed under points, 8, 9, 10. We herewith present the text of these points in full:

8. The independence of the Ukrainian working masses, their right to enjoy the fruits of their labor and the resources of Ukraine—land, mines, factories—can only be secured by a true workers' and peasants' power, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. All the efforts of the Ukrainian workers and peasants must be directed toward solidifying the Socialist Soviet power. But experience has shown, in Hungary, Bavaria, and Ukraine itself, that counter-revolutions can easily dispose of all Soviet republics which cannot offer the necessary military resistance, because of the smallness of their territory and their population, or because of the absence of a sufficiently organized military and civil apparatus, as well as of accumulated political experience.

9. Of all the Soviet republics that have thus far existed, only Soviet Russia has been able victoriously to resist the international and internal counter-revolution, and to deal smashing blows to its opponents. Soviet Russia alone holds the geographical conditions, as well as the economic and political resources (extent of territory, hugeness of population, richness of resources, millions of individuals constituting a revolutionary industrial proletariat, an organized military and civil apparatus, accumulated political experience), which make of it an impregnable fortress against all the attacks of international imperialism. In consequence of the circumstances that have intervened, Soviet Russia is the leader and organizer of the international proletariat in the struggle against international-imperialism. Each new Soviet republic, impelled by the instinct of self-preservation, will seek support and aid from Soviet Russia. And effective alliance with Soviet Russia is the revolutionary duty of every new Soviet state.

10. Aside from the interests of defense, a close alliance of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic with Soviet Russia is dictated also by a number of circumstances which all arise out of the indissolubly related historic destiny of these two Soviet states. The Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants were already united by the struggle against the Czarist yoke and the Great Russian imperialism. They are related by similarity of language, by a similar mixed population, by a common economic life. A complete separation of these two Soviet states is merely an artificial process, in contradiction with the entire past and future struggle of the Ukrainian workers and peasants. A complete national separation of Ukraine will inevitably lead to an internal national struggle within Ukraine, and to the magnification of the economic demoralization both in Ukraine and in Russia.

on, the Ukrainian Social-Nationalists adhered definitely to the western orientation, that is, the orientation of imperialistic counter-revolution. For two and a half years Ukraine was a theater of civil war, not only between the workers and peasants, on the one hand, and the landed proprietors and capitalists, on the other, but also between the class-conscious portions of the working class and the peasantry and the unawakened elements, which followed in the wake of the petit bourgeois Ukrainian National-Socialist parties, and actually supported the Russian and the international counter-revolution. We may say that the civil war in Ukraine has now in both these phases arrived at its conclusion; the proletariat has now finally defeated not only the White Guard counter-revolution, but also the petit bourgeois nationalist counter-revolution. The Ukrainian national socialistic parties have fallen to pieces. Their best elements have already entered the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, which is at this moment the only political representative of the proletariat and of the revolutionary peasantry of that country.

### Lenin's Reading at Geneva

Lenin, before he began to assume the leading position in Russia which he now holds, and while he was still a marked man abroad, lived for a number of years in Geneva. SOVIET RUSSIA in its issue for September 27, 1919, prints an account by Siegfried Bloch of Lenin's private life while living in another Swiss city, Zurich, and on February 21, 1920, SOVIET RUSSIA had Charles Rappaport's article, "Recollections of Lenin", which also describes some of Lenin's studies in Switzerland.

Now we learn from an article contributed to *Comoedia*, a French dramatic magazine, by M. Guy de Pourtales, just what were the books that Lenin asked for while a member of the Circulating Library at Geneva during the years 1905-1908.

Among Lenin's readings, there are many books that are of purely literary nature. The name of Maupassant recurs frequently in his book-slips, so frequently as to indicate a systematic study. In 1905 he reads: *Une Vie*, *Bel Ami*, *La Maison Tellier*, *La Main gauche*, *Le Horla*, *Yvette*; in 1908 he asks for *Claire de Lune*. Of Victor Hugo. he read in 1905: *Quatre-Vingt-Treize*; in 1908: *Les Miserables*, *La Legende des Siecles*, *Les Contemplations*, *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, in other words, Hugo's novels and long poetic works. Zola appears only once, in 1905, with *La Terre*, as one might imagine. On other occasions he asks for *Contes de la Montagne*, of Erckmann-Chatrion, and *Tartarin sur les Alpes* by Daudet, Corneille's works, a history of the short story in France, and Lanson's *Manuel de la Litterature Francaise*; also various books by the Goncourts, Flaubert, Bourget, Balzac, Sully Prudhomme, *L'Aiglon* by Rostand. He also reads Bailly's *Style*, some analytic book by Albalat, and, among a number of other philosophical works, the *Grammaire raisonnee* of Gaston Paris.

His readings in German, apart from the works of Hegel, which he asked for in 1908, include only political books, *Das Deutsche Parteiprogramm* by Salomon; *Volkspolitik* of Menger, and a *Future of Russia*, *Die Zukunft Russlands*, by Martin.

His historical-geographical readings are important. They include *Das Weltbild* by Snyder and books on Korea and China, on Japan and on the XIX century; before all however, and constantly, he reads writings about the French Revolution and commune: Quinet, Aulard, Lissagaray, Hamel, Mignet, *Fetes et Chansons de la Republique* of Tiersot.

There also appear a treatise on mechanics and a psychological annual, the treatise of Henri Poincare on *The Value of Science* and Hume's *Human Nature*. Among the 1908 readings, are *L'Education de la Volonte* by Payot. This education of the will is an art that had to be practiced much by that young Russian who quietly came to the rooms of the Geneva Circulating Library in which he was registered as 'publicist', born in 1870. His name, Vladimir Ulyanov, then seemed destined to obscurity and even today it is hidden behind that of "Lenin" which has become famous all over the world.

M. de Pourtales points out the fact that French literature and the Revolution seem to have been Lenin's favorite subjects. Perhaps Lenin did not distinguish much between the two. The taste for Corneille was very common among the men of 1793; that for Maupassant with his clear concrete vision of reality is quite consistent on the whole with the character of the great revolutionist of our days who in his Geneva days of 1905-1908 was preparing by such preparatory studies to lead men and to rule people.

Once more we behold a man of action forming his mind slowly through books, a statesman from afar, so different from our so-called "civilized statesmen", who never feel during their life of action how necessary it is to read.

### SCIENTIFIC CONTACT WITH THE WEST

Moscow reports as follows on October 13, 1920: A special committee from the Petrograd Academy of Science has proposed a plan to the Academy, whereby a closer contact between the scientists of Russia and those of Western Europe is to be achieved.

### FOOD STUFFS

Moscow, November 2.—The transportation of grain from the Kuban district exceeds all expectations. The Kuban Cossacks are delivering from their settlements more flour than it is possible to load on the cars. Many settlements have delivered more than 150 car loads.

For the present year the potato supplies amount to 110,000,000 poods already under shelter before the coming of the frost.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**A**RMENIA has become a Soviet Republic. The Armenian revolutionists, supported by the Red Army of the Azerbaijan Tartars, have completely defeated the military force of the reactionary Erivan government and have joined the Turkish army of Mustapha-Kemal. This occurred between the tenth and thirteenth of November, just at the moment when the victorious Russian Soviet forces broke into the Crimean peninsula.

The Armenian Government was compelled to sign an armistice with Soviet Russia and with the Turkish Kemalists on three points: (1) The withdrawal of the Armenians to the western bank of the Arpachai, thus giving up the Zangazour and Karabagh district and opening up a corridor for communications between the Turks and Soviet Russia; (2) the Turks to occupy Alexandropol and a radius of ten kilometers, pending peace negotiations; (3) the Turks to take responsibility for the maintenance of order and the security of the inhabitants. These terms imposed on the Armenians were fully carried out and greatly strengthened the military position of the Red Caucasian Army, which speedily established its control along the Poti-Baku railway, as well as that of the Turks who became masters of Alexandropol, a railway junction of the Tiflis-Alexandropol-Kars and Tulf-Alexandropol railways.

The Armenian population did not lose their opportunity and a revolution broke out which ended by declaration of Soviet rule in Armenia.

These events produced a great impression in Georgia, the puppet state of Great Britain. Surrounded by the Reds on the north and east, and on the south and southwest by the Kemalists, the Georgian bourgeoisie had either to capitulate to the Reds or yield to their own revolutionary movement. As far as we can see they have chosen the latter alternative, as the appearance of a Red Georgian garrison in Batum seems to prove.

The development of the political situation in Asiatic Turkey has strengthened the strategical position of the Reds in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. The Alliance between Turkey in Asia and Soviet Russia has removed the Caucasus from any danger of a new attack by the imperialistic coalition headed by Great Britain. Furthermore, the Red Army has now seized the initiative in the Asiatic theater of war, forcing the Allies to use a strictly defensive strategy in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and compelling England to defend herself in South Persia and along her Indian borders.

If we will look on the map we will understand that the revolution has spread through the Middle East in the regions of the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea; namely, throughout the Caucasus (Kuban and Terek, Azerbaijan and Georgia), in Persia and in Turkey, except its northwestern part which is still in

the hands of the European invaders. This sudden transformation of the map of Asia, which is one of the most important events of the day, has seriously alarmed England, who fears the vengeance of the oppressed nations.

The Russian people, the peasants and workers of free Soviet Russia, have brought upon Great Britain this retribution. The long and ruthless murdering of the workers of Russia by the British imperialists and their allies forced the Russians to seek sympathy among the Eastern peoples likewise oppressed and robbed by the merciless Entente.

The Entente remained deaf to the repeated appeals for peace. The slaughter of the Russian workers and peasants continued. The plans for the dismemberment of Turkey went forward, accompanied by a vigorous propaganda based upon the Armenian massacres. The Armenian bourgeoisie living in Europe and America, with plentiful capital at their disposal, supported this propaganda. The businesses and welfare of these Armenians depended chiefly upon their relations with the governments of the countries in which they resided, and they supported these governments in their attempts to submit Armenia to the control of western capitalism. They knew perfectly well that the Allies had not declared themselves the protectors of the Armenian people either for the sake of the beautiful eyes of the Armenian women or because of the "commercial ability" of the Armenian business men.

Knowing the country and its population I can say positively that the agricultural element of the Armenians, as well as the Armenian proletariat, always lived on the best terms with the Turkish population, and were, as well, on the most friendly terms with the Azerbaijan Tartars and the other Mohammedan peoples. I saw, myself, during my travels through Afghanistan and Persia many Armenians serving in the Afghan and Persian armies. I saw the Armenian workers toiling together with their brother Tartar workers at their hard tasks in the Baku oil fields. And in Turkey was the fate of the Armenian workers worse than that of the Turkish toilers themselves?

The massacre of Armenians by Turks and of Turks by Armenians was due solely to an artificial incitement of one race against the other by the so-called Armenian patriot-capitalists whose aim was to provoke an armed intervention of the Great Powers. That the Russian Czar's Government in a most shameless way incited both the Armenians and the Tartars to slaughter each other is an established fact.

Victorious Soviet Russia, from a purely strategical standpoint, was unable to permit the establishment of a capitalistic Armenia as well as an imperialistic Georgia under the domination of Great Britain, France and other powers.

The successful revolutionary movement among the Tartars, Georgians, Persians, Turks, and Armenians has spoilt the plans of capitalistic imperialism. These events, moreover, freed a large part of the Red Caucasian and Turkestan armies. The newly created states are naturally in possession of their own military forces. They need, and these only for the early period of their existence, some Russian specialists, instructors, and a comparatively small body of soldiers to protect their newly elected revolutionary authority. Thus the Red military command was enabled to undertake a serious strategical manoeuvre in Central Asia.

As it was recently reported, General Sokolnikov, the Chief Commander of the Soviet forces in Turkestan, was instructed to move his army of 150,000 men towards the Afghan frontier of India. This movement, if it is not an invention of the British press bureau, is of extraordinary significance. Some time ago I understand that Great Britain was concentrating her Indian Army along the north-western frontier. Taking into consideration that the relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain have been seriously ruptured for about three years since the British army tried to break through Afghanistan with the intention of invading Persia and Russian Turkestan, it may be that the Afghans, in order to protect themselves from a new British invasion, have appealed to their new ally, Soviet Russia, for military support. Otherwise, it is difficult to interpret the news that General Sokolnikov is to occupy certain strategical points along the Afghan-Indian frontier. It would have been impossible for the Red Army to penetrate to this line without the permission of the Afghans, who dispose of a strong and well-equipped military force. This short dispatch, twice repeated in the American press, only confirms the fact that Soviet Russia is becoming the leader of all the oppressed peoples of Asia.

A year ago, discussing the situation in Turkestan, I published in the *New York Call* of November 7, 1919, a warning to England that her aggressive policy towards the Soviet Republic in the West might be met by the Russians in the East. On several occasions I said that the British Government was obstinately incurring a very serious menace to India, and that only peace with Soviet Russia could postpone the catastrophe which, sooner or later, was imminent. I said that the military pressure which Great Britain so energetically and so shamelessly continued to bring upon the Russian workers and peasants would only shorten the time when that catastrophe would come. I pointed out that the military and political situation in Turkestan was very satisfactory. "This vast region of Central Asia," I said in the *New York Call* of November 7, 1919, "is in complete control of the Soviets. The natives of the Fergana, Syr-Daria, Samarkand regions as well as of Khiva and Bokhara are in full sympathy with the Bolsheviks, as are also the populations of Afghanistan and India." . . . "Russia," I continued, "is a semi-Mongolian country. She was respected in Asia

under the Czars. Free Russia, Soviet Russia, may be a leader even more respected by the peoples of the East. Let England keep that in mind!"

When, early in 1920, Comrade Trotsky said in one of his interviews with an American journalist that the Russians are good linguists and could easily learn Hindustani there was much scorn in the British press. At the end of June, 1920, it was reported that Kuropatkin was appointed Commander of the army which was to undertake a manoeuvre towards India. In reply to this, Great Britain with her allies increased their hostilities against the Soviet Republic, and the Polish War as well as Wrangel's adventure were in full swing. In September came the Congress of Mohammedan nations at Baku.

The resolution of the more than one thousand representatives who attended this historical congress, unanimously accepted, was "war to the death against world capitalism"—which for the Mohammedans means a war against Great Britain. This caused several interpellations in the House of Commons. British strategy in the Near and in the Middle East was instructed to prevent by means of arms the possibility of any kind of union between the Mohammedans and the Soviet Republic. France and Greece were to cooperate in a newly planned campaign. At one time even Wrangel was ordered to undertake a perilous manoeuvre in order to land a part of his band in the Kuban district, which he accomplished under the protection of the British navy. (As we know, his Caucasian expeditionary forces never returned to the Crimea. They were entirely defeated, thus considerably weakening the main "army" of the Crimean Baron.) European Turkey with Constantinople, part of Anatolia as far as east of Ismid and east of Smyrna, was annexed by the Allies and principally by the Greeks.

Several times since the outbreak of the civil war in Russia, Great Britain succeeded in penetrating into the Caucasus and Transcaucasia and, being pushed back by the local population, finally attempted to control the ports of Poti and Batum on the Black Sea. French detachments meanwhile operated in Syria and the British in Mesopotamia, still hostile to the invaders.

All the efforts of Great Britain to weaken the growing moral power of Moscow and to restore the vanishing prestige of London amongst the Asiatic people were in vain. The strategy of the Soviet Republic in the East was quite different from that of the Allies. It was based not upon military force, but on sincere and friendly relations with the peoples through whose country the Red Army had to pass in order to protect these countries from the threatened invasion. Once the invaders were defeated, the Red forces were immediately withdrawn. This happened first in Persia in 1918-1919. Not an inch of the Persian territory was annexed by the Soviet forces. Such a policy created the greatest sensation throughout all Asia. The same happened in Turkestan, in the Khanate of Bokhara, in Khiva, Azerbaijan, and in Georgia. The same

is happening now in Armenia and may happen in Turkey and elsewhere. This is the real strength of Russian strategy in Asia, a strategy which capitalistic states can not adopt without radically altering the political structure of their countries and abandoning the principles of national imperialism.

Do the western military thinkers understand that the proletarian army of the Soviet Republic, during its occupation of a country, will be strengthened by the people of the latter because the Red Army does not fight peoples but is hostile only to the bourgeois capitalists? An army of the imperialistic invaders, on the other hand, "melts like snow in the spring," as Napoleon always repeated. Real deliverers, and conquerors camouflaged as humanitarian "protectors", are two different things, and are always easily distinguished by the people.

The fallen Armenian bourgeois republic comprised the district of Erivan, a southern part of the Tiflis region, the southwestern part of the region of Elizavetpol, and almost all the region of Kars, except that part of it situated north of Ordahan. The representatives of the Armenian bourgeoisie were pledged at the Peace Conference to extend Armenian territory from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea, thus including a part of Azerbaijan with its rich oilfields. Similar claims were also put forward by the Georgians. Naturally the Tartars became alarmed, and realizing that the Armenians and Georgians had the support of Great Britain they joined with the Turks. The struggle then began between the Armenians and Georgians on the one hand and the Tartars and Turks on the other, a purely territorial conflict led by the representatives of the capitalistic class. It would have resulted in endless bloodshed in Transcaucasia had the revolutionary forces not come into power and put an end to the quarrel.

Transcaucasia is thickly populated. An area of about 100,000 square miles, the greatest part of which is mountainous, has a population of 7,500,000. The territory comprised six governments and three provinces under the Czarist regime. In this small region situated between the Caucasian Mountains and Persia and Turkey and the Black Sea on the west and Caspian Sea on the east there are about sixty separate races, Mohammedan as well as Christian. In Daghestan alone there are 58 different tribes, distinguished by their national dresses, customs, and religion. Could such diverse populations be brought together by any regime in the world except the Soviet regime? When these peoples, accepting the theory of "self-determination", under the influence of their bourgeois leaders, began to seek independent existence as separate republics, their respective bourgeoisies at once started a series of permanent wars and flooded the country with paper money.

The majority of the natives of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia are uneducated and lead the most primitive existence. Even the most progressive element of Transcaucasia, the Armenians, are for the most part illiterate. The wealthy landowners have exploited the peasants in the same way as in other

countries and have so prepared the ground for a general uprising. It is a great mistake to judge the Armenian people by those Armenians whom we are accustomed to meet in Europe and America. They are as unrepresentative as were the Russian intelligentsia of the past who in no way represented the real Russia of the workers and peasants. Generally the Armenians are a clever people, with great physical and mental abilities, advancing rapidly in their education whenever they have an opportunity. The Armenians were always considered in the old Russian army as good fighters.

The moment has approached when western capitalism, led by Great Britain, has to meet the oppressed peoples of the East under the inspiration of free Russia.

### RUSSIANS IN FRANCE

We have just received interesting information referring to the Russian troops placed at the disposal of France by the Czarist and Kerensky Governments.

This information reached us through a Russian military man who has just returned from Paris.

There were in France the following Russian infantry regiments, namely, 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 6th regiments of 5,000 men each; four reserve companies of 600 men each, and the 2nd Artillery Brigade of 800 men. All these forces, 23,200 fighters, were engaged on the Verdun sector of the French battle-front, under General Lokhvitsky.

Besides this, on the Salonika battle-front another Russian division, constituted of 3rd, 40th, 7th, and 8th infantry regiments and of four reserve companies as well as of the 2d Artillery brigade, was active under General Saraille. In addition to these forces, already during the Kerensky rule a battalion of 800 engineers arrived, making the entire Russian Salonika forces 24,000 men.

The total of all Russian fighters in the French Army is 47,200 men.

During the latest period of the Great War the French captured from the Germans about 70,000 Russian prisoners engaged by the Germans to work on the battle-front. Thus the number of Russian soldiers in France increased to 117,200. The additional military staff, namely Red Cross men, commissariat, and different clerks and employes of inferior rank could be estimated at about 30,000 men, which gives the number of 147,200 men in all.

On January 14, 1918, these Russians were divided into three categories: (1) the volunteers who desired to enter the forces of the reactionary Russian general; (2) the volunteers who refused to fight the Bolsheviks, but were willing to engage themselves in work for the several White Russian governments, and (3) those who refused to take any engagement and demanded an immediate return to Russia. At first the third category was most numerous, but due to severe repression its numbers decreased and finally 1,000 men of that category were dispatched to Africa and placed in Souk-haras in Tebessa and Creider in Algeria. Their condition is deplorable and the cruelty of the French beyond description.



## Litvinov



**I**N the light of many lying reports which have been published by the bourgeois and Socialist press of the right about Litvinov, as well as about the other Bolshevik leaders, the following biographical data which have appeared in Norwegian Socialist papers will no doubt be of great interest to the public. These stories demonstrate further how unfounded these false reports were with which it had been attempted at the time to explain Litvinov's failure to carry out his projected trip to England.

Maxim Litvinov was born in 1876, of a bourgeois family. He had hardly finished his studies and his military service when he joined the Russian Social-Democratic Party in 1898—the year in which that party was founded. At that time a social-democratic party could not exist openly and legitimately, but was forced to develop and foster its activities illegally, and its members were in constant danger of being imprisoned and sen-

tenced. He was hardly twenty-two years old when he was arrested on the ground of being a member of the sub-committee of a Socialist party, and although there was no evidence against him, he was kept behind the bars for almost two years, and was then sent to Eastern Siberia for six years, on the mere order of the Minister of the Interior, and without a regular judicial sentence. However, even before this last term of imprisonment could begin he was able to make his escape. He thereupon went to Switzerland, where he became a member of the United European-Russian Social-Democratic Executive Committee, a committee whose other two members were Leo Deutsch and the wife of Lenin. After the split of the Socialist Party, Litvinov, together with Lenin, joined the Left Wing, whose leader at that time was Plekhanov.

After a short stay in Switzerland Litvinov returned secretly to Russia in 1903, although he ran the risk of imprisonment and death, especially as he was on an important mission for the party. Several times he acted as a delegate to party congresses in Western Europe, and was also a delegate to the Congress of the Second International. During this period he fell repeatedly into the hands of the police, but he always succeeded in making his escape.

Immediately after the Revolution of 1905 he founded, in cooperation with Krassin and Gorky, the first Socialist daily paper which was not printed underground, but was published openly. This was the well-known *Novaja Zhizn* which was, however, suppressed after a few months of existence. Litvinov came very near being arrested then, but was able to flee from Petrograd just in time. After 1908, however, the secret service of the Czar kept a sharper lookout for him, so that he was unable to return to Russia. He emigrated to England, and was delegated to the International Socialist Bureau as a representative of the Left Wing. The Mensheviks were represented by Axelrod. Shortly after the famous November Revolution he was appointed diplomatic representative in London by the Soviet Government. Notwithstanding the reports which the bourgeois press continued to spread about Litvinov, and the official lie by Lloyd George in the Lower House, the truth of the matter is that Litvinov was not banished from England, nor were any proceedings brought against him for propagandist activities during his stay in England.

The real facts are as follows: When Lockhart, the English diplomatic representative to Russia, was arrested on account of having taken part in a conspiracy against the Soviet Government and Lenin, the English authorities entered the home of Litvinov and searched his house, and looked over and took possession of all his diplomatic papers; although this was in direct violation of diplomatic immunity. Furthermore, instead of

banishing Litvinov from England, he was prevented from leaving until Lockhart was freed by the Soviets. It will be remembered, the exchange of Lockhart and Litvinov took place thereafter in Norway.

After Litvinov's return to Russia, Chicherin appointed him his assistant, and he took charge of the division for Western European affairs in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, he became a member of the Commissariat for State Control, where he organized a Central Bureau of Complaints. In November, 1919, he went to Dorpat, where he began the peace negotiations with Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Thereafter he went to Copenhagen, where he negotiated with O'Grady regarding the exchange of Russian and English prisoners of war. It is one of the secrets of history, and wholly inexplicable, why England failed to permit Litvinov to accompany the Russian Trade Delegation to London. Every one knows that this stand taken by England was the cause of months of delay in the negotiations. Later on Lloyd George became aware of the fact that his position was untenable, and when he invited Russia to take part in the peace negotiations, he declared that he would make no attempt to influence the selection of Russian delegates, which likewise disposed of the Litvinov matter once and for all.

### Trade Unions in Ukraine

The Trade Union movement in Ukraine is at the present time laboring under most unfavorable conditions. The repeated change of government, the disorganization of industry resulting from the three years of civil war naturally had a great effect upon the trade union organizations. In spite of all this the Ukrainian Trade Unions have carried out a great deal of work during the last eight months in regard to the organization of industry as well as in strengthening the union apparatus.

With the first days of its work under new conditions the Ukrainian Trade Unions were faced with the necessity of taking the most radical measures for the purpose of reorganizing production.

One of the measures undertaken in this direction was the formation of the Ukrainian Labor Army. The representatives of the trade union movement took an active part both in the work of the revolutionary council of the Labor Army, and in that of the Ukrainian Industrial Bureau. The result of these united efforts was that the total of the coal output, and the productivity of labor generally, of each workingman increased considerably. The average output per man for the month of April was 121 pounds; in July it reached 217 pounds.

During this period the trade union movement made great progress. Trade union organs have been established in a number of places, and there is a universal prevalence of adherents to Communism. Many provincial trade unions have grown so strong that they can work on a far larger scale than many of the trade unions of Central Russia. In this connection it is interesting to mention the

Trade Union Council of the Odessa province. This trade union was composed of 128 to 130 thousand workingmen. The result of the Provincial Congress, which took place at the end of May, was a sharp predominance of the Communists. Similar congresses took place in the other provinces. Here, also, the result was a victory of the Communists.

At the time of the Wrangel offensive the Ukrainian trade unions undertook to mobilize five times the number of men that had been originally allotted to them. There is information at hand to the effect that this mobilization has been most successful. In addition to the mobilization at the front a considerable mobilization is taking place for work in connection with the supply of provisions.

The Ukrainian trade union movement takes a great interest in the general work of the Soviets. The Odessa Council of Trade Unions supplies interesting figures characterizing the above:

Number of trade unionists delegated by trade union organizations to Soviet institutions from February 1 to July 1, 1920, were:

Name of Institution	Number of Delegates
Council of Public Economy.....	235
Labor Department and Social Maintenance	100
Provision Organs .....	234
Land and Housing Department.....	107
Other Institutions .....	556
Total .....	1,232

These figures show that the trade unions have passed the most difficult period of organization and have grown fairly strong.

### ORIENTAL STUDIES

Moscow, November 2.—Oldenburg, President of the Academy of Sciences at Petrograd, reports that the academician Berkhtold has discovered Syrian inscriptions of historic importance in the vicinity of Sama in Turkestan.

The academy has assumed control of the extraordinarily important archives that were once the possession of the Emir of Bokhara.

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

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

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## In the Heart of Karelia

By JOHN S. CLARKE

**M**R. J. R. MACDONALD, writing in the *Forward*, October 23, gives an account of a labor meeting addressed by him in Georgia. "Surely never," says he, "had British Socialist so strange an audience as this."

From his description of the affair, I can pretty safely aver that it was a commonplace happening compared to an experience of my own on the barren coast of the White Sea.

The topographical setting my readers ought to be fairly familiar with ere this. Imagine a desolate stretch of tree-clad swamp-land, bordered on the west by a miniature mountain range, the peaks of which, though no higher than one thousand feet, are yet capped with perpetual snow. On the east, an almost rippleless blue sea with a slight haze hovering above it and terminating in a low-lying rock-strewn shore. Upon the shore itself stand one hundred and fifteen peculiarly constructed wooden houses, housing the modern descendants of an ancient people. Such is the village of Kandalaksa, or Kandalax, on the southwest corner of the White Sea. To the north, the precarious track upon which the railway is built makes a semi-circular bend to the east and follows the coast line for some miles.

At the center of the loop the "station"—two or three wooden buildings—stands between two scrub-clothed embankments.

Here the most unique experience I ever had in the movement occurred. I was with the Russian Labor Delegation, and four of us (Alexis Lozovsky, Feodor Sergheiev, Diimetry Antoshkin, and myself) were having breakfast when the train stopped. An attendant came into the compartment and told us that the townfolk of Kandalaksa had marched out en masse to the train, and were demanding speeches. Sergheiev, who knew English very well, and who had already interpreted three speeches of mine, insisted on my addressing them in English.

We left the train and beheld what can only be described as an amazing spectacle. About four hundred men and women were drawn up in military formation, the men clothed in tattered uniforms and odd-looking garments and the women mostly in "national" dress—the "sarafan" of striped or printed calico with a smock frock partly covering it. The men wore every variety of clothing imaginable. Soldiers' great-coats, tunics, jerseys, leather and sheepskin jackets open or tied with rope, top-boots, ski-boots, puttees, peak-caps, fur-caps, and old-fashioned forage caps. The women, curiously picturesque, wore the typical kerchief tied around the head, and were shod in as many varieties of footgear as the men—though one or two were quite barefoot. Some held children by the hand, and some carried them in arms giving them suck at ample and fully exposed breasts.

A huge red banner carried by two of the men

bore in golden lettering "Long Live the Soviet Republic."

As we passed they stood at attention. The women walked over to the sandy embankment and seated themselves in front of the makeshift platform—a pile of fuel-logs; the men then grouped themselves behind. Their immobile staring faces were a study. Clean-shaven or whiskered, it was impossible to penetrate behind that pacific empty stare. Sergheiev stood before them and spoke for fifteen minutes. He was followed by Lozovsky, who evidently indulged in periodical quips of humor, for every now and then a grin would spread itself over the faces, and at times a roar of hearty laughter was provoked. But Alexis was very serious at the end. His bearded face with the fire-flashing, penetrating eyes gave him the appearance of a biblical prophet, and his words were drunk in with avidity. At length he pointed his finger at me and stepped down. It was my turn. I climbed the logs and looked down upon my tatterdemalion but picturesque audience, now augmented by curious travelers from the train. The silence was deathlike, not even the buzz of a fly could be heard, and the motley-arrayed crowd appeared to have been turned to stone, so motionless was it. A brilliant morning sun, with no heat in it, blazed on high in a perfectly cloudless sky, and not a movement could be detected in the atmosphere. It was an ideal day for an outdoor meeting. I smiled but received a grim and stony stare in return. The men were expressionless, the women and children more so. A small, sandy-colored mongrel began to exhibit some little excitement—over a flea—and I began to speak. "Tovarischi!" They pricked up their ears, but dropped them again when I continued in English. I waxed poetical, rhapsodical, and augmentative. I told them Pushkin fables; told them of the Polish defeat and the Wrangel advance; leath-ered Lloyd George and Churchill; and destroyed the British Empire root and branch. They listened to my verbal cataracts unmoved. Invective, however bitter, sarcasm however withering, rhetoric however passionate, and humor broad or dry, left them as indifferent and unresponsive as before.

The reason, of course, was obvious—they didn't know what I was talking about.

Their open-mouthed, statuesque countenances were the nearest approaches to absolute vacuity I have ever seen. It was not a "fed-up" look, mind, for I was told they thoroughly enjoyed themselves, though I was very doubtful at the time whether the tremendous applause I received was due to "popularity" or because I had dried up. In this wilderness of weeds and rock, where picture houses, theatres, and music reigns unchallenged, the people are passionately fond of speeches. Anyone who can orate to them is almost worshipped, for by the spoken, not the printed, word have their minds and hearts been influenced.

I stepped from my log platform and was accorded at last some beaming smiles and military salutes. Sergheiev came up to me and whispered, "You have gave me one hell of a job!" "I'm very pleased," I replied; "you asked for it!"

But Feodor did the job well, judging from the delighted faces I watched while he delivered the speech over again in Russian. Even then there were many there who could not understand the Russian of Sergheiev, for among them were natives of the district who understood only their Karelian tongue.

Karelia and Pomoria, in the old days, formed the district of Kem, which stretches from Kandalaksa to the foot almost of the White Sea. This district was 36,000 square versts in area, or about 10,000,000 English acres. The entire population of this enormous district—about as big as Ireland—is only 36,368, of which 14,000 are Russians.

The Karelians, a Finnish tribe, were dominant on the lower White Sea coast till about the 14th century. They began then to penetrate eastwards towards the Northern Dvina, where the Karelian Monastery of St. Nicholas still stands, and to settle on the western coast, where they intermingled with the Russians. The older people, the Lapps, were driven more and more to the north, until today they are confined practically to the Kola peninsula.

The Karelians are mentioned as far back as the 9th century. King Erik Edmondson in 833 marched into their country, while Harold Harfarger's chief, Torolf Koeldufson, the viking, routed them in battle in 897.

Karelia proper consists of the western part of the district of Kem, bounded on the north by Lapland; on the northeast and east by Pomoria; on the south and southeast by Olonets Province; and on the west by Finland.

The rivers form a seemingly continuous chain of lakes, which the train follows for hundreds of miles, the chief being the River Kem flowing from the Finnish frontier. The land is swampy and stony. It is puzzling, in fact, to see so many huge boulders and smaller stones lying in such profusion, until one remembers the proximity of the sea. The climate is bleak and raw, and in the autumn, foggy. The villages are connected only by footpaths over the rocks and swamps. There are no cart roads anywhere to be seen. In some cases communication is maintained by boats on the various lakes, but many rapids have to be shot and difficult channels negotiated during the voyages.

Agriculture is carried on on a very small scale, such pursuit being a continual struggle with nature. Catch crops of potatoes and turnips are obtained, but only about one-third of the grain requisite to feed the population is produced from the unyielding, half-manufactured soil.

Timber felling and river and sea fisheries are the chief occupations of the people, though some engage in trapping the fox and squirrel and hunting the brown bear.

The Karelian house is erected on a kind of permanent scaffolding. A ladder leads to the door. On the ground floor the sheep pens and cattle byres are placed. In the kitchen the stove, moulded from clay, stands on a hearth of cobble stones, for bricks are quite unknown in Karelia. Benches stand around the walls; the sleeping couch, made of wood, is near the stove, and the ikons or sacred pictures hang exactly opposite—perhaps in order to permit them being seen by anyone lying sick.

There is a crockery cupboard and a few chairs, a kettle, samovar, and wash tub. I could see nothing else in any of the houses.

The logs with which the house is built are fitted into one another by a kind of mortice process, and the interstices are packed with paper, down, and sheep's wool. Most of the windows are double to keep out the intense cold.

The Karelians are not unlike the rustic Russians. Mostly blue-eyed, with reddish or brown hair, usually unkempt and hanging below the ears and across the eye-brows. Their voices are somewhat monotonous, especially when singing. After our propaganda meeting everyone closed up into a crowd, placed the flag in the center, bared the head, and sent up to the clear blue sky, in which the brilliant morning sun smiled down upon an otherwise dismal place, the strains of "The Internationale."

As already mentioned, the train follows the coastline for a considerable distance after leaving Kandalaksa. It runs through the whole of the district once called Pomoria until it reaches Kem, then it continues in a more southern direction. Evidences of the Allied "occupation", as the politician describes the devastating activities of an invading army, are to be seen everywhere. The repeated destruction of the railroad has made it very unsafe in parts, and the wreckage encumbering the permanent way is an ever-intruding eyesore throughout this route. But this is not the worst aspect of the journey by any means.

Reminders of the bloody deeds committed by representatives of civilization and "democracy" are to be observed in these backwoods of the north in the shape of lonely mounds of weed-covered clay crowned with wooden Greek crosses. They are the lonely graves of workmen who were butchered by the British because they "might" be sympathizers with Bolshevism. Many a time I sprang from the train, miles from any village, and photographed these melancholy heaps.

Sometimes one solitary, half-decayed cross would be seen through the trees, sometimes two, but seldom more than two. Hunters, following their calling, captured by an advance column and absolutely incapable of understanding the situation. No useful information could be obtained from such, but they might give warning if liberated. Military expediency demanded their death, and they were brutally murdered and *left in the woods without burial*. Some villages were almost stripped of the male inhabitants in this way. The snow alone was their shroud and its drift their grave. Such was

British mercy in Northern Russia. These simple, ignorant souls were Pomors, and the reader will appreciate better the childlike guilelessness and simplicity of these people if I relate an anecdote I heard respecting two of them, who, when at Archangel, were asked to sign on as log-hut builders with the Jackson-Harmsworth Polar Expedition of 1894.

They went to the Governor of Archangel and asked him for passports. "Where are you going to," he asked. "We are going to the North Pole, and the parish officials say that the Pole is not in Russia, therefore they cannot give us passports."

"Well," said the Governor, "the Pole is not abroad but as much in the province of Russia as anywhere else, therefore passports won't be necessary. Besides, there are no policemen at the Pole."

The two Pomors were staggered to hear of a place where there were no police, but they simply couldn't trust the Governor, and insisted on having passports to avoid trouble at the Pole.

"It's all right so long as you have got a passport," they said, so the Governor gave them a certificate authorizing the "authorities" at the North Pole to permit them to pass without hindrance, etc.

Now imagine such people being seized suddenly by the highly civilized and intelligent know-it-alls of the British army. What coherent statements could such people make to satisfy a British Jack-in-office?

Other Pomor villages we passed through were Keret, Pongam, Lapin, Soroka, and Niukots, and each had its story of woes suffered at the hands of alien oppressors.

Pomor means "coast dwellers", and the habits of life and nationality of the Pomors are quite distinct to those of the Karelians. They are the descendents of the Novgorodian emigrants and freebooters who settled here in the 11th and 12th centuries, and who gradually broke away from the overlordship of Great Novgorod and established separate small kingdoms with distinct rulers. They are, consequently, Russian stock, not Finnish, but, of course, the two peoples intermarry and are slowly becoming one. They are one of the hardest sea-faring people on the globe, and their fisheries are remarkable for the ingenuity displayed in conducting them. When cod-fishing, for example, the Pomor scorns the Finnish or Norwegian method of small lines and hooks. He launches forth into mid-ocean, and plays out his "garus" (great line) miles in length and studded with thousands of hooks. In all weathers he just rolls about in his smack until sure of his haul, and when he lifts it, it means enrichment for weeks to come. We found them very hospitable and easily amused, as most Russians are, and strong supporters of the Soviet regime.

In this respect it is as well to note that "Pomoria" practically does not exist now, and that Karelia is no longer confined to its old boundaries. I append here a statement prepared for me by the representative of the Third Internationale on the latest development of this interesting mixed popu-

lation. They are developing, in short, an autonomous Soviet Republic, which will embrace every district from the River Svir to the Arctic Ocean| I give his statement intact:

"The Karelian Commune extends from the River Svir in the south across the Lake Onega to the White Sea and round the Kola peninsula to the Norwegian frontier and again southward for a thousand miles along white Finland. The highly important Murmansk railway runs entirely through this territory. This vast area contains but a small population, a quarter of a million or so. Consequently its rich natural resources are as yet practically undeveloped. Iron, copper, and zinc ores are found in various parts, but the most important mineral is the valuable lead deposits on the Kola peninsula. Agriculture is not well developed owing to the rigorous climate, but the southern parts are capable of great daily production. The Murman coast is due to one of the richest fishing seas of the world, the Arctic Ocean, which now is connected with the vast markets of Petrograd and Middle Russia, yet the most important industry of the Karelian Commune will be the exploitation of its tremendous forests and water powers. The timber is worth well over £100,000,000, the utilization and export of which will bring the republic into commercial relations with Western European countries. Besides, sawmill products, boards, etc., turpentine, tar, wood spirits, pulp, cellulose, pasteboard, and paper can be produced in abundance.

Thanks to the great water power, this industry will be largely independent of foreign coal supply. Also it is probable that it will play a highly important part in the subsequent electrification of the North Russian railways.

The towns are few and small. The capital, Petrozavodsk, has only 24,000 inhabitants, but Murmansk will soon develop into a great and very important port. It has an excellent harbor, and is the only real ocean port of Russia, free from ice all the year round. The Murmansk railway, completed only in 1916, has made this "window" towards the deep seas, America and Western Europe, available for all North and Middle Russia, including Petrograd, which is ice-bound for months every winter.

The most interesting feature, however, from a Socialist point of view is that utilization and development of all these riches will begin, not by a ruthless exploitation and imperialist expansion, but will start from the beginning on Communist lines in systematically building up a free, classless community. It will be an experiment, but there are all probabilities of its success because of the backing up and friendly neighborhood of Great Communist Russia.

The present leader of this great undertaking is a highly capable man, a former member of the Red Finnish Government in 1918 (Dr. Edward Gylling). He is an equally experienced Socialist, scientist, and practical statesman, having been for many years one of the leaders of the formerly powerful Finnish Social Democracy, professor of

economics in the university in Helsingfors, and one of the most active members of the parliamentary group, a finance expert of the Bank of Finland. During the Finnish Revolution of 1918 he acted for a short time as chief of the Red General Staff.

It is, moreover, very remarkable that this Red Karelia will be built up to a great extent by Finnish workers and Red Guards, who, after the Revolution, fled to Russia in thousands, forming colonies of their own, and Red regiments, which played an important part in the defense of Petrograd.

Karelia, which by climate and nature is very similar to Finland, will provide them with a new and free home on the threshold of the old one, waiting for its liberation.

In the constitution of a Communist country many skilled workers will be required. Many factory, transport, and agricultural workers are there already. Many more will come, bringing with them tools and machinery from persecuted White Finland.

They may have to defend themselves against the aggression of the Finnish imperialists, but they will do it with the Red Workers' Army and the help of Soviet Russia.

The creation of this Karelian Republic means also the creation of a new Scandinavian country, a link between Scandinavia and the Russian Soviet Republic. North Norway and Finland especially will feel the influence of the new neighbor. Its evolution will certainly be keenly watched by the workers in those countries, and by Socialists all over the world. In a sense it means a renewal of the old idea to construct an "ideal state" out of more or less virgin conditions—the idea of old Plato, Thomas More, Fourier, Robert Owen, and many others—except that the possibilities are now immensely more real than in those days."

## Litvinov and the Norwegian Government

On October 6, Litvinov and his assistant, Piatigorsky, left Christiania where they had been engaged, on the invitation of the Norwegian Government, in an effort to complete negotiations with that government with the object of establishing commercial relations between the two countries. Doubtless the obstacles placed in the way of these negotiations by the Norwegian Government did not originate with the latter, but were due to definite instructions obtained from more powerful sources. Piatigorsky, on the very day he and Litvinov departed from Christiania, sent a letter to *Social Demokraten*, a well-known Socialist paper in that city, which appeared in its columns of October 19. This letter was sent in Russian, but the text from which the following translation was made was necessarily Norwegian:

To the Editor of *Social Demokraten*.

Dear Sir:

In connection with the article entitled "Commercial

Camouflage", which appears today in *Morgenbladet*,\* I take the liberty to request you to print the following in your newspaper. For *Morgenbladet* draws certain definite conclusions from facts which are by no means as indicated in their article. It is quite conceivable that *Morgenbladet* might present a number of facts in more or less distorted form.

In reality the case is as follows: Lawyer Schultz, who was in the habit of paying visits to me with his Russian interpreter applied to me with the proposal to purchase a quantity of young lambskin leather in our country. He was undertaking purchases for firms in this country. The price he offered was low, namely, 36 Norwegian crowns per piece. In accordance with data we had at Archangel, the market price in London had recently been as high as 60 shillings per piece. As the difference in price was so great as to make it impossible to agree to furnish the leather at the lower price, I promised Lawyer Schultz to ask London and let him know the answer. The fact really is that when I came back from Bergen, I was approached not by Schultz, but by his interpreter, to disclose the result. I informed him that I had not yet received any answer and added that, in view of my departure, which would take place the next day, it would be impossible for any real business to be done in importing Russian goods into Norway. It was not until this conversation took place that the interpreter expressed the opinion that the price named by me would presumably be understood as the price per kilo and not as a price per piece. For my own part I said only that I could not give a definite price as I had not obtained any precise data from London.

To draw the inferences which *Morgenbladet* draws in its article "Commercial Camouflage" is absolutely without foundation in fact, and, in my opinion, extremely unbusinesslike. Such an act, as a matter of fact, is an outcome of a desire to twist all the negotiations which have taken place between us and the Norwegian firms.

I do not for a moment doubt that in view of the extreme gullibility of the editorial office of *Morgenbladet*, additional reports of a similar fabricated character will appear in that paper concerning the commercial negotiations with us. And no doubt more such gentlemen will appear who have in reality had no negotiations with us, and they may be quite sure that the editorial office will swallow everything they are offered without asking any proofs.

In order to show how all the actual facts concerning us are distorted in the press, I shall take the liberty to dwell for a moment on the negotiations concerning the purchase of fish. Immediately after my arrival at Vardo, the Secretary of the Norwegian Fishermen's Association, Lorentz, came to me with an offer of a certain quantity of fish at the price of 1.10 crowns per kilogram. I remarked already at that time that it was difficult to judge prices from Vardo, as that place is not a market. I hope *Morgenbladet* will not find any reason for rebuking us for the fact that we did not want to pay more than the market price. After we all had come to Christiania, the same Lorentz, acting for the same organization offered us the same fish for 0.55—0.45 per kilogram, and I may add that such exorbitant demands occurred in all the offers made by Norwegian firms.

May I ask the editors of *Morgenbladet* whether it was our duty humbly to accept at once every offer even if the price was more than twice as high as the real price, as was the case with Lorentz's offer? And is that any proof that we have not come to do business? The space I am taking in this note does not give me an opportunity to enter into details concerning all the negotiations which would clearly prove the opposite of the conclusions drawn by *Morgenbladet*, and the desire on the part of this and other papers purposely to distort the facts concerning our negotiations.

Respectfully yours,

PIATIGORSKY.

CHRISTIANIA, October 6, 1920.

\* A capitalist morning newspaper appearing in Christiania

## The Red Army in Congress Poland

THE whole bourgeois public is shouting with indignation over the shameful "treason" on the part of the farm workers and estate hands. Just imagine, they have been aiding the Bolsheviki! They have been aiding the Bolsheviki instead of defending with their own blood the rule of the native knout.

The governor (*wojewoda*) of Lublin, Moskalewski, makes the following statement in the *Gazeta Poranna* of September 8:

" . . . having heard for many months from the Bolshevik agitators, of the Bolshevik benefactions to the poor, the landless peasant population has been waiting with impatience for the invasion of the Bolsheviki into the confines of the Republic.

"Entirely different was the behavior of the possessing class in the villages. . . The farm owners, in a predominant majority, awaited the Bolshevik attack with an undisguised fear which eventually proved altogether well-founded.

"On the other hand, particularly in the counties of Radzyn and Sokolov, the farm workers and estate hands, sufficiently agitated by the Bolshevik instigators and sympathizers, not only awaited with impatience the arrival of the Red armies but, after the invasion, hailed with joy, and—what is most characteristic—took an active part in the "revkoms" (revolutionary committees)."

The President of the Agrarian Union, Stecki, interrogated by the correspondent of the *Gazeta Warszawska* (of September 6) tells of the behavior of the farm hands as follows:

"—It is hard to say anything final in the matter. There is no doubt however that this has been the only class in Poland which had been planning for themselves various luxuries as a result of the Bolshevik attack.

"I do not wish by these words to accuse the union of agricultural workers. At all events, there is no doubt that agitation by a number of functionaries of this union has had a very bad influence upon the farm hands. It became evident that in many localities those functionaries had belonged to the Polish Communist Party and had implanted in the souls of the farm hands the principles of Bolshevism. They also had put themselves in many localities at the head of the Bolshevik committees or organized the "Cherezvychaikas" (extraordinary committees for the combating of counter-revolution).

"Almost on every estate the farm hands hailed with joy the organized committees or created such themselves because of an order to that effect."

*Gazeta Warszawska* of September 5 reports as follows:

"From the neighborhood of Plock and Plonsk, from the neighborhood of Sierpce and Ciechanow—in a word from many localities which the Bolsheviki were overrunning, there is a flood of reports that the Mongolian barbarian hordes, despite their cruelties and acts of violence, were received

with sympathy by the farm hands. This is emphatically stated in the report on the tour of Premier Witos and Foreign Minister Skulski over the parts of Masovia liberated from the Bolshevik invasion. Our estate workers and farm hands, these bred-in-the-bone Masovians, these 'Polish countrymen, Polish people, the hereditary tribe of Piast," have most often been coming out as the allies of the invaders, greeting them sympathetically in their land, giving them any requested information, and receiving from their hands the mandate for the exercise of the local rule. Here and there—as for instance in Mokro (the estate of Karol Grabowski) and in Leszczyn (the estate of Machinski) in the province of Plock—the estate workers even erected triumphal arches to greet the enemies of the Fatherland! . . ."

But the police and the military are busy "putting things down." Executions of farm hands are the order of the day. In Mlawa alone thirty delegates of farm hands were shot.

*Gazeta Warszawska* of September 14 reports as follows in a correspondence from Bialystok:

A manifesto "To the Agricultural Workers" published in Bialystok by the Communist Labor Party of Poland calls upon the farm workers to introduce a new order in agricultural relations. It proclaims that the Polish land shall become from now on the property of the entire people, and that the farm workers shall become its administrators. The estates must not be divided but kept whole. If land should be divided to be owned, every farm hand would get only a few acres of land and there would not be enough bread for all, considering the fact that in our country the estates feed the cities. The manifesto calls for the creation of farm hand committees who, together with administrators sent by the revolutionary committees, would administer the estates. The land-owner—if he has not fled—must be arrested immediately, and brought to the nearest city to be handed over to the local revolutionary committee. In the city a demand must be presented for an instructor in administration who, together with the elected farm hands' committee, shall administer the estate.

*Gazeta Poranna* (No. 235) contains these lines:

"The attempts at the creation of a "Revkom" in Lipno have failed. At the head of this organ was put a local carpenter, Zaborowski, a well-known, and for unknown reasons, tolerated Communist. The forest guard, Perkowski, became the commandant of the rural militia. The first of the dignitaries created by the enemy has fled together with the Bolshevik armies.

"In the villages, the Bolsheviki met often with distinct sympathy on the part of the farm laborers, whom the Commissars, after the occupation of Warsaw, Lodz, and Wloclawek, were supposed to make happy with all kind of benefactions at the cost of the *burzhuis* of the city and the country."—*Swit*, Vienna, September 24, 1920.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*

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



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

**A** NEW line of buffer-states may soon be established against Soviet Russia. The old line, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, has gone over to the other side: all those countries have either already signed peace with Soviet Russia or are about to do so. In several of those countries the revolutionary movement, induced by prolonged Allied abuse of their resources in men and materials, is so strong that Bolshevik processions are frequent in the streets on election days and other state occasions, as was the case in Esthonia last week. Similar tendencies are reported from Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, the first line of buffer states to the south of Russia; one *New York Times* correspondent (message dated) Paris, November 29) goes so far as to say that "the situation, therefore, from the Armenian point of view is more hopeful than it has been, but if events turn out as expected it is more likely to be Soviet Russia than the League of Nations which will be the savior of Armenia."

The Allies accordingly must erect a new wall of states against Soviet Russia. Feeble attempts to mediate between the Turkish nationalists and Armenia are perhaps the first indications of a westward tendency in the choice of southern buffers, but we seriously doubt whether Turkey can be used for this purpose. The European continent likewise presents few opportunities for military exploitation against Soviet Russia, and not a single country on the continent fails to recognize the immense benefits it might attain through trade with Soviet Russia, thus making it impossible for the Allies to continue a sort of vicarious blockade after they have been obliged to desist from their own criminal attempts in that direction. But there is still left a small group of countries that have not yet been made to feel the worst consequences of the European War, because they did not themselves participate in it and were not subjected directly to its military operations. This group of former "neutrals" has the at present enviable distinction, in the exchange quotations of the New York market, of having its monetary unit quoted in American money at about one-half its mint par, while the standards of most of the former belligerents have gone down to various figures from about one-thirtieth to about one-third their pre-war value. The plan of inducing Sweden, Norway, and Spain to send troops to

Lithuania, for the purpose of policing Vilna when Zeligowsky goes (but what will they go to Lithuania for, if the Soviet Government has really announced its intention of again occupying Vilna, with the purpose of restoring that city to Lithuania?)—if go he ever does—will bring Spain, Norway, and Sweden at least as close to the brink of desperation and revolution as the marginal states of Russia now all are. Already the mutterings of protest in the Spanish press have become loud indeed, and the Swedish and Norwegian press will not fail to be heard from, if the plan is really persisted in.

Apart from Spain, which lies at the end of Europe and is, like Italy, dependent on the general situation in that continent, as far as any progress of the revolutionary movement in that country is concerned, the proposal to use Sweden, Norway, or other European countries of the central belt would appear to be part of a new plan to build up buffers against "Bolshevism", or Soviet Russia, or whatever may be the form assumed by the vague but frightful fears in the minds of French and English statesmen. This new belt of buffers, beginning with Norway and Sweden in the North, consists of Bavaria, Hungary, and Austria in the center, and Rumania in the South. Reports have already appeared in New York newspapers, describing a meeting held in Paris on November 27, in which the plan is said to have been discussed of a general offensive by powerful armies from certain Central European states, to be launched against Soviet Russia about the middle of March. Among the nations mentioned as prepared to participate in this offensive is Poland, although we must say that the present eagerness of Poland to make peace with Soviet Russia seems quite genuine, and we have little reason to believe that any Polish Government could be constituted that would undertake the hazardous task, in view of the present ugly mood of the Polish people, of again plunging that country into war at the behest of France. It is also not without interest to note that while Kerensky, who appeared at the Paris meeting as the main spirit of the new plan, had just returned from a trip through Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania, he mentioned only two of those countries as participating in the new offensive: even Kerensky seems to have observed that the Czechs have been so mortified and outraged already by their forced counter-revolutionary activity that no power on earth could move them to continue or renew it. It will also be recalled that Rumania's recent notes to Soviet Russia have been very friendly and indicate a desire to return to a state of complete peace with the Republic of the Workers.

Let us assume, however, that it is possible for the Allies once more to plunge a new group of impoverished peoples into the task of furnishing troops for a new attack on Soviet Russia. Let us suppose the initial protests, which would not fail to rise all over the afflicted belt, should be ignored, and that the armies should actually be formed and forwarded to Soviet Russia. We need not outline too precisely what would be the result. In reac-



tionary Bavaria, in Hungary, in German Austria, industry would perhaps be stimulated a little. The decimations of the male population would continue, and great disaffected groups of relatives would be produced, offsetting the temporary prosperity induced among other groups, working in munition and uniform factories. The worst effects would be in the unhappy countries, France and England among them, that would be obliged to make their populations pay for the raising of these Central European armies against Soviet Russia, and we are certain that the peoples of Western Europe will not forever tolerate the sending of money and munitions and ships to help putting down a government merely because it has been established by the people, and seems to be uncommonly successful in distributing the good things of life to all its population. And, in addition, the new offensive would probably be beaten back and the Soviet Government turn out to be as victorious as ever.

Kerensky is reported to have said that his new invading army is to consist of 690,000 men, including 260,000 from Poland, 150,000 from Hungary, and 280,000 from Rumania (the latter also including 70,000 of the troops of General Wrangel, who is expected in Paris, which are at present encamped in Dalmatia, "at the disposal of the French Government"). Needless to say, none of these contingents are unaffected by Bolshevism, and none can be used with certainty and confidence. But France may have confidence in Kerensky. How well the Liberal always is prepared to eat out of the hand of reaction! Kerensky would not now be half so useful a tool in the hands of the French Government, if he had not for years been busy spreading rumors to the effect that he was opposed to intervention, that he was for a "revolutionary" government in Russia. Some few persons at least will have the impression that Kerensky has again become convinced of the sacredness of the Allied cause, or of the benefactions intervention promises for Russia. He who appears to be a more recent convert is always more useful in the hands of the press agent. But then the press agent should have suppressed the information that there were present at the Paris meeting of November 27, besides Kerensky, and forty members of the former Duma, also "many Russian nobles and generals, as well as General Wrangel's ambassador, whose presence is considered particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that this representative, only a few days ago, declared to the French Foreign Ministry that Wrangel's army of 70,000 men was now in Dalmatia, at the disposal of the French Government."

Kerensky is at last appearing in his true colors. It now matters little to the Russian people that he was once "opposed" to intervention. When he was "opposed" to intervention, he did little to oppose it, but now that he is for intervention, he leads armies against Soviet Russia. There are some "friends" who merit little attention while they are friendly, and only begin to be interesting when they are frankly hostile.

WHAT do League of Nations statesmen mean when they express fears lest troops which they may send to Lithuania be exposed to hostilities by Soviet forces, or, in the words of the *New York World* of December 1, "whether a Red army is likely to start a westward drive that would imperil an international army shortly to be sent to Vilna"? It is a dangerous game that the Allies are now playing. Their situation is desperate, however, and only dangerous games can help them. They know perfectly well that they cannot use their own troops for a new invasion of Soviet Russia, for their own troops are already so unwilling to be used in warlike enterprises as to make them useless, or worse, for such work. In addition, both England and France need all their white troops for home tasks; England needs them in Ireland; France needs them in Alsace-Lorraine and Africa. And Colonial troops have a surprising faculty of developing sudden revolutionary tendencies, as has already been the case with some of the colored troops used by France in Germany. It would be interesting if this Geneva message of Lincoln Eyre, to the *New York World*, from which we quoted above, should simply be a means of preparing the minds of newspaper readers for news that troops belonging to the "League of Nations" have been "attacked" by the Red Army, and that it is necessary for the "League" to send reinforcements, from the military man-power of the so-called "major" nations, to rescue the "neutral" troops assigned by the "League" to the innocent task of policing Vilna as an aid to the population of that city, in the determination of its allegiance, by plebiscite. This would be a desperate game indeed.

\* \* \*  
 MAXIM GORKY is again being exploited by enemies of the Revolution as having recently written letters appealing to intellectuals in foreign countries for assistance in preventing the Soviet Government from "maltreating" intellectuals in Russia. We have already pointed out that Maxim Gorky is at present working with the Commissariat of Education, but of course that would not preclude the possibility of his arriving at, and circulating, an erroneous judgment of the treatment of intellectuals in Russia. However, we must remind our readers of two facts: (1) the *New York Tribune* last year reprinted as recent attacks by Gorky many articles that he had written in 1917, when he really did actively criticize the Soviets; and (2), *Humanite*, of Paris, points out in a recent issue that forged letters alleging to come from Maxim Gorky are again in circulation, containing expressions calculated to give the impression that Gorky is now hostile to the Soviet Government. No man will be more mortified over this whole procedure than Gorky himself. For months—two years, to be more accurate—he has now been zealously supporting the Soviet Government, but the capitalist press will never reprint anything he says to favor it; his hostile works will share whatever immortality the capitalist press possesses.

## The Preliminary Peace at Riga

ON October 11 and 12 there was signed at Riga a preliminary peace treaty and armistice agreement between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine on the one hand, and Poland on the other, which was later ratified at Libau on November 2. The complete document is published in the present issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The protracted negotiations, as well as the carefully worked out terms of the treaty, bear witness to the fact that on both sides the necessity was felt to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion, and to obtain not merely a temporary suspension of hostilities, but also a way for the establishment of peaceful neighborly relations between the two countries so far as the general unsettled world conditions and the highly unstable political situation of Poland permit.

This unstable political situation of Poland, due among other things to an exceptionally embittered strife between the factions in the Polish governing classes, has almost frustrated the work of the Polish Peace Delegation some of whose members were working at cross purposes with the majority of the delegation, and particularly with the responsible head, Mr. Jan Dombksi. Happily, however, the majority of the Polish delegation realized perfectly well what the return of the delegation without achieving peace would mean for the immediate future of Poland, and—to use the words of Yoffe to a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*—“was more conciliatory than those with a knowledge of Polish character expected to find.” “It is fair to state,” says Yoffe, “that they never pressed too hard for conditions which they knew would cause a break in the negotiations.”

The foreign press—particularly the French—has hailed the Riga peace as a tremendous victory for Poland and a sign of a complete Soviet Russian collapse, notwithstanding the fact that the same press, reflecting of course the sentiments of the French Government, was doing its utmost to wreck the negotiations, fearing not without ground that the “collapsed” Soviet state would soon pay its kind attention to the other French counter-revolutionary puppets, Wrangel, Balakhovich, and Petlura.

As to the Polish victory. If compared with the Polish situation as it was in July when the Poles were suing for peace through the mediation of the Allies and had to submit to England's terms at Spa, the results achieved at Riga are undoubtedly a remarkable victory for Poland. However, a victory in war cannot be considered from the standpoint of shifting military advantages but from that of the initial stakes at issue. We must not forget that Poland went to war—so far as Pilsudski's and not the Allied designs are concerned—in order to create capitalistic buffer states of White Russia and Petlura's Ukraine, and completely to cut off Russia on its border from western Europe, and, thanks to Poland's geographical position and comparatively great military strength, to gain a predominant

position in a buffer combination that was to include Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and also Rumania. Owing to Soviet Russian diplomacy, Poland had to abandon during the war any idea of linking these states, while in the peace negotiations she was compelled—much against her liking—to recognize the sovereignty of Soviet Ukraine and the independence of the now forming Soviet state of White Russia. Polish diplomats endeavored for a time to reply to the Soviet demand for dealing with a united delegation of the two Soviet Republics with a counter move attempting to get recognition for some Petlura agents whom they had at hand, but they received an energetic answer from Chicherin after which they abandoned the Petlura game, and cared only to bargain out for themselves as much of Ukrainian and White Russian territory as the situation would permit.

There is no doubt that the treaty of Riga represents on the part of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine great concessions, which were made in order to avoid the prolongation of the war into the winter and to enable the two Soviet countries, after disposing in a short time of the counter-revolutionary bands of Wrangel, Balakhovich, and Petlura, to devote their vital forces to the work of economic reconstruction. Against the assumption of the liberal London *Nation* (October 14) to the effect that “Marxians” do not worry much over the cessation to the enemy of tens of thousands of square miles of territory, the Soviet delegation consented to the concessions after a hard struggle and—to use again the words of Yoffe—“the slightest demand over what was conceded would have made peace a sheer impossibility.”

Poland acquired a territory of 135,319 square kilometers, which is more than half of her ethnographic area of 251,300 square kilometers. She gets an additional four million population to her twenty-three in a country with a thin population, to which she may be able, under favorable circumstances, to direct a part of the Polish landless peasantry. Russia had to consent to let Lithuania settle her frontier line with Poland without Russian interference with the result that Lithuania is being pocketed now by Pilsudski's agent, General Zeligowski. Russia had to permit, also, the slicing of White Russia, part of which remains with Poland. Thus Poland was able to cut off Lithuania from Russia, and to create a “corridor” connecting her with Latvia with which she is now arguing about political concessions in Letgalia and particularly in the city of Dvinsk. Furthermore, by gaining direct communication with the eastern Catholic territories of Latvia she gets into direct contact with the small but influential Polish element of large landowners and thus obtains a political influence upon the territory. The “corridor” will acquire, after the conclusion of final peace with Poland, a great importance as a transit route to Latvian sea-ports, and French capitalists, who regard Poland as their ex-

clusive field of operation, are already devoting to it their eager attention; but it will deprive Russia of transit through the Lithuanian lands, thus cutting her off from a convenient land route to Germany and greatly hampering her in trade communication with Germany and the rest of Western Europe. In the south, Poland establishes a common frontier with Rumania at a sacrifice on the part of Soviet Ukraine of a large part of the Volhynia province with over a million of purely Ukrainian population, and of its claim to a union with Eastern Galicia. Moreover, the concession to Poland of the railroad points of Sarny, Baranovichi, and Rovno deprives Odessa of a convenient route to Petrograd, which will hamper the economic intercourse between the northern and southern part of the Federated Soviet Republic.

Compared with the advantages secured by Poland in article 1 of the treaty, other advantages are of a minor significance as are also the articles themselves. Article 2 is of little importance to Poland, but of great importance to Russia as it deals with the security of Russia from counter-revolutionary Russian or Allied activities in Poland. As a result of this point in the treaty, Poland must not tolerate on her territory any organizations that intend to wage war on either of the Soviet republics. This means that Poland must break completely with her till now allies, Savinkov, Balakhovich, Petlura, and others who had their headquarters in Warsaw, and who were receiving up to the last active aid from Poland or rather from France through Poland. It is more than probable that the Polish governing, and particularly military, circles viewed this stipulation as something that could be circumvented one way or another, at least for the immediate future. Knowing well of the coming Soviet campaign against Wrangel, who was threatening the Donetz Basin, they decided to use the time for their own purposes. General Zeligowski occupied Vilna with Polish regulars, permitting the formations of General Balakhovich to occupy White Russia and to move toward Minsk and Homel. He expected thus, besides taking Vilna from the Lithuanians with the express aim of incorporating the province to Poland, to form, together with Balakhovich, a link which could easily serve to harass the Soviet forces, and which, so far as the Poles were concerned, might be used to extort better conditions in the expected peace negotiations. A similar policy was thought of in the south, in Ukraine, where Petlura was helped to occupy as much of Soviet Ukraine as he possibly could. Some Polish diplomats, as for instance, Leon Wasilewski, member of the Riga peace delegation, had the insolence to declare that the Riga agreement did not bind Poland to refuse recognition to Petlura, and that Poland would continue its relations with him, although during the peace negotiations the Poles themselves admitted that the army of Petlura was a component part of the Polish army. However, this condition of affairs could not last long. The increasingly stronger protests of the Soviet Government against the hostile acts of Poland, the last of which came at the time

of Wrangel's complete defeat, have compelled the Polish Government to take heed. At present, judging from the news coming from Poland, it is safe to assume that the Polish governing circles will take care not to engage actively in any counter-revolutionary plots by whomsoever conducted, an order for the disbanding of Russian counter-revolutionary military formations having been issued shortly before the ratification of the treaty. Moreover, the trend of political events in Poland seems to indicate that the Polish ruling classes do not want to tolerate any semi-independent creations in the form of Zeligowski's "middle Lithuania" or Petlura's "People's Ukraine", but are determined to incorporate these regions as administrative parts of Poland, as may be judged from a recent debate and resolution in the foreign committee of the Diet. By such act, however, they assume a greater responsibility for the actions committed on these territories and the adjacent neutral belts for which they are equally responsible. Russia thus will acquire, in virtue of article 2 of the treaty, a measure of security from counter-revolutionary plots on Polish territory, which is not little if we consider the fact that Poland has become the center of all counter-revolutionary activities against Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. (We shall at present leave out of consideration the possible international complications resulting from the action of General Zeligowski's occupying Vilna by military force, which also may involve Soviet Russia, as we shall deal with that problem at some other date.)

Of articles 3 to 9, dealing with the reciprocal rights of citizens, exchange of prisoners, war costs, etc., article 4 is of importance to Soviet Russia and particularly to Soviet Ukraine. It grants to Polish citizens of Ukrainian (or Russian) race the rights of minorities in regard to cultural and religious matters. One must not forget that millions of Ukrainians will remain under Polish sovereignty. On the part of Soviet Russia or Soviet Ukraine the same rights granted to their citizens of Polish race do not demand any change in their general policy. Not so with present day Poland whose intolerance in matters of culture or religion has already become proverbial. To us it is a puzzle as to how the Polish Government is going to live up to this stipulation except that it will be under constant pressure from the Soviet Government. Already the fact that the medieval Polish constitution which is now being adopted, provides for an established Catholic Church conflicts with the idea of religious equality, not to speak of other administrative practices which deprive people of Ukrainian race not only of their cultural rights but of their livelihood as was the case with the Ukrainian railroad men thrown out of work in Galicia because of their race.

The final articles of the treaty beginning with article 10 concern matters of economic importance to both contracting parties. Most of the provisions are to be worked out in detail during the final peace negotiations that are taking place now. The Poles had to content themselves with general stip-

ulations with regard to compensation from the Russian gold reserves, considering it a gain that the settlement of reciprocal accounts promises to take into consideration the *active* participation of Congress Poland in the budget of the former Russian empire, as it is their contention that Russia had been drawing out of Congress Poland about forty million rubles in gold yearly. However, the problem is rather complex, and these figures will still have to stand some scrutiny. Less value is attached on the Polish side to the advantages from the Russian renunciation of any claim to compensation resulting from the fact of Poland's former subjection to Russia. The Poles know that whatever may be the actual meaning of such renunciation—as it stands at present it leaves open the question of Poland's responsibility for the foreign loans of the Czar's Government—Poland's friends, the Allies, will not be slow to reap the advantage thereof, as has already been the case with France, which to our knowledge extracted from Poland the obligation to pay four and a half billion marks as part of the Russian debt.

Of immediate vital importance to both parties are the articles referring to the reestablishment of commercial relations between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, and Poland. Russia needs communication with the West, while Poland will gain enormously from the Russian transit and will revive her trade which is now merely serving the exploiting interests of France, and is almost completely dead. Still more advantages may accrue to the industries of both countries. It must be remembered that the industry of Congress Poland constituted a large integral part of the total Russian industry, that in many lines, particularly textiles, it depended completely on the Russian market, and that Polish industrials and business men are splendidly acquainted with the nature and needs of the Russian market. According to some reports an understanding has already been reached with regard to immediate exchange of goods as well as in regard to industrial activities (the running of some sugar refineries) while the *New York Globe* reports that brisk trade is going on between Russia and Poland. It is unnecessary to point out the obvious advantages to Soviet Russia from such trade. But in Poland, also, the dissolution of Polish industry compels Poland to a closer economic union with Russia as only in this can she find a way of improving her highly demoralized economic situation.

We come to the question of the stability of the Riga peace arrangements. In discussing the general character of the Riga peace the *London Nation* of October 14, in an article entitled "Another Punic Peace", characterized the Riga peace as another scrap of paper of the same nature as are, in the opinion of that paper, all the peace agreements signed by the powers since Armistice Day, chief among them being the Treaty of Versailles. The liberal paper expressed further the belief that it "will require war, a very big and bitter war, to destroy the settlement of Riga."

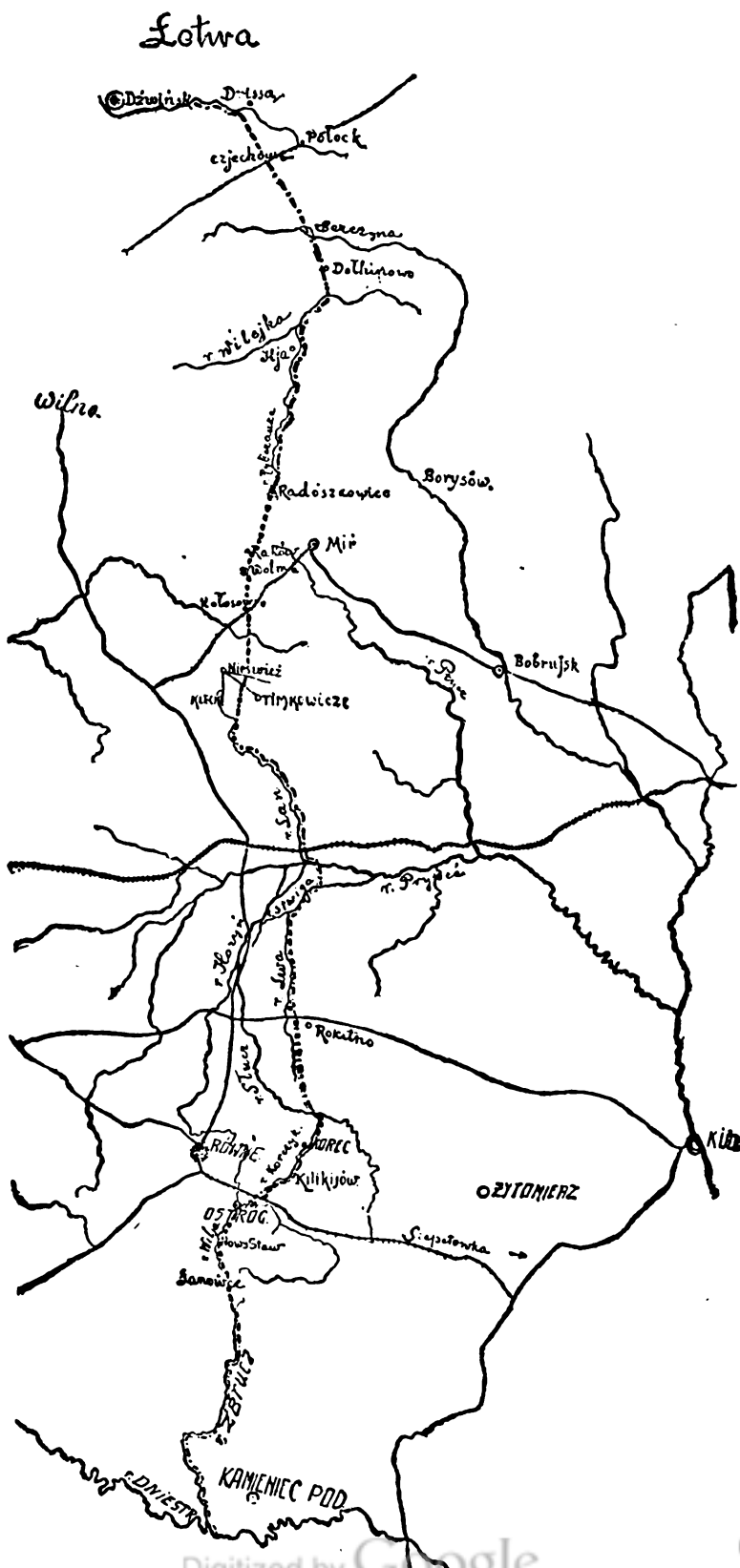
There is no denying the fact that the Riga peace

is, on the part of Poland, an imperialist peace *par outrance*. However, international complications excluded, we do not think that it will require a "war", and a "very big and bitter war", into the bargain, to destroy the pernicious consequences of this peace. The *Nation's* belief (and, so far as we know, it is also the belief of many other liberal papers) is formed, it seems to us, by two false impressions. One is that the Russo-Polish war was a war between two powers with conflicting tendencies of expansion, a war in which Poland came out victorious by virtue of her victory in the field; second, that only a new war, started apparently by Russia, can bring a change in the Russian-Polish relations.

The Russo-Polish war was not a war between "two" powers with conflicting tendencies of economic expansion. It surely was not such a war on the part of Russia, who was only defending herself, as is conceded by the whole world, even by the enemies of Soviet Russia, except perhaps by the Polish imperialists themselves. But even on the part of Poland, this war was not a war dictated by the economic interests of the capitalistic Polish state. It was merely a military adventure, due, first of all, to counter-revolutionary pressure from without; and also to the fact that, in the chaotic situation in which the Polish state finds itself now, there is not a single bourgeois party—we include the Polish Socialist Party in this list—which realizes clearly that the interests of Polish economic development are not in the east but in the west, and that expansion to the east may be in the interests of the conservative agrarian elements which unfortunately dominate the country, but that it will hamper rather than further the economic development of Poland, and what is more, that it may bring Poland to a complete breakdown sooner than it is expected. Poland has escaped this complete breakdown for the present, thanks to the peace concluded at Riga. The favorable outcome of the Riga negotiations was due, first of all, to the strong desire of Soviet Russia to avoid the terrible hardships of a new winter campaign, but also, in large measure, to the fact that Poland sent her peace delegates not to get a respite but to conclude peace, strange as this may sound in view of the constant Polish intrigues with the Russian counter-revolutionists. Not that the military situation of Poland at that time was such as to demand an immediate cessation of hostilities. The Polish army was no doubt in a highly demoralized state, but its worst moment had passed, and besides, the blockade of the western European proletariat was losing its initial momentum and Poland was again in receipt of arms and ammunition from her western "friends." Furthermore, Polish military and governing circles knew that Wrangel was developing at that moment his campaign into southern Russia—in fact this campaign helped the Polish military operations immensely. From the military standpoint, therefore, Poland needed only to work out a common military plan with Wrangel, and, by holding her own, to tie up on the western front

# Border Line Established at Riga

(From a Polish newspaper)



sufficient Russian forces to permit Wrangel to develop his campaign, leaving to him the greater burden of the war. They also knew that the first consequence of an armistice would be the transportation of large Soviet Russian forces to the Wrangel front, with the probability of his complete defeat (which has in reality been accomplished) which would eventually liberate again the Russian Red armies for pressure on Poland. When Poland, nevertheless, decided upon peace it was because there was no other way out. The economic situation of Poland was desperate,—although we do not consider that even this factor decided Poland in favor of peace. Bad as it was, and how bad it was and continues to be only those can know who are well acquainted with the country, the Polish governing circles could not see any economic relief in concluding peace. To some extent the situation after the war would, as they guessed, become even worse. After concluding peace, Poland at once was denied the credit which she enjoyed during the war, without which it is inconceivable that she can exist even for a short period.

The reason for making peace lay then not so much in the immediate military or economic situation, but in the internal and external situation that developed as a consequence of the war. With regard to the first we know now that the wide masses of the Polish peasantry and of the city laborers were eagerly awaiting the arrival of the Red armies in order to overturn the existing government and the old order of things, and introduce one of their own choice and liking. We are publishing this week an extract from the Polish paper *Swiat*, appearing in Vienna, which has collected material relative to this matter (we have ourselves abundant material from newspapers arriving here from Poland proving this phase of the situation). Now a population with such spirit cannot be too much depended upon to support *ad infinitum* the sufferings of a war conducted against its own vital interests. Besides, the Pilsudski government was endangered not only from the left, but also

from the right. From that side there was brewing a dangerous *coup d'état*, a conspiracy, a *putsch* of the Kapp pattern, in which the leaders of the National-Democratic Party took part, with Roman Dmowski as the political head, while the Posen regiments of General Haller were expected to be its military executioners; to which end Dmowski established his headquarters at Posen, in the most reactionary part of Poland. The plot broke down before it started to take shape, but Pilsudski and his entourage became very much alarmed.

But the strongest reason for peace with Russia was the fact that Poland had become alarmed at the developments on her western border, and in Danzig. For Poland had to pay dearly, and for that matter is paying still, for the "friendship" of her allied protectors. In the time of her greatest stress England and France were determining, to Poland's great disadvantage, her claims in the west. Teschen-Silesia, with its rich coal fields, was allotted to Czecho-Slovakia, and in a meeting at Spa in July, Poland had to submit to English plans with regard to Eastern Galicia and Danzig. England was obviously also working against Poland's getting the rich upper Silesian coal fields, while France extorted a trade agreement with Poland by virtue of which she was able to dump into Poland ammunition and unnecessary luxuries, such as wines, while Poland was under obligation to export the raw materials she herself needed. Besides, pressure was brought to bear upon Poland not to take anything which the Russian counter-revolutionists in Paris considered as the Russian "paternal heritage." This turn of events brought the result that all of Poland had become sick of Allied "protection" and intrigues, and decided to make peace in order to take care of the situation in the west. It is our opinion that Poland is at present, and will be for some time to come, averse to any new *einbroglio* in Russia, and that she will try to make the best of the Riga terms.

As for Soviet Russia, we think that however disadvantageous the Riga terms are to the economic life of Russia, she will not go to war in order to get better conditions. For Soviet Russia has a powerful advantage over her enemies in that history is working in her favor. Poland will not remain very long the country it is now, while Soviet Russia can afford to wait.

### Appeal to the French People

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Chicherin, made the following appeal to the French Government and to the French people:

"The Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government has once more proved its unchangeable love for peace by repatriating the last French citizens remaining in Russia, without awaiting the return of the last transports of Russian citizens from France. In spite of this the French Government, imbued with an irreconcilable hostility towards the Russian working masses and towards the revolutionary gains which represent the fruit of the

heroic struggle of the latter,—stubbornly continues the formation of new projects and the preparation of new attacks upon the liberty and even upon the very existence of Soviet Russia. After the French Government has been for three years striving to drown the Russian Revolution in a sea of blood, it is now doing everything to make a new attack upon Soviet Russia. Having formally acknowledged the criminal General Wrangel, this tool of German imperialist reaction, who has rallied everything that has been left of the old regime so hateful to the Russian people, the French Government now renders armed assistance to this counter-revolutionary rebel, who has risen against his own people, and against its Workers' and Peasants' Government. The French Government sends arms and ammunition continually and renders him every kind of support in order to assist him to attack Workers' and Peasants' Russia, and to menace it with the horrors of bloody counter-revolution. Information is received from all neighboring countries exposing the feverish activity of the representatives and agents of the French Government, which is directed towards inducing new enemies to attack Soviet Russia and to call out new wars directed against the independence and existence of this republic. Notable representatives of French Government circles have undertaken a special journey for that particular purpose of causing new bloodshed, and forcing the workers and peasants of the neighboring countries against their Russian brothers. Numerous French troops are concentrated at Constantinople where they are evidently awaiting the moment to join the Crimean counter-revolutionary rebels against Russia and Ukraine. Finally, at the present moment, the French Naval Forces in the Black Sea are obviously getting ready for a new attack upon Russia and Ukraine. French war vessels are not far from Odessa and everything points to the fact that their arrival is a harbinger of new aggressive intentions of the French Government in these quarters. Soviet Russia vigilantly guards the inviolability of its territory. It will render every possible aid and necessary support to its ally, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Russian Soviet Government, which represents the will of the working and peasant masses of Russia, protests with indignation against the hostile operations and attacks of the French Government. It appeals to the fraternal working and peasant masses of France to fight at all costs against the counter-revolutionary attempts of their government directed against Russia and Ukraine and the renewed intervention in the internal affairs of these countries. Soviet Russia hopes to obtain the fraternal support of the working masses of France to put a stop to the aggressive operations of the French Government against the working masses of Russia and Ukraine.

*A very interesting interview with Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture, by W. McLaine, will appear in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.*

Original from

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

# Preliminary Peace Treaty with Poland

## PRELIMINARY PEACE TERMS

Drawn Up and Signed at Riga on October 11, 1920

The Republic of Poland as the party of the first part and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic as the parties of the second part, animated by a desire to put an end as soon as possible to the bloody war that had arisen between them, as well as to work out the conditions that are to serve as a basis for a durable and honorable peace, based upon mutual understanding, have decided to enter into negotiations with the view to concluding an armistice and ascertaining the preliminary terms for peace, and have appointed as their delegates:

*For the Government of the Polish Republic:*

Jan Dombiski, Norbert Barlicki, Dr. Stanislaw Grabski, Dr. Witold Kamieniecki, Dr. Wladyslaw Kiernik, General Mieczyslaw Kulinski, Adam Mieczkowski, Leon Wasilewski, Ludwik Waszkiewicz, Michal Wichlinski,

and

*For the Governments of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic:*

Adolph Yoffe, Sergey Kirov, Dmitri Manuilsky, Leonid Obolensky,

who, after reciprocally presenting their credentials, which have been found to be satisfactory and in the required form, have agreed on the following:

### *Boundary*

Art. 1. In accordance with the principle of the self-determination of nations, both parties to the agreement recognize the independence of Ukraine and White Russia and resolve that the eastern boundary of Poland, that is, between Poland on the one hand and Ukraine and White Russia on the other, is to be the line along the Dvina River (Western Dvina) from the boundary point between Latvia and Russia up to the point where the boundary of the former Vilna province meets the boundary of the former Vitebsk province; further, the boundaries of the former Vilna and Vitebsk provinces up to the village and railroad station of Oryekhovo, which remain with Poland, thence again the eastern boundary of the former Vilna province up to the point where the three counties (*uyezds*) of Disna, Lepel, Borysov, meet; further, from this point up to the village of Mala Chernitsa, situated on the White Russian side; thence in a south-westerly direction across the lake on the Berezina River to the village of Zaryechitsk, which remains with White Russia; further southwest to the Vilya River up to a point east of Dolhinov; further the Vilya River up to a highway running to the south of Dolhinov; thence further to the south to a river (the name of the river is not marked on the map), (then) down the Vilya to the point of its confluence with the Rybchanka River, the township of Vilya remaining with Poland; (then) the Rybchanka to the south, up to the railroad station of Rodoshkovichi, the station and the township remaining with White Russia; further to the east from the township of Rakov, the villages of Volma and Rubiezhevichi, up to the railroad line Minsk-Baranovichi, at the locality of Kolosovo on the Polish side; further, to the south, half way between Niesviezh and Timkovichi; further to the south, half way between Kletsk and Timkovichi; further, to the south of the Warsaw-Moscow highway to the east of Filipovichi; further, the shortest road to the Lan River, near the village of Chudin, leaving that village on the Polish side; further, along the Lan River, up to its confluence with the Pripyat River; further, along the Pripyat River, seven kilometers to the east, thence to the south to the Stviga River, at its most westerly point, and thence up-stream along the Stviga to the point where the river crosses the boundaries of the former Minsk and Volhynia provinces; from there along the boundary line of the two provinces up to the boundary of the two counties of Rovno and Ostrog, and along that boundary of the counties up to its intersection with the railroad line to the west of the railroad station of Okhotnikovo and the township of Rakitna; further to the south, up to the Lva River

to its source, and thence to the confluence of the Korchik River with the Sluch River, further, up the Korchik River, leaving the township of Koryets with Poland; further, to the southwest, leaving Kilikiyev with Ukraine, up to Milyatin, which remains with Poland; further, to the south, across the railroad line Rovno-Shepetovka and the Horyn River up to the Vilya River, the town of Ostrov remaining with Poland; further, up the Vilya River to Novy Stav, which is with Ukraine; thence in a southerly direction, in general, across the Horyn River near Lanovtsi, which locality is left with Poland, and continuing up to the Zbruch River, leaving the locality of Byelozyerka with Poland; and then the line of the Zbruch River up to its confluence with the Dnyester River. In defining a boundary that runs along a river, the course of the main bed is understood in navigable rivers, and the mean line of the widest branch in unnavigable rivers.

The above boundary is described according to a Russian map on a scale of 25 versts to one English inch, which is appended to the present treaty and marked with red color (the appendix and the map). In case of differences between the text and the map, the text shall be decisive. Russia and Ukraine abandon all claims and pretensions to territories lying to the east of this boundary.

The detailed determination and drawing up of the above state boundary in the localities (on the spot) as well as the setting up of frontier marks is left to a special mixed boundary commission, which shall be convoked immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

Both contracting parties are agreed upon that insofar as within the territories lying to the west of the above marked boundary line there should fall lands which are in dispute between Poland and Lithuania, the matter of the apportionment of these lands should belong exclusively to Poland and Lithuania.

### *Non-interference in Internal Affairs*

Art. 2. Both contracting parties guarantee to each other mutual regard for the state sovereignty of the other and to withhold from any interference into the internal affairs of the other, both signatory parties being resolved to place in the peace treaty an obligation to the effect that they shall not form nor support organizations whose aim it is to wage armed struggle against the other signatory party, in order to abolish the political or economic order of the other party, threatening actively its territorial integrity, as well as organizations assuming the role of the government of the country of the other party. With the ratification of the present agreement both contracting parties oblige themselves not to support foreign military activities against the party of the other part.

### *Citizenship*

Art. 3. Both signatory parties assume the obligation to place in the peace treaty regulations regarding the free choice (option) of Polish, Russian or Ukrainian citizenship respectively, with the understanding that persons using their right of choice shall have without exception all such rights as are bestowed upon the citizens of both parties.

### *National Minorities*

Art. 4. Both signatory parties oblige themselves to place in the peace treaty regulations guaranteeing on the one hand to persons of Polish nationality in Russia or Ukraine all the rights that safeguard the free cultural development of the language as well as the observation of religious ceremonies that shall be secured to persons of Russian or Ukrainian nationality in Poland, while on the other hand guaranteeing to persons of Russian or Ukrainian nationality all the rights that safeguard the free development of the language as well as the observation of religious ceremonies which shall be secured to persons of Polish nationality in Russia and Ukraine.

### *Indemnities*

Art. 5. Both signatory parties reciprocally renounce all claims to the repayment of their wage costs, that is state expenditures for the carrying on of the war between them

as well as indemnities for the war losses, that is, losses that had been inflicted during the period of the present war on them or their citizens within the field of military operations, and that were caused by military operations or orders.

#### *Prisoners, Hostages, Amnesty*

Art. 6. Both signatory parties oblige themselves to install in the peace treaty regulations regarding the exchange of war prisoners and the repayment of the actual costs of their maintenance.

Art. 7. Mixed commissions are to be convoked as soon as the present agreement is signed, for the immediate handing over of hostages and the immediate exchange of civil prisoners and interned persons and as far as possible also war prisoners as well as for the organization of the return of exiles, refugees, and emigrants. Said commissions to have the right of supervision and assistance to war and civil prisoners, interned persons, hostages, as well as exiles, refugees, and emigrants, in order to regulate the questions connected with the immediate return of hostages and civil prisoners.

Both signatory parties oblige themselves to issue, immediately after signing the present agreement, orders necessary for the suspending of legal, administrative, disciplinary, or any other prosecution, started against civil prisoners, interned persons, hostages, exiles, emigrants, war prisoners, as well as the immediate suspension of the execution of all punishments meted out to such persons by any legal procedure. The suspension of the execution of the punishment may not necessarily cause the freeing of the person, but in the latter case such persons must be immediately handed over to the authorities of their state, together with all papers. If, however, such person should state that he does not wish to return to his native country, or if his home authorities should not consent to accept him, such person may be again deprived of liberty.

Art. 9. Both contracting parties obligate themselves to install in the peace treaty regulations in the matter of amnesty, to wit: Poland for the Russian and Ukrainian citizens in Poland, Russia and Ukraine for the Polish citizens in Russia and Ukraine.

#### *The Settling of Mutual Claims*

Art. 10. Both contracting parties assume the obligation to install in the peace treaty regulations relative to reciprocal settlement of accounts and liquidation and to base the same upon the following principles: (1) Poland shall bear no obligations or burdens that would result from the fact that a part of the territories of the Republic had formerly belonged to the former Russian Empire; (2) both signatory parties renounce reciprocally all claims to the state properties that are contained in the territory of the other party; (3) in settling the mutual claims and liquidating the accounts, the active participation of the lands of the Polish Republic in the economic life of the former Russian Empire; (4) both contracting parties oblige themselves reciprocally, upon the demand of the owners, to reevacuate and return in kind, or in a corresponding equivalent, respectively, the movable property of the state, connected with the economic and cultural life of the country, the movable property of self-governing bodies, institutions, physical and juridical persons, taken or evacuated by force or voluntarily, beginning with August 1 (new style), 1914, with the exception of war booty; (5) the obligation shall be fixed regarding the return to Poland of all archives, libraries, works of art, historical war trophies, relics, and the like articles of cultural achievement, exported from Poland into Russia since the time of the partition of the Polish Republic; (7) an obligation shall be fixed in the peace treaty on the part of Russia and Ukraine, securing to Poland and its citizens the greatest privileges of restitution of property and indemnification for the losses of the revolutionary period and the civil war in Russia and Ukraine. Both contracting parties are agreed that the above points do not cover all details relative to the settling and liquidation of accounts.

#### *Establishment of Relations*

Art. 11. Both contracting parties oblige themselves immediately after signing the peace treaty to enter into nego-

tiations relative to an agreement on commerce and navigation, sanitary means of communication, and postal and telegraph conventions, as well as with regard to compensatory exchange of goods.

#### *Reciprocal Transit*

Art. 12. Both contracting parties agree to install in the peace treaty provisions giving the right of transit to Poland through the territories of Russia and Ukraine and to Russia and Ukraine through the territories of Poland.

#### *Armistice*

Art. 13. Both contracting parties simultaneously conclude a special agreement with regard to an armistice, which constitutes an integral part of the present agreement and possess an equal obligatory power (Appendix 2, "The Armistice Agreement").

Art. 14. Russia and Ukraine declare that all obligations assumed by them as to Poland as well as the rights acquired by them in virtue of the present agreement apply to all territories situated to the east of the frontier line as determined by Art. 1 of the present agreement, which territories had constituted a part of the former Russian empire, and in concluding the agreement, were represented by Russia and Ukraine.

Art. 15. Both contracting parties oblige themselves immediately after signing the present agreement to start negotiations pertaining to the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Art. 16. The present agreement is prepared in the Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian languages, in two copies. In interpreting the agreement all three texts shall be considered authentic.

#### *Ratification*

Art. 17. The present agreement is subject to ratification and becomes valid with the exchange of the ratification documents. Insofar as the present agreement, together with the appendices, does not contain a different provision, the exchange of the ratification agreement and the preparation of a corresponding protocol shall take place at Libava (Libau). Both contracting parties oblige themselves to ratify the present treaty, at the latest, within fifteen days after it is signed. The exchange of the ratification documents and the preparation of the protocol shall take place, at the latest, within six days after the expiration of the term provided for the ratification. Both contracting parties make the reservation that the armistice agreement (Art. 13) loses its obligatory force if within the period provided for the exchange of ratification documents and the preparation of the corresponding protocol, such activities shall for any reason not be accomplished; but the resumption of military operations may in such case take place not earlier than 48 hours after the termination of the said period. Wherever in this agreement the time of the ratification of the present agreement is mentioned, this time means the time of the exchange of the ratification documents, in confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both parties have attached their signatures and affixed their seals to the present agreement.

### **AGREEMENT ON ARMISTICE**

*Drawn Up and Signed at Riga on October 12, 1920*

In accordance with Art. 13 of the peace preliminaries the following agreement on armistice has been concluded:

1. After the expiration of 144 hours from the moment of the signing of the peace preliminaries, that is, at 24 o'clock, Central European Time, on the eighteenth day of October, of the year nineteen hundred and twenty, both contracting parties are obliged to suspend all military operations on land, water, and in the air.

2. The armies of both contracting parties shall remain in the positions occupied by them up to the moment of the suspension of military operations in accordance with §1, with the exception, however, that the Russo-Ukrainian armies must be situated not nearer than 15 kilometers from the stabilized line of the Polish front at the time of the suspension of military operations.

3. The belt thus created, of 15 kilometers width, shall represent a neutral zone, in the military sense, which shall be under the administration of the party to whom said territory should belong by virtue of the peace preliminaries.



4. In the sector from the Nyesvyezh region up to the Dvina River the Polish armies shall occupy the line of the national boundary fixed in Art. 1 of the peace preliminaries, the Russo-Ukrainian armies taking positions 15 kilometers to the east of that line.

5. All movements of the armies resulting from §§2 and 4 must take place with a speed of not less than 20 kilometers a day and shall begin not later than 24 hours after the suspension of military operations, that is, not later than 24 o'clock, Central European Time, of the nineteenth day of October, of the year nineteen hundred and twenty.

6. After the ratification of the peace preliminaries, the armies of both contracting parties shall be withdrawn to their national territory, with a speed of not less than 20 kilometers a day, and shall take up positions not nearer than 15 kilometers to each side of the national boundary line; the belt thus created of 30 kilometers width shall constitute a neutral zone in a military sense and shall remain under the administration of that party to whom the particular territory belongs.

7. Within the neutral zone, pursuant to §§3 and 6, no military detachments may be maintained, with the exception of Polish troops necessary for the occupation of the territory as provided in §4. The strength and location of these detachments must be brought by the Polish command to the knowledge of the opposite side.

8. Detailed regulations in connection with the execution of the present agreement are issued by commands representing both sides, of not lower rank than division commands, wherever necessary and after mutual agreement. To that end, immediately after the signing of the armistice agreement and the peace preliminaries, they shall send liaison officers with the necessary personnel to the division commands of the army of the opposite side. Both sides guarantee to the officers as well as the personnel diplomatic immunity, personal security, freedom of movement and communication with their authorities. In order to control the execution of the present agreement, as well as to settle possible conflicts and regulate other necessary matters, a mixed military commission shall be established, whose composition, place of functioning, competence, and executive organs, shall be fixed by mutual agreement of the high commands of both sides.

9. In vacating the occupied territories, in accordance with §§4 and 6, the armies must leave untouched all properties found in the place, such as government, public, and private buildings, railroads, and the entire rolling stock found in such places, bridges and station appurtenances, telegraphs, telephones, and other means of communication that are not the property of the particular army, grain stores on the fields and in the granaries, live stock and industrial and agricultural inventory, all kinds of raw materials, etc., which are the property of the state, self-governing bodies, as well as of juridical or physical persons. In withdrawing the armies no hostages must be taken, nor civil population evacuated, nor is it permitted to use against said populations any means of repression, expropriation, requisition, or forceful redemption of its property.

10. For the duration of the armistice, all communication by land, water, or air, between the two warring parties, is suspended; exceptions shall in special cases be determined by a mixed military arbitration as established by §8.

11. Military detachments and persons transgressing the regulations of the present agreement shall be considered as war prisoners.

12. The present armistice is concluded for 21 days, but each side has the right to recall it on a 48 hour notice; if before the expiration of the armistice term neither side should cancel it, the armistice is automatically prolonged up to the time of the ratification of the final peace treaty and each side has the right to recall by giving 14 days' notice, without regard to the above regulations, and in accordance with Article 17 of the peace preliminaries. The present armistice shall lose its obligatory force if within the period prescribed for the exchange of the ratification documents and the preparation of a corresponding protocol, these acts should for any reason not be performed, but the resumption of military operations may take

place not earlier than 48 hours after the expiration of the term for the exchange of ratification documents.

13. The present armistice constitutes an integral part of the peace preliminaries, in confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both parties have attached their own signatures to it.

### NEW RUSSIAN-JAPANESE AGREEMENT

The Vladivostok *Volya* of September 26, 1920, contains the following news item:

Vladivostok, September 25. After considering the situation created by the coming evacuation of the Khabarovsk district, the Japanese command and the Vladivostok authorities arrived, on September 24, at the following agreement, which is supplementary to the Russian-Japanese agreement of April 29 of this year.

1. After the evacuation of the Japanese troops from Khabarovsk and the surrounding district, the Russian armed forces shall not advance farther south than the river Iman.

2. The guarding of the railway and telegraph to the south of the railway station Ussuri (including the latter) shall be left to the Japanese command, and from Ussuri to Iman to the Russian railway militia.

3. The telegraph lines installed by the Japanese to the south of Khabarovsk and up to the station Ussuri shall be turned over by the Japanese to the Russian authorities, without compensation, as a token of friendship, but on condition that the Russian authorities guarantee free and prompt communication to the Japanese military mission in Khabarovsk, and without any charges.

4. The Russian authorities guarantee the safety of the lives and property of Japanese subjects, both military and civil, who may remain in Khabarovsk and its environs, or farther south.

5. The details concerning the railway and the telegraph lines shall be settled by the management board of Japanese military communications and the Council of Means of Communication.

### Bound Volumes for 1920

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

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

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# Notes to the British Government

## I

*Copy of Radio to Krassin from Chicherin, November 14, 1920. Note to Curzon from Chicherin, November 13, 1920.*

Foreign Office, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, November 13. Answering your message of November 3, which contained a reply to the Note of the Head of our Trade Delegation, Krassin, dated October 19, you pass completely under silence the fact that Mr. Krassin categorically declared that the Russian Government does not consider itself as being at war with Great Britain at the present time, but you refer instead to some unknown declarations of a Soviet Minister whom you refrain even from naming. This person is presumed to have declared that he hoped that our submarines in the Black Sea would sink an Entente vessel. In view of the absence of any precise indications of the person, place and time referred to, we are unable to verify how far the information on which your allegations is based is correct. Seeing that the British Government did not ask us for any explanation concerning this alleged speech of the Soviet Minister we cannot refrain from expressing our astonishment that the British Government puts forth this allegation as a ground for naval action against Russian submarines. The second ground put forth in your message is the alleged reference in Mr. Krassin's Note to the possibility for a Soviet submarine commander who would desire, to torpedo a British ship on the excuse of mistaken identity. As a matter of fact Mr. Krassin's Note spoke of the possibility of a warship not recognizing the nationality of a submarine, but did not contain the least reference to the possibility of a mistaken identity of a British warship. The principle argument by which your message seeks to justify hostile action against our submarines is the declaration that they are engaged in acts of open hostility against British interests, in the Black Sea. The Russian Government is at a loss to understand what British interests are referred to, seeing that no British possessions or protectorates are situated on the shores of the Black Sea; at any rate the British Government never notified us that any of these regions had ever become a British possession. In reality the only forces against which the Soviet army and navy are engaged on the Black Sea are the forces of Wrangel whom the British Government declared it would not support any more after his offensive against Soviet Russia. In view of your message of November 3 the Russian Government is compelled to ask the British Government whether Wrangel's interests are to be henceforth considered as being British interests. In case of a negative answer the Russian Government must consider your declaration concerning our submarines as being based upon a misunderstanding, and confidently expects that the British Government will cancel the order referred to in your message.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

## II

*Copy of Radio Received November 11, dated November 9, 1920.*

November 9. The Russian Soviet Government begs to draw the attention of the British Government to the utterly unsatisfactory state which the negotiations for the renewal of commercial intercourses and the reestablishment of normal relations between the two countries have now reached.

More than ten months have now elapsed since the Allied Supreme Council issued its invitation to the Russian Soviet Government to enter into negotiations for the resumption of economic relations, and it is now more than four months since a formal agreement initiated by the British Government itself laying down the conditions upon which trade was to be resumed and peace negotiations begun between Great Britain and Russia, was reached by an exchange of notes. Throughout this time Soviet Russia acted with a promptitude and in a spirit of accommodation and loyalty which clearly demonstrated its sincere desire for peace and

peaceful work. Attacked, harrassed, and conspired against by the Allied Governments ever since its accession to power just three years ago, the Russian Soviet Government nevertheless was ready to give peace and opportunity for reconstruction, not only to its own hard tried country, but also to the rest of Europe and Asia, exhausted after the inhuman devastations of late wars. Although Russia was being attacked by enemies furnished with weapons and funds and morally supported by Great Britain, who, moreover, found no effective word of rebuke for them, while actually negotiating with the representatives of the Soviet Government, the latter continues to exercise every forbearance, and to show in a practical manner the conciliatory spirit with which it was animated.

To its utmost regret, the Soviet Government has to record the fact that it was not met with the same spirit on the part of the British Government; it has, on the contrary, seen every imaginable obstacle put in the way of the smooth proceeding of the negotiations, and has been made to feel on numerous occasions as if the British Government, so far from being anxious to reach a satisfactory settlement of the questions at issue, was seeking a pretext to protract or to break off the negotiations entirely. The last mentioned point finds its illustrations in the hectoring tone of many of the British Government Notes; in the habit, absolutely unprecedented in the history of diplomatic negotiations between two sovereign powers, of serving ultimatums upon the Soviet Government in and out of season; in the many attempts made to influence the choice of the Russian delegates and to eliminate from the delegation all political representatives of the Soviet Government, in order to place it at a disadvantage in all political discussions which the British Government itself was constantly introducing into negotiations originally meant to be, in the first stage at any rate, entirely economic.

The obstructionist character of the policy of the British Government has been exhibited also in the numerous attempts made to delay the negotiations on every imaginable pretext. The first considerable delay was caused by the extension, quite novel in the practice of international law, by the British Government, in the case of Mr. Litvinov, of the conception of *persona grata* to trade and peace negotiations. Then delay was caused by the introduction into the economic conversations of a number of entirely irrelevant political questions, such as exchange of prisoners and political propaganda as to which the head of the truncated Delegation, Mr. Krassin, had either no information or no powers. Although a basic trade agreement had been concluded, the question of Poland, a wholly political question, was suddenly brought up and made the pretext for postponing all further economic conversations and even for preventing from returning to England Mr. Rothstein, a member of the Delegation, who had gone to Moscow with the approval of the British Government to report on the state of negotiations. The language used at that time by the British Government was one of ultimatum and threats, and had absolutely nothing to do with the objects for which the Soviet Delegation had been invited to London; yet, when the Soviet troops had evacuated Polish territory, and the conclusion of a preliminary peace between Russia and Poland was imminent, the economic negotiations were not resumed, and instead, the Chairman of the Delegation, Mr. Kamenev, was asked to leave England on the baseless charge of interfering in the internal affairs of the country. While continuing the blockade of Russia by withholding export licenses for goods destined for Russia, and even by seizing steamers with cargoes bound for Russian ports as in the case of the Italian steamer *Ancona*, the British Government nevertheless demanded from the Soviet Government the fulfilment of its obligations in the matter of the release of prisoners and of the cessation of propaganda, obligations which were to enter into force only after the conclusion of a trade agreement, and on the completion of the political negotiations which have unfortunately been broken off by the British Government with the exclusion of Mr. Kamenev from England. The British Government went

even so far as to suggest to the Soviet Government the coercion of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan for the release of some British prisoners for whose detention the Soviet Government has no responsibility. The Soviet Government has since, by using its good offices with the Azerbaijan Government, succeeded in obtaining the release of these prisoners but so far has heard nothing about the resumption of the negotiations for carrying into effect the trade agreement concluded as far back as July 7. Indeed, some recent statements in the House of Commons by British Cabinet Ministers leave the impression that new pretexts may be sought for further delaying the fulfilment of this agreement.

It is in no mere spirit of recrimination that the Soviet Government has thought fit to bring all these facts under the notice of the British Government. Now, as before, the Soviet Government is solely animated by a desire to restore peace to its own country, to the entire East of Europe, and to Asia, and in enumerating the above-mentioned incidents, it is only anxious to show that it bears no responsibility whatsoever for the monstrous delay in coming to an economic and political agreement with the British Government, whose duty it would now at least seem to be to prove to the Soviet Government, to the British people, and to the world at large, whether or not it is sincere in its professions of peace and economic reconstruction. Having taken all pains to meet the wishes of the British Government on various questions, having exercised great patience in the face of numerous acts of provocation, having lastly incurred the expense and inconvenience of sending to and maintaining in London for nearly seven months a Delegation whose members are urgently needed in Russia itself, where work of utmost importance demands the devoted energetic cooperation of every single Russian citizen, the Soviet Government considers that matters can no longer be allowed to drag on in the manner in which they have dragged on these last ten months, and that unless the British Government is prepared to enter into negotiations for a complete trade agreement, it will have regrettably to admit that its protracted efforts in spite of all its good will have failed this time as completely as they did on previous occasions, and will draw the necessary conclusions. It therefore asks the British Government to give a straight and prompt answer to the question whether it is prepared to accede to its suggestion for immediate negotiations for the above-mentioned objects. In view of the great issues at stake, the Soviet Government hopes to receive a satisfactory reply, and further expects that the trade agreement will be immediately followed or accompanied by negotiations for peace and restoration of normal relations through properly constituted bodies of fully authorized delegates appointed by each side at its own discretion, and that the British Government will agree that the conference should meet in London or some neutral city selected by mutual consent.

(Signed) *People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

### III

*To Lord Curzon from the Russian Government per the Russian Trade Delegation, dated November 9, 1920.*

In Lord Curzon's Note to the Russian Government, dated October 9, the British Government insists on an immediate cessation of all alleged hostile actions and propaganda directed against the British Empire in the East, and bases this demand upon the understanding proposed by the British Note of June 30, and greed by the Russian Government in its Note of July 7. At the same time, the British Government declared that they "will hold the Soviet Government faithfully to a redemption of this pledge," and, that for their own part, "renew their own allegiance to the reciprocal obligations simultaneously entered into by them."

In order to avoid every possible misunderstanding, the Russian Government deems it necessary to repeat that the coming into force of the understanding of the notes of June 30 and July 7 is inseparable from and dependent upon the conclusion of a trade agreement between the Russian and the British Governments. This is made clear by the very text of the British Note of June 30, in which the

British Government demands a categorical reply from the Russian Government as to "whether Russia is prepared to enter into a trade agreement with the British Empire and other Powers on the following conditions," after which the Note proceeds to specify the conditions referred to, viz: a mutual cessation of hostile action and propaganda, an exchange of prisoners, etc.

It is plain, therefore, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the British Government itself, in its Note of June 30, regarded the obligations stated therein as contingent upon the conclusion of a trade agreement, and therefore considered that the clauses relating to propaganda, hostile actions, prisoners of war, and the recognition by the Russian Government of a certain class of private debts, were to be regarded as operative only if and when the trade agreement between the two countries should be concluded and should come into force.

Such was also the Russian Government's point of view to which it continues to adhere. Desiring to accelerate the coming into force of the conditions set out in the British Note of June 30, the Russian Government, in its Note of October 6, which was sent to Lord Curzon by Mr. Krassin, asked the British Government to fix the time for the resumption of trade negotiations, and at the same time declared its willingness to set free all British subjects detained in Russia, even without waiting for the conclusion of a trade agreement, though, as a matter of fact, it was under no obligation to do so.

The British Government has already declared,—and now repeats that it is willing to accept the understanding of June 30 and July 7 in its entirety and to carry it out with the utmost care and precision. The Russian Government further declares that it considers the aforesaid agreement to become actually operative only in its entirety, i.e., upon the conclusion of a trade agreement. The Russian Government does not consider that the British Government has at present, (i.e. before the signature of a trade agreement) any right to base upon the agreement of June 30 and July 7 any protest against actions or policy of the Russian Government in the East to which it may take objection. The Russian Government, for its part, could also submit numerous proofs of extremely unfriendly policy on the part of the British Government towards the Russian Republic during the last few months: but, it refrains from doing so pending the conclusion of the trade agreement.

The Russian Government is firmly convinced that the final removal of causes of mutual complaint and protest is possible only by further developing and translating into more concrete forms the clauses of the agreement of June 30 and July 7 which refer to abstention by both sides from hostile action and propaganda.

The Russian Government aims at the establishment of complete clearness in its relations with the British Government and at the removal of all possibility of ambiguous or incorrect understanding or interpretation of the obligations assumed by both parties.

However, the work of rendering these undertakings into concrete form cannot be carried out by the exchange of notes, but necessitates personal formal negotiations between plenipotentiaries and experts appointed by the two governments.

Unfortunately, the Russian Government is forced to point out that the carrying into effect of the agreement of June 30 and July 7 has been delayed by the action of the British Government in evading and postponing the necessary negotiations, by raising objections to the personnel of the Russian Delegation, and by insisting on the withdrawal or objecting to the admission of certain of its members. But, animated by an unchanging desire to secure the speedy establishment of stable and friendly relations, the Russian Government again proposes to the British Government that immediately upon the conclusion of the trade agreement they should commence the necessary negotiations with reference to the above-mentioned points concerning political agreement. The Russian Government does not doubt that these negotiations will lead to the results which are desirable for both sides, and is ready for this purpose to despatch a political delegation to England or to any other place which may be mutually agreed upon.

## IV

*Note to Curzon*

London Foreign Office, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, October 16. We understand from wireless messages of the British press service that the occupation of Batum by British forces is under consideration. The Russian Government is compelled to draw most earnestly the attention of the British Government to the serious consequences which would necessarily arise in case of the adoption of this measure, which would be considered by us as a direct menace to the security of our ally, the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic, and

of Russia herself. It would be impossible for us not to see in the occupation of Batum by Entente force an attempt to create for us a new front in the south and a first step towards kindling a conflagration in the Caucasus which would once more divert the Russian working people from their peaceful labor. Seeing that the Russian Government in such case will be compelled to have recourse to all the measures which can be adopted in order to avert such eventualities we express the hope that the British Government will refrain from such a fatal step, the consequences of which would wholly fall upon its responsibility.

CHICHEKIN.

## Kamenev on Lloyd George

**K**RASNAYA GAZETA prints a complete report submitted by the Chairman of the Russian Delegation in London, Kamenev, to a conference of the Moscow Soviets and the representatives of the Moscow Workers' Delegation. The report takes up the political negotiations with England.

"Shortly before our arrival in England," said Kamenev, "the British War Minister Churchill published a letter containing the following declaration:

"We hated Germany, our hatred against that country was great, but more still we hate the Red Army with its Communistic flag. We must exert all our strength to destroy it."

This was the mood of the imperialistic ruling class of England.

Lloyd George received us with the observation: "There is no such thing as a preliminary peace. Your army is crossing the ethnographic borders of Poland. Orders have been given to send out the English fleet and the transportation of munitions to Danzig has already begun." And then he added: "But we shall wait. In a week I shall speak in Parliament. Within this week our government will follow the advances of the Red Army."

After leaving Lloyd George, I said to Kamenev: "That is a declaration of war. But they have not the force with which to wage this war; otherwise, if they had, they would not wait."

Two days later Lloyd George again summoned me to him, and said: "Things look bad. Your army is only fifty versts from Warsaw." Simultaneously he proposed that we inaugurate armistice negotiations.

"If you want peace, then stop supporting Poland," I said. The English Prime Minister then became quite frank. "You ask for demobilization, but Poland has no munitions, no arms, and even if it should gather together all its soldiers it will nevertheless be helpless without our weapons and our munitions.

I answered: "Even if England renounces its support of Poland, this would not necessarily mean that France would do the same." "The French Prime Minister Millerand will not sign such a treaty," answered Lloyd George, "until he has first consulted us on the matter."

"What would happen if France, in spite of the fact that our conditions are accepted, will not cease supporting Poland?" "Even if France does not approve our treaty," answered Lloyd George, "Eng-

land will nevertheless wage no war against Soviet Russia, and will not support Poland either."

Then the Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, Field Marshal Wilson, arrived, and Lloyd George left with him, in order to work out the armistice conditions.

Lloyd George at that time was diligently working to put himself before the English Workers' Party as an European peace apostle. To my question when the armistice negotiations would begin he said, as he would speak Monday, it was desirable that the armistice should become effective on that day.

I pointed out that being a civilian, without the advice of a military expert, I could not assume the responsibility for a step that involved the fate of the Red Army.

"How long will it take for the armistice order to reach the front?" I asked the English General. "At least four days."

Lloyd George changed color: "But that is time enough for them to take Warsaw!" he blurted out, and he replaced the word "Warsaw" in his draft of the armistice conditions with the sentence: "that the Polish Government may remain in Warsaw." So undecided was then the attitude of the English Government!

Then Lloyd George consulted the French Prime Minister. I informed the latter in a note that our Government was waiting for the Polish representatives in Minsk and that their proposals and armistice conditions were therefore without any importance.

When Lloyd George appeared in Parliament, he took a somewhat different line: "The Russians are at the gates of Warsaw," he said in his speech, "which means a threat to the peace of Versailles. Europe must not be idle. We have given orders to our fleet to sail for Helsingfors and our fleet in the Black Sea will also hold itself in readiness."

After this speech Lloyd George was handed our armistice conditions. After he had read them and consulted the Ministers, he communicated them to Parliament and declared that the conditions had created a new situation and that England would refuse to render active help to Poland.

A telegram had also been forwarded to Warsaw advising that the conditions be at once accepted.

Simultaneously, a telegram to the opposite effect arrived from the French Government, saying that Wrangel was recognized the legal regent of South

Russia, and calling upon Warsaw to abstain from any negotiations.

The Entente was having bad luck. Our negotiations cut a breach in the common policy of England and France. We had sown discord between them.

Simultaneously a crisis arose in the English Workers' Movement. At the congress of all the workers' organizations of England, a Council of Action was elected, which set up, for the first time in England, a question that has already been solved in our country: *Parliament or Soviets*. And then there were transactions concerning the question of a war with Russia.

How the struggle of the Council of Action will develop it is now difficult to say, but the Council exists and when it held a secret vote among the mine workers on the subject of the strike it recorded a million votes in favor and only 200,000 votes against this strike.

Later, when our army was withdrawn from Warsaw, the tension between France and England relaxed. Lloyd George's views underwent a change. The fact that Lloyd George has banished me from England is only one episode in his struggle against the working class organization. He had chosen a moment in which he calculated that our failure would make the English workers waver, and he will again shift to our side when the parallelogram of forces changes.

## A New Conspiracy

Moscow, October 26.—To "*Freiheit*", Berlin; "*Rote Fahne*", Berlin! and to All!

One of the lessons of the latest Riga scandal, which is occupying the entire public opinion of Latvia at present, is that foreign diplomacy is continuing to labor at effecting a secret alliance with agents of the counter-revolution. The latter are attempting everywhere to recruit soldiers for Wrangel's army.

It is reported from Libau that on September 26 letters had been found in the possession of Count Pahlen—a not unfamiliar name, as he is a well-known agent of Bermond—bearing the address of the political commission of Wrangel at Warsaw, which letters were confiscated. The Political Commissioner in question is named Savinkov. The letter is signed by a certain Derenthal, who states that he is a secret agent of Savinkov in the Latvian Government.

Among other things, Derenthal says that soldiers are being recruited in Latvia for Wrangel's army, and are being transported on steamers from Latvia to Memel, under certificates as Polish civil refugees: Derenthal further recounts in his letter that Savinkov's representatives had a secret conference at Riga with representatives of the Latvian Government and with the Commander-in-Chief of the Latvian Army, at which the Latvian Prime Minister Ulmanis, the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mejerowicz, and the representative of the Staff Command, General Radsin, were present.

Savinkov made an agreement with the Latvian Government to wage war against the Soviet Government jointly with Wrangel. For these services Wrangel promised to recognize the independence of Poland and Latvia, while Esthonia, Lithuania, and Ukraine are to have only autonomous administration. It is well known also that the original documents that had been taken from Pahlen and sent to the Staff Command, to General Radsin, have been destroyed by the Higher Military Command and the agents of Savinkov, in order to wipe out all traces of the matter.

In the night preceding October 16, a certain Falkowsky, employed by the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Section for Foreign Information, crossed the German boundary. Falkowsky, a former spy of the Czar's government, carried with him sealed packages, bearing the seal of the Latvian Government. These packages were addressed to Savinkov. Falkowsky also carried with him a communication of the Latvian Government to Savinkov, which was signed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and by the Commander of the Border Guards, in order to eliminate any inspection of the packages at the border.

These events led to the following resolution in the Latvian National Assembly:

"Does every individual among the members of the Government know about the above facts, and does the entire Cabinet of Ministers accept the responsibility for such a policy? We insist on a publication of the secret correspondence that has been removed from Count Pahlen's possession. We likewise demand a precise and exhaustive answer to the National Assembly.

(Signed) RUDEWITZ, ULIAS, RALWINSKY, SELLENS.

In connection with this communication, a series of articles appeared in the Riga press. This unparalleled scandal will probably result in a ministerial crisis.

In an article in *Izvestia*, dealing with this scandal, Steklov says that such events illustrate completely the internal corruption and decomposition of the foreign bourgeoisie. Such a treacherous mode of action, aimed at preventing a peaceful neighborliness between Latvia and Soviet Russia could only rebound to the disadvantage of the present Minister of Latvia.

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## Wireless and Other News

### FORMER HUNGARIAN COMMISSAR IN PETROGRAD

PETROGRAD, November 4.—The former President of the Hungarian Council of People's Commissars, Varga, has just returned here from an investigating journey in Central Russia. He succeeded in escaping from Austria with a consignment of Russian prisoners of war. In a conversation with a representative of *Krasnaya Gazeta*, Varga reports concerning the horrors which followed the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary. Murder, robbery, extortion, are the order of the day. All the prisons are overfilled. Regardless of the terror, there is nevertheless a workers' movement, even though it is weak. There are illegal Communist organizations. The situation of the workers is extremely hard. Varga has already traveled through a number of sections of Soviet Russia, in order to make himself acquainted with the life of the Russian proletariat. In Petrograd he is engaged in the study of the trade union organizations.

### COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY THREATS

The *Petrogradskiya Izvestia* says the following: "While the Western European press is continuing to spread all possible kinds of lies concerning Soviet Russia, the agents of foreign imperialism are preparing a new campaign against the Soviet power. Thus the leader of the Social-Revolutionists, Chernov, recently declared that now that there was peace with Poland there would be a new assault directed against the Soviet power under the banner of democracy. The Soviet Government has for three years withstood the imperialistic attacks and will await the new blow of its enemies with equanimity. There is no doubt that the Soviet Government will once more frustrate the plans of its opponents. Meanwhile discipline and vigilance are necessary. All obstacles in the way of reaching the final goal of the proletarian revolution must be removed."

### INSURRECTIONS IN MOSCOW FICTITIOUS

(*Rosta Official*).—An NCP telegram from Copenhagen to Stockholm newspapers on the subject of mutinies among the soldiers in Moscow, in which connection the Soviet Government is alleged to have arrested six or seven thousand people, is without any foundation. This report, brought by travelers in Riga, is one of the countless false alarms that are being spread by Russian counter-revolutionists, with the object of convincing the world that the Soviet Government is about to fall. In reality, as *Rosta* is in a position definitely to affirm, on the basis of direct information from Moscow, there is absolute quiet in that city.

### CONDITIONS IN GEORGIA

*Rosta*.—In an article appearing in *Pravda* Radek gives an account of the trip to Georgia recently accomplished by members of the Second International, with Kautsky, Renaudel, and Shaw at their head. He characterizes this expedition as a new political manoeuvre on the part of English imperialists in the Caucasus. This visit paid by members of the Second International to Georgia was coincident with the negotiations between England and the Georgian Government on the subject of a loan to Georgia. As security for this loan England demanded that Batum be given up to be used by her as a basis of operations against the Turkish revolutionists, thus hoping to get the Caucasus, including Baku, into her hands, in order by this means to cut off Soviet Russia from its supplies of naphtha. This far-reaching manoeuvre had to be prepared politically, and the practical carrying out of this plan was attempted with the aid of the Second International. The Second International, which has assumed a position that is hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat, sees nothing wrong in supporting the attacks of the bourgeois democracy.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT GEORGIA

MOSCOW, November 2, 1920.—Ramsey MacDonald is defending the Republic of Georgia in the *London Nation*, while the counter-revolutionary Government of Georgia is oppressing the working masses by the use of violence. The secret government police of Georgia permits itself the most cruel violence on the persons of all revolutionists. Communists are either shot or thrown into prison. Southern Osetia has literally been razed to the ground by punitive expeditions, because it had introduced Soviet institutions. Oppressed nationalities, such as the Adjanians and the Abkasians, are murdered in great numbers. At the very time that MacDonald was in Batum, a number of workers were arrested because they had wanted to organize a demonstration for the Third Internationale. The demonstration nevertheless took place and was only put down by force by the police, while Macdonald and his companions were being royally entertained by the Government. In Tiflis all demonstrations against the government and against Macdonald's party were put down by the most emphatic use of force, while Macdonald's presence was concealed.

Macdonald now openly demands that English soldiers be sent to the Caucasus, and surely he means that they are to be used against the Soviet Government. He demands that the English Government shall help Georgia, shall bring about an alliance with the Trans-Caucasian Republics, which would be equivalent to the suppression of the Azerbaijan Republic by the imperialistic powers.

### FREE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA

*Izvestia* reports that the Archbishop of Penza, Vladimir, has proposed to the Executive Committee of Soviet Russia the plan of a free People's Church.

The plan states among other things: The former church was only a means for stupefying and exploiting the people. The new church must take up the struggle against lies and exploitation. Christianity, to be sure, aims to attain eternal peace without bloodshed. But it recognizes the existence of the various classes and therefore also the class struggle. There is only one means of preventing wars in the future, a union of all workers under one flag. Let that be the basis of the free People's Church.

### COMMUNIST TEXTBOOKS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has decided to instruct several well-known Communist writers to prepare elementary text books for the schools of Soviet Russia. So, for example, Bukharin is to write on the materialistic conception of history and political parties during the proletarian revolution; Bubnov, on the history of the Communist Party; Styeklov, on the history of the labor movement in Western Europe and International; Stalin on the principles of Communist tactics, Vorovsky is to write a history of literature, Tomsky on industrial organization, Milyutin on the organization of economy in Soviet Russia, and so forth.

### TOBACCO INDUSTRY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, November 3.—*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* says the following on the tobacco industry: In the last few years Russia was supplied with tobacco goods chiefly by the makhorka\* factories. These factories got their raw materials from the provinces of Tambov, Riazan and Samara. In the spring of 1920 the tobacco stocks of all the Soviet factories amounted to 50,000 poods. In that season, the Kuban district was reconquered by the Red Army and communications were opened with the rest of Russia. In the year 1915 the Kuban district supplied more than one-half of Russia's needs of tobacco. The tobacco production of Crimea supplied eight per cent and Bessarabia six per cent. In the Kuban there have been accumulated stocks at the present time which have been yielded by the harvests of several seasons. Supplies at Yekaterinodar, Maikop, Novorossiysk, as well as in the Crimea, now amount to 2,000,000 poods. Since the Kuban district has been open for communication with Soviet Russia, there have been transported to Petrograd 120,000 poods of tobacco, covering the needs of six months; 500,000 poods have been transported north. The remaining stocks of raw tobacco may be exported.

\* *Makhorka*, a coarse tobacco smoked by the poor under the Old Regime.

### REPORT ON RUSSIA

BERLIN, November 7.—The Berlin Trades Council delegation which visited Russia last summer has just returned and made a report to the Central Council.

Their report is another proof that when real working men, and not intellectuals of middle-class training and origin, go to study Soviet Russia on the spot, their reports in the main are favorable. Thus, if Dittmann and Crispian, of the Right Independents, have their counterparts in certain I.L.P. members of the British labor delegation to Russia, Rusch, Czerni, and Schumacher have their counterparts in the British trade union members of that delegation.

Rusch, in his report, was careful to point out that the hunger and the fall in production were due to the constant mobilizations which the Soviets were compelled to make to beat off the international bandits let loose by the Entente on Russia. He gave evidence, however, that the lowest point was reached in the summer of 1919, and since then there had been a gradual rise in production in many industries.

The feeding of workmen in industries is being solved by allotting the land around factories to be cultivated by the workers.

He said he went everywhere without hindrance. He warned against a general emigration of German workers to Russia, saying that Russia needed not men and material, but a certain number of skilled artisans and technicians, which Germany could supply.

Schumacher in his report said that Russia had timber and wool ready for export, and that this winter the Russian cities were fairly well supplied with fuel, thanks to the opening of Baku oil and the improvement in the navigation of the Volga.—*Daily Herald*, November 10, 1920.

### REVOLUTIONARY TURKISH MISSION

GROZNY, October 30.—A mission of the revolutionary government in Turkey has arrived at Grozny, at the head of which stands Begir Sari. The mission made itself acquainted with the results of the activity of the Caucasian Labor Army and was immensely impressed with what had been accomplished. Begir Sari said that the Turkish people might be proud of possessing such friends as it had in the Caucasian Labor Army and the Georgian proletariat.

### KAMENEV RETURNS FROM THE SOUTHERN FRONT

Moscow, November 2.—The Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, Kamenev, has returned to Moscow from his visit to the southern front.\*

\* Mrs. Claire Sheridan, an English sculptress who visited Soviet Russia this fall and whose articles giving her impressions on Soviet Russia appeared in *The New York Times* in six instalments, beginning Monday, November 22, repeatedly mentions Kamenev's visit to the southern front and his return from that front.

# 1921

## SOVIET RUSSIA

in 1921 will attempt to place before its readers even more interesting material than it has been printing during 1920. All the regular features, such as *Weekly Military Review*, *Editorials*, *Wireless and Other Notes*, will be retained, and at least one will be considerably expanded, namely, "Books Reviewed". The latest official and unofficial articles of *Lenin*, *Trotsky*, *Lunacharsky*, *Sereda*, *Zinoviev*, and other statesmen and specialists in the various organs of the Soviet Government, will be printed as soon as they are received and translated. Also, as far as space permits, SOVIET RUSSIA will print the latest accounts by Americans and foreigners who have set down their observations of travel or work in Soviet Russia.

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

**ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT**, *Collapse and Reconstruction in Russia.*

*A masterly analysis of the economic crisis that was one of the causes impelling the Soviets in November, 1917, to seize control, as well as a review of the course taken by Soviet control of industries.*

**MAXIM GORKY**, *The Literature of the World.*

*This important essay was written by the famous Gorky as an introduction to the new series of translations to be issued at low prices by the Soviet Government.*

**LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK**, *Chemical Warfare and the New Attack on Russia.*

*The Military Reviewer of SOVIET RUSSIA predicts that savage methods will be used in the next military attack on Soviet Russia.*

**ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT**, *The Structure of the Soviet System in Russia.*

*A clear summary of the outline of the administrative and political system in Soviet Russia, with definite statements of all interrelations.*

**ART UNDER COMMUNISM**, by the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA.

**PIERRE PASCAL**, *Impressions of Soviet Russia.*

**IVAN OLBRACHT**, *A Sociological Study of Present-Day Russia.*

**BOHUMIR SMERAL**, *Conversations With Russian Leaders.*

We have not yet increased the price of SOVIET RUSSIA, in spite of the very much increased costs in printing and production. But it is not certain how long we can continue holding down our prices of subscription and single copies, and we therefore advise all who are thinking of subscribing to SOVIET RUSSIA to do so at the present low subscription rates: They are: for one year, \$5.00; for six months, \$2.50; for ten weeks, \$1.00.

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