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## Impressions of Moscow and the Kremlin

By DR. BOHUMIR SMERAL

I used the last moments for a rapid survey of some of the interior departments of the Kremlin. That part of the Kremlin which served as dwelling and show apartments of the Czar's family, is in charge of a comrade who uses for its administration an entire office. In rooms adjoining his offices are the dwellings of the Red soldiers on guard duty in the Kremlin. Here it is necessary to procure a card of admission. A former lackey of the Czar is assigned to me as a guide. In addition to me, at least eight divisions of Red Guards are inspecting the luxurious halls of the former residence of the Czar. Each division is escorted by a woman comrade, who explains each object, each hall, each picture, to her soldier comrades. The guides explain and instruct with much zeal and very ably. They show them the luxury of the former Czar, combining with their explanation a lesson in Socialism. The monarch could live in this luxury only because millions were slaves. The revolution overthrew the Czar and today these mementos, as museum relics, belong to the people.

It is important to remark that all historical mementos and places in the Kremlin are very conscientiously guarded by the Soviet rule. Wherever there is a rare mosaic floor, it is covered with a coarse cloth cover, also costly carpets, chairs and lounges are covered. In the lower halls in this part of the Kremlin, there is a vast number of cases unopened, strictly numbered and provided with seals of the state. How easily it could be spread through the world, that these are the Kremlin treasures which the Bolsheviki are trying to steal and sell. Instead, they are the treasure of the Petrograd museums, which the government, with the greatest care, had brought over here into

safety, at the time, when it was not improbable that Petrograd might fall into the hands of Yudenich. Now, the Soviet Government feels itself so secure that it expects to transfer the cases, which were not opened here, back to their original place in Petrograd.

The one-time lackey who escorts us has been unable to shake off the atmosphere in which he has lived all his life. Although he does not use the words "His Majesty", whenever he pronounces the name of some monarch he uses the word "imperator", and you can feel with what reverence he speaks it. When he points to the vast number of gold and silver plates, upon which the cities were wont to hand the Czar bread and salt on the occasion of state visits, and when he notices my consternation that the Czar should have taken not only the bread, but the heavy plates also, the good old soul excuses him, saying: "Later, however, the Imperator realized that it was too costly and hinted that bread and salt be given to him on wooden plates," and he turns and calls attention to a collection of wooden plates. His sentiments are no obstacle for him to finish the rest of his life in the service of a proletarian republic.

To describe the luxury of the Czar's hall would be of no value. This description may be found in my guide-book. Upon the minds of the simple Russian soldier this luxury makes an unusual impression, when his attention is called to it in connection with the explanation of Socialism. I noticed the impression it made upon a division of the Red Guards, when shown the salons furnished with Babylonian splendor within the immediate proximity of the private apartment of the Czar's family, and when they were told that with the

exception of two visits, of a few days, by the Siamese King and the Persian Shah, these rooms have not been occupied for centuries. The most vivid impression, however, upon the simple visitors, is made by a picture by Ryepin, which the Czar apparently greatly treasured, for he had it hung in a very conspicuous place in one of the first halls, so that it drew my eye immediately upon the staircase landing. The Czar, after the war, receives representatives from the country. Around him, in the first rows, are official personages, in postures of official humility, with indifference in their faces. In the background are the representatives of the population, muzhiks. They are looking intently at their "gosudar", their eyes upon him as though they wished in advance to know what word he may say: a very old man, bent with years of inhuman toil, with his hand to his ear in order the better to hear what is said by him from whom he expects salvation. And the words are such that the Czar himself considered them of such importance that he had them engraved in the metal covers of this picture. "I am glad to see you once more. I am particularly grateful to you for your hearty cooperation in our victories, in which all Russia so valiantly participated. When you return home again, give my best thanks to all. Let yourselves be guided by the advice and leadership of your masters and the nobility, and do not be misled by the silly and ugly prattle that the land shall be divided among you, and other such talk. Such talk is spread by our enemies. All private property, including yours, must remain untouched. God give you happiness and health." This picture deserves to be exhibited in the largest square in Moscow. But nowhere could it be more effective than here amidst the luxury and pomp of the private life of the Czars, in a place where the Czar himself, so enchanted with it, had it hung. In the private apartments of the Czarine stood a lot of unusually hideous bric-a-brac and vases from Nuremberg and Frankfurt. By these intimate details it can easily be seen how close they were—those who ruled nations—and who drove them into international murder—how close were the Romanovs and the Hohenzollerns.

In the afternoon I visited a division of the Central Workers' School. "Raboche-krestyanski universitet imeni tovarishcha Sverdlova" (Workers' and Peasants' University in memory of Comrade Sverdlov), which is situated in several buildings. One of its chief parts is in the University building in the Minsk Square; the second is in the palace in the Malaya Dmitrovka 6. I shall visit this second division. A few days ago, Comrade Olbracht visited the Central Workers' School, during the forenoon lectures. He was present at a lecture given by Lunacharsky on the development of Greek culture. Lunacharsky, having been detained by his official duties, was late. Before his arrival, the students held a meeting, in correct form. Domestic affairs were brought up (linens, heating, etc.). One complained about food. He was over-

ruled by other students, who pointed out categorically that the students had the best food, the same as soldiers and factory hands. Lunacharsky lectured for three-quarters of an hour on Greek culture. His lecture was exhaustive, concise, objective, distinct. It was supplemented by stereoptical views, and followed by the recitation of Sapphic verses by an actress of the Moscow theatre. Then a ballet performed Grecian Dances, which finished the program. "In two such hours a student acquires more than if he sat bent over his books for days," Olbracht then said to me. I saw today worker-students in the afternoon, a time, which according to the school-plan is devoted to repetition and resume of material given by the professors.

I entered the building at five o'clock in the afternoon. In the doorway I encountered a Japanese with note books under his arm. In the conference room I am received by an intelligent woman-comrade of about twenty-six. She will immediately telephone to Nevsky. In the meantime she offers me tea. The room is simply furnished. Along the walls are portraits of thirty-six of the most renowned Russian poets, writers, scholars: Griboyedov, Ostrovsky, Uspensky, Korolenko, Chekhov, Pisarev, Goncharov, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Pisemsky, Dostoyevsky, Apukhtin, Dobrolyubov, and others. Above all, in a large frame, Pushkin and Tolstoy. The woman-comrade answers my questions about the building. This place was a club-house of the wealthiest merchants in Moscow. Here were held dinners, drunken bouts, and much was rumored in Moscow about orgies with women. Today, these halls serve for the socialistic training of the proletariat. In the first phase of the Revolution—which it is impossible to deny—there came to the surface much of the mob-element, and this building was captured by a group of well-armed bandits, numbering several hundred. They declared themselves to be anarchists. They were, however, people without any principles or ideals, who threatened the safety of the entire vicinity. There was no help, and our comrades were compelled to clean out this nest by means of bullets. When you walk through the halls, you will see in one of them two couches from which the velvet had been torn. This damage was not done by our people,—that was done before.

Comrade Nevsky comes in. He supplements what has already been said about the school. The division into two parts (a sort of faculties), party and soviet, is carried out practically in such manner that the first three months all students receive the same theoretical education. The other three months, they are separated. During the first three months they are obliged to learn the Marxian theory, the Soviet constitution, party program, the programs of other parties, history of the Russian revolution, history of other revolutions in Western Europe, history of the Russian Communist Party, important facts in the history of agriculture, history of culture, and statistics. In the practical course, the general party doctrine, its life and

agendum is adhered to. This course, which has this year 500 pupils (there are 1,200 altogether) is divided into seven sections: Organization, Propaganda, Work in the Rural Districts, Work Among Women, Work Among Young People, Journalistic Section, Military Section. The Second Soviet Department is divided into as many sections as there are commissariats in the Central State Administration. The students are delegated from the midst of political organizations, trade unions, and the Red Army, from all over Russia, and represent their most able workers. For each province there is assigned a certain number of places. The student receives lodging, maintenance and clothing and 1,600 rubles a month; if he has a family, the enterprise where he was employed pays him full wages. Besides the Workers' University, which for the time being must needs be organized only as a revolutionary substitute for the fast training of the working force, which the Revolution urgently needs, there is the general university, in which the theological and law faculties have been abolished.

We are walking through the individual halls. Recitations are in progress. In each room there are between twenty and twenty-five student-comrades, in front of them a black-board, and before it a male or female teacher. Teachers for recitations are workers, male and female, who had completed last year's course. One hundred of the best have remained with the institution. They receive maintenance for their assistance, and they educate themselves further. In each group there are several women or girls and a few Red Guards. Instruction is carried on in unconstrained manner, in the form of conversation. In some of the rooms, the students sit on school benches, in others around a table. In one room the twenty students, including their Red teacher, were crowded on a balcony, so that while receiving instruction, they might enjoy the sun which was beginning to be quite warm. Nearly everywhere

the students wear their overcoats and caps. It is a remnant from hard weeks, when it was necessary for them to sit in these rooms during the most severe frost. In all the groups instruction about the Soviet is given. Here the composition and jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress, elsewhere the jurisdiction of the Soviet People's Commissars is taken up, and, in other groups, the Soviet Congress, etc. I ask a woman-student: "In what way does our constitution differ from that of the bourgeois-democracy?" She gives the correct answer: "The Soviet Constitution is the expression of the will and power of the working people, laborers and peasants." These courses have not as yet text-books of their own, only a few possess very nicely illustrated readers for higher public school classes, which bear the title: "We will create a new world." I have seen, in special division, young comrades representing Asiatic nations: Siberians, Turkestans, Hindus, two Japanese and two Chinese. They cannot write Russian and in order to be able to read Russian socialistic literature, they were just then learning the Slavonic alphabet. The majority of these have no academic education from home, yet they are picked and seem to have sharp native intelligence.

We also inspected the economic arrangement of the building: a pantry, a kitchen, cellars. Beneath, masons are at work; they are installing tubs and shower-baths. The building ought to be painted. This year, however, there will be neither time nor funds for it. This improvement therefore will have to be postponed until the following year. Finally we walked through the lodgings of the students—large, barrack-like, yet clean. When we were leaving the building, the students were crowding into the kitchen as hungry as wolves. Although they receive precisely the same kind of food as is served in the house I live in, the young people are unable to wait until evening. They carry bread with them and tea is to be served to them.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**T**HE official statement of Kamenev, the Soviet Government envoy in London, concerning the complete defeat of the Wrangel armies, both in the Kuban region as well as in South Russia, has been confirmed by Trotsky. The Soviet War Minister stated that ex-General Wrangel's forces that landed in Kuban territory have been "wiped out."

On August 27 a Russian detachment landed two versts from Nizhnestiblevskaya, which was attacked at dawn and captured after fierce street fighting. "A large number of officers and three generals were cut down" the dispatch explains. "We captured over 1,000 prisoners, many guns and military stores. We captured technical stores and many other trophies, an inventory of which is being made. We also destroyed an armored car." And all

this was so quickly and unexpectedly accomplished by the Soviet raiders that they lost only twenty men killed.

In other parts, where the Wrangel expeditionary forces were in full advance into the Kuban region, they were surprised by a series of vigorous counter-attacks of the Reds and entirely defeated.

In commenting on this victory, Trotsky states that Wrangel's "hope of holding the Kuban territory, and after it, Northern Caucasus," has been destroyed at its root.

Being also defeated and vigorously pursued in South Russia, the Franco-Wrangel forces have fallen back in disorder towards the Crimea, and finally their front is now confined to the Crimean sector, where the fragments of the beaten White

forces will find a shelter, being protected by the Allied navy.

The Russian delegation in London officially stated that the reports of Wrangel's capture of Novorossysk and Yekaterinodar are "pure inventions."

This great success of the Soviet army over the counter-revolutionary invasion assumes major importance in view of the events in Persia and its probable influence on the Mussulman Congress, now being held in Baku. According to a dispatch from Teheran, Persia, (*The Christian Science Monitor*, August 3): "In the fighting on August 25, near Enzeli, the Russians landed heavy trench mortars, and four-inch howitzers. A long struggle was maintained where the road from Resht reaches the sea. Here the Persian cossacks (the reactionaries) suffered from mortar and howitzer fire and were also enfiladed from the ships." The retreat towards Resht is described as "somewhat disorderly." "British support, however, is close at hand," says the message, and adds that "in Persia some convoys have lately been attacked between Hamadan and Kavin." Taking into consideration this positive success of the Soviet arms in South Russia and in Asia, it becomes an easy matter to throw a little light on the mysterious circumstances on the Russo-Polish front.

Now, when once more the accuracy of the reports as to what took place during the so-called "battle for Warsaw," is absolutely compromised, and the "victorious" Poles are falling back under the pressure of the Soviet army along the Northern front, it is clear that the time has come when the real Russian offensive of the Red Army with Warsaw as its objective is only in its first stages.

The military news from Polish and French sources remains extremely obscure; the Moscow wireless reports are in part suppressed and in part censored to such an extent that it is scarcely possible to follow the movement of the Soviet army. But, in spite of this lack of information, the real state of affairs in the Russian army can be firmly ascertained.

An army that was able, within one week after a considerable setback, to restore order, and not only to stop the advance of its enemy, but counter-attack him and force him to give way, is an army which may be considered as physically and morally intact. And that is at the present moment the condition of the Soviet Army.

Therefore it may be said with absolute certainty that the morale of the Reds, as well as their military organization, must be on a very high level.

We were told by General Weygand that two-thirds of all Bolshevik fighting forces were absolutely annihilated during the Polish "pursuit", within six days. If so, how could the remaining one-third have been able to check the pursuers, defeat them and recapture such important places as the forts of Brest-Litovsk, situated on the western bank of the Bug, Grodno, and many other

towns and villages, which represent the defense-line of the Warsaw region?

General Weygand seems to be as poor an arithmetician as he is a strategist. If this French military leader saved Warsaw, which he did by forcing the Polish Government to massacre all the Polish Communists or sympathizers with peace with Soviet Russia, and, with the help of the Catholic clergy, forced the Poles fanatically to rush to meet the Russian cavalry, which had already broken into the city of Warsaw, he simultaneously led the Polish army into complete destruction, and finally condemned Warsaw to the inevitable occupation by the Soviet armies in the near future.

For a former chief of staff of Marshall Foch, who together with his chief planned the Polish campaign, it is unpardonable not to have understood the real significance of the Russian advance on the Polish capital. For he had at his disposal the American Kosciusko Squadron, and a huge number of French and Polish airmen, to aid in discovering the real strength of the advancing Russians, and to appreciate the strategical character of the movement, which now, after the defeat of the Wrangel armies, becomes as clear as day.

As far as we may learn from a summary of the general military situation since the failure of the Soviet forces to take Warsaw, there never was a decisive offensive on the part of the Soviet headquarters staff directed against Warsaw. The Supreme Russian Military Command, after the defeat of the Polish field army, considered the Poles as unable for a considerable period to constitute a serious threat to Russia. Therefore Budenny's cavalry was ordered to continue its pursuit of the beaten enemy, as far as possible. In order to make this pursuit more effective, a considerable number of the mounted infantry and some mounted and field artillery were added to this force. The movement was so perfectly camouflaged by its decisiveness and vigor that it was considered as an offensive of the bulk of the Red Army directed on Warsaw. In reality, it was only a demonstration staged on a large scale, while the real blow was directed by the Russian General Staff, not towards Poland, but towards Wrangel, who was gradually approaching the Donets industrial district, and becoming more and more dangerous, and more important than the defeated Poles, being an enemy in the interior who could be constantly supported by France, England and other sympathizing governments, without encountering difficulties in view of hostile railroad workers in Western European countries. General Weygand did not expect this, and also failed to foresee that after the Poles had defeated, in Warsaw, the Russians who had penetrated into the city, and then broken through the thin lines of the Red attacking forces, they would, instead of being able to force a decisive battle, be obliged to move on, almost without resistance by the enemy, as far as Brest-Litovsk and Grodno. They also did not foresee that along the river Bug the weakened

Polish army would then suddenly come upon fresh and formidable Red forces, the real bulk of the Soviet Army, which is in full advance to the West, being now capable of receiving reinforcements from the ranks of those Red troops which have so brilliantly accomplished their heavy task in South Russia.

When General Weygand understood the real dramatic situation in which he had put the "victorious" Poles, whom he had so eloquently convinced that the Russians were by no means able to counter-attack, he hurried to leave Poland with the idea that the approaching Polish debacle had better take place under the command of Polish generals rather than of himself.

That this French strategist has suddenly discovered the critical position of the Polish army, is proved by his sudden return to Paris, after which the Poles also suddenly were advised not to penetrate too far while "pursuing" their enemy, whereas they had been ordered only a short while ago by the same military adviser, to take as much as possible of the territory of Russia in order to establish themselves in "strong, strategical positions." Where these positions are was not mentioned. Then the Poles were advised to entrench themselves, using the old German trenches. This last suggestion naturally provoked a protest from Pilsudski. The famous Polish conqueror of Moscow, in spite of all his ignorance of military art, well realized that in order to hold a front of a length of about 400 miles, in the same way as the Germans had, one must have a German army, not a Polish army, which, according to Pilsudski's confession, is "far too small and poorly supplied."

"Our friends wish us to halt on the eastern front and maintain a solely defensive attitude," he says. "In my opinion, that cannot be done. How is it possible for a small army, not technically well equipped, to create a defensive line on a front of hundreds of kilometers?"

And in despair, and showing his complete lack of military training, Pilsudski continues "either to advance to complete destruction of the enemy or else to halt on our illusory frontiers, to conclude peace as quickly as possible."

The last suggestion is very safe and sane, but how poor Pilsudski is supposed to advance to a complete destruction of the enemy, when he does not find it possible even to maintain a solely defensive attitude, is rather difficult to ascertain. Such ideas, it seems to me, can only be explained by the Franco-Polish military experts; I do not understand at all.

Considering the total losses of the Soviet army during its "offensive" on Warsaw, Pilsudski continues: "It will therefore take the Soviets a long time to reorganize their armies, and I doubt whether they will even then be of great military value." (N. Y. *Times*, August 31.) The facts show us that the Red Army did not even require any reorganization, because it never was disorganized, and the gallant Polish military leader will certainly soon appreciate the military value of the

Soviet forces if he has not in the past been able to understand it.

The London *Daily Herald* of August 21 gives a rather interesting description of the development of the last Russian dash on Warsaw, which I consider as a very important piece of information for an understanding of the character of the whole Russian manoeuvre.

"After the crossing of the river Bug, the Bolsheviks appear to have advanced directly on Warsaw with about two corps, badly supplied with artillery, and at the same time to have made a great raid north of the city, between the river Vistula and the East Prussian frontier, into the Danzig 'corridor', through which alone supplies for the Poles could reach the front from the Entente powers.

"The main advance reached a line variously reported as seven to fifteen miles east of Warsaw, but the raid, doubtless made by the very efficient Red cavalry, was extraordinarily successful. One railway line through Mlava and Novogeorgievsk was cut, and that lying much farther west and running through Thorn and Graudenz was at least temporarily interrupted.

"The Poles in the meanwhile had apparently been forced by panic to accept the suggestion of General Weygand, the chief of the French mission. A more or less 'prepared' position had been constructed and garrisoned by the new Polish levies. Considerable forces of artillery and machine-guns were brought into play.

"Into this defended zone the two Bolshevik army corps bumped, and, having outstripped their artillery, recoiled after failing to rush it.

"At this moment Pilsudski, still acting under the inspiration of Weygand, launched a counter-attack, or, rather, two counter-attacks.

"He struck north along the railway towards Mlawa, and brought the Bolshevik cavalry tumbling back out of the 'corridor', their communication being now threatened in turn. And he struck also due east towards Siedlec in the hope of overwhelming the advanced corps of the Red Army before they were adequately supported.

"The Polish plan was, or seems to have been, to drive two wedges into a not very compact or thoroughly coordinated line. It has been so far successful that Warsaw reports the Polish army as having reoccupied Lukow, sixty miles east of the capital, and rather less from Brest-Litovsk. Lukow was captured by the Bolsheviks on August 11. To the north, the Polish counter-attack seems to have gone fifty miles, before, in its turn, receiving a check.

"The importance of the Bolshevik reverse lies, of course, rather in its political than its military aspect. Knowing the shifty people he has to deal with at Minsk, and that they were supported by even shiftier people at Paris and elsewhere, Trotsky took the risk to secure the valuable pawns of Warsaw and the Danzig 'corridor'. He foresaw that with these pawns in his hands, the course of

the peace negotiations would be smoother and more rapid.

"That coup appears to have failed, at any rate, temporarily. If the Bolsheviks really want to take Warsaw for its own sake, they can almost certainly do so, when their reinforcements and artillery have come up. But there is every reason to believe that what the Bolsheviks really want is not Warsaw, but peace."

Unfortunately, I do not see a stable peace with Poland unless Warsaw will be occupied by the Russians as a guarantee. Warsaw, as I have often repeated, is the political and strategical center of Poland, and, according to strategical principles, it must be struck at by all means. Warsaw is the

only place where a stable peace could be signed between Soviet Russia and a free Poland. At least this is the opinion of a military expert who still remembers the consequences of the failure of the Allies to reach Berlin.

General Weygand's relief of Warsaw from its occupation by the Russian cavalry without bombardment of the city and without bloodshed only caused the Polish delegates at Minsk to stiffen their peace terms and practically break off the peace negotiations, and there is little hope that they will limit their ambitions unless Imperialistic Poland is struck in the heart, as is the principle of strategy, and the heart of Poland is Warsaw.

## The Soviet Republic and Foreign Capital

By A. LOMOV

### THE PROBLEM OF CONCESSIONS

THE economic life of Russia has always depended on that of Western Europe. Moreover, before the war it was foreign commerce that predominated.

In the last years before the World War almost thirty-four per cent of the finished products and the half-finished products in metallurgical production were imported from abroad. And the situation was exactly the same in all the other branches of industry.

The subordination of the economic life of Russia to that of other countries was not, however, the result only of the industrial situation in Russia.

Russia suffered particularly from lack of national capital and, as a result, offered a ready field for the importation of foreign capital. The Donets Basin, the most highly developed industrial district in Russia, was the most striking example of this, but not the only one.

In 1869 John Hughes formed in London a stock company with the object of organizing the first metallurgical enterprise in the Donets Basin. Since that time the metallurgy of Southern Russia, which developed considerably meanwhile, has continually attracted foreign capital.

At the time of the November Revolution there was not a single metallurgical enterprise in the South of Russia which did not employ foreign capital. Of 18 stock companies, 16 were quoted on the foreign exchanges. As for the stock of the two remaining companies, the foreign exchanges were closed to them, but German capital was nevertheless the principal stockholder. Thirteen (13) companies, embracing more than two-thirds of the total production, are enterprises supported almost exclusively by foreign capital. In six other enterprises of mixed capital, foreign capital also predominated.

Furthermore, foreign capital plays the same important part in the coal industry of the Donets.

In 1912, the total coal extracted amounted to 806.78 million poods (13,012,000 long tons). The

war it was foreign commerce that predominated. with foreign capital produce alone 769.46 million poods (12,410,000 long tons), that is, 95.4 per cent of the total amount of coal extracted.

Further, foreign capital was invested in stock companies owning coal-mines and coke ovens, producing 93.5 per cent of all the coke in Russia. Seventy-eight per cent of the total production of briquettes in Southern Russia was also in the hands of enterprises operating almost exclusively with foreign capital—which played just as important a part in other districts and other branches of industry. Before the war German capital owned the greater part of all the electrical enterprises, part of the railroads, numerous factories for chemical products, etc., etc.; while English capital had secured possession of most of the oil wells and part of the gold mining industry. According to the estimate by Neumark, England had invested in Russian enterprises and in the loans 4½ milliard rubles (\$2,317,500,000), and France 17 milliard francs (\$3,281,000,000).

Russia was especially important from the point of view of raw material.

In fact Russia exported to the markets of Western Europe immense quantities of wheat and numerous agricultural products and cattle, as well as wood, butter, etc.

It is evident that after the war, during the course of which Belgium, Serbia, and part of France, were devastated, immense quantities of raw material will be necessary for the economic restoration of those countries. After the war it will be necessary to reconstruct what was destroyed, and the need for raw material will be the more acutely felt according as the devastation was greater.

The scarcity of wood which mankind will shortly experience, which indeed it is already beginning to feel, will inevitably force Western European capital to seek reserves of wood for the markets of Europe. The forests of northern Russia will accordingly be given preference over the rest of

Europe; it is therefore natural that the world's capital should turn first to them.

Exportation of wood had, moreover, increased greatly before the war. This is shown in the following table:

Years	Wood Exports		Percentage of wood exports as compared with total exports
	Millions of Rubles	Millions of Dollars	
1901-1905 (average) ..	65.9	33.9	7.0
1906-1910 (average) ..	116.4	59.9	9.6
1910 .....	138.2	71.2	9.5
1911 .....	142.4	73.3	9.0
1912 .....	153.4	79.0	10.0
1913 .....	164.9	84.9	15.8

Wood exports, just before the war, had increased much more rapidly than the total exports of Russia, or the exports of other articles. When war was declared, the wood exports of Russia were greater than of all other articles with the exception of wheat. It is interesting to see how our wood export was divided among the different countries. The following table shows per cent distribution of exports by countries of destination:

Country	1901-05	1906-10	1910	1911	1912	1913
Germany .	40.5	38.7	33.9	33.2	33.8	32.3
Austria-Hungary .	1.9	3.7	2.9	2.6	2.7	2.3
Belgium ..	5.7	5.1	4.9	3.8	3.7	3.9
Gt. Britain	33.4	32.8	37.3	39.8	40.0	37.7
France ...	3.6	4.7	5.1	4.1	3.9	4.9
Holland ..	12.4	12.7	13.3	12.1	11.7	16.2
All Other.	2.5	2.3	2.6	4.4	4.2	2.7
Total ....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Before the war almost half (45.6) of our exports by weight, and more than half (51.4) by value, went to the Entente countries. It is evident that the need for wood material after the war will compel the Entente countries to increase this percentage still further, the more that Russia in this respect enjoys a monopoly in Europe. (The forests of Sweden and Norway were exhausted before the war, and Russia alone has kept large supplies of superior qualities of wood.)

Moreover, it is because of such considerations that the capital of Western Europe looks to the other natural riches of Russia, which have been hitherto only partially exploited or not at all.

The scarcity of minerals in Europe, the lack of certain metals, may easily be overcome by an intensification of production.

In addition we possess a number of agricultural products which we do not even dream of exporting, given the present situation, but which we can send to various parts of Russia to feed the population. These products are of importance to Europe also. Butter, for example, was one of the chief products exported.

In 1910 Siberia alone exported about 4,000,000 pounds (144,400,000 lbs.) of butter and, in 1912, 4,525,000 pounds (163,352,500 lbs.), of which 1,500,000 pounds (54,150,000 lbs.) went to England.

The economic life of Russia, closely connected as it is with that of Western Europe, will have

still greater need after the war and after the Revolution, of the products and capital of Western Europe; and foreign capital will more than ever demand Russia's raw material, which in the case of numerous products enjoys a world monopoly. Although Russia is now at war with almost all the capitalist powers of Europe, although the world's capital has established the economic blockade of Russia, we can say with certainty that this situation can not last long, and that the two parties will be forced within a short time to resume close economic relations.

The re-establishment of the economic activity of Russia implies the necessity for her breaking at all costs the chain which now blocks her economically. During the war not only did Russia not succeed in increasing her production, but on the contrary it decreased. In fact a great part of the machines and renewable parts came to us from abroad, and principally from Germany. Since the war the character of importation into Russia has changed radically. In place of machinery and articles necessary for the economic life of peace times, only articles for war have been imported. The revolution of 1917 did not, moreover, bring any improvement in this situation. After the Revolution in November, importation decreased gradually. The question of the re-establishment of commercial exchange with foreign countries is therefore of great importance for the economic life of Russia.

Foreign capital is offered two means to solve the question of economic relations with Soviet Russia.

1. Direct suppression of the Communist Revolution in Russia. This foreign capital tried to do, in the first phase of the revolutionary development, when Japanese, American, German, and English troops were sent against Russia. This first phase may now be considered ended. Today Lloyd George understands more and more the necessity of ceasing military operations against Russia, and seeking to enter upon an agreement with the Bolshevik government.

2. The Entente bourgeoisie, feeling that it is impossible rapidly to destroy Bolshevism, will inevitably seek another policy, that is, they will try to exploit, even under the authority of the Bolsheviks and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the natural riches of Russia, in the hope of reaping great profits. Naturally this implies the necessity of concluding a precise arrangement with the Communist government.

The two parties will therefore hasten to establish a mutual agreement in order to end hostilities and renew friendly relations.

We know, of course, that foreign capital will agree to this solution only if the Russian Soviet Republic offers it sufficient compensation. It cannot permit that the Soviet Government, "to save the face of Socialism," should repudiate the debts contracted by Russia towards foreign capital, refuse to pay the interest and nationalize the mines and factories which it owned.

Districts:	AREA OF STATE FORESTS						REVENUE			
	Total Area		Useful Area		Total		Total Area		Useful Area	
	Millions of dessiatins	Millions of acres	Millions of dessiatins	Millions of acres	Millions of rubles	Millions of dollars	Rubles per dessiatin	Dollars per acre	Rubles per dessiatin	Dollars per acre
European Russia .....	105.9	285.9	84.2	227.4	82.4	42.4	0.78	0.15	0.98	0.19
European Russia (with the exception of 5 provinces of the North).....	13.5	36.5	10.8	29.1	64.0	32.9	4.72	0.90	5.91	1.13
The 5 provinces of the North, Archangel (without the forest district of Pechersk and Mesensk), Vologda (without Pechersk), Viatka, Olonetsk, and Perm...	70.8	190.9	57.8	156.1	18.4	9.5	0.25	0.05	0.32	0.06
Basins of the Dnieper and Dniester .....	1.6	4.2	1.3	3.5	14.7	7.6	9.34	1.78	11.39	2.17
Poland .....	0.6	1.6	0.6	1.6	8.2	4.2	13.47	2.57	14.74	2.81
Niemen Basin .....	0.8	2.1	0.7	1.8	8.2	4.2	9.97	1.90	10.83	2.07

The whole question then is one of weighing coldly the advantages offered to us by the eventual lifting of the economic blockade, the cessation of hostilities and the resumption of international economic relations without which political rule in Russia is extremely difficult.

Foreign capital can come to us in two different ways, either in the form of foreign loans, or as concessions.

As far as foreign loans are concerned, given the present instability of the international situation, it is impossible to hope for them, especially since under the present circumstances one can hardly expect the acceptance of the conditions which the capitalists of Western Europe and of America would propose.

As regards concessions, it may be said that in the present situation they appear to be practically more convenient and more possible of realization. In fact, the interest which the powers of Western Europe took in Chicherin's note on the subject of the admissibility and possibility of concessions, as well as in the proposal for concessions presented by Borissov and Hannevig, prove sufficiently that this method is possible.

If one examines the projects for concessions which will tempt the foreigners and which the Russian Soviet Republic is able to accept, it seems, the most interesting are those which relate to our forests, our natural resources, our railroads and our waterways. We must not forget, even though it be a little beside the question, the exploitation of our cotton plantations, which is intimately connected with a whole series of irrigation works.

With regard to the concession of forest exploitation to foreigners, Europe must take into consideration not only her interest in getting wood from our republic, but also the fact that our country in this respect holds an altogether privileged position in Europe. In fact, the devastation of Belgium and of nine French districts, and the considerable falling off in construction during the war, will make much greater still the demand for this product.

The forests cover a colossal area of 1,080 million acres, of which 432 millions are in European Russia, which has 227 millions in the North.

In Archangel Province, of 43 million dessiatins (116 million acres) of forests belonging to the State, only 5 million dessiatins (13½ million acres) are exploited, and only 1,800,000 dessiatins (4,860,000 acres) are exploited in the Province of Vologda, whose forest area is 24 million dessiatins (65 million acres). The expression "exploited", however, far from signifies that the forests are exploited in the usual sense of the word.

The table, printed at the head of this page, which is taken from the reports of the Forestry Department, gives the figures for 1912 with respect to the production of the different districts:

Given the relatively slight revenue from forest exploitation, their development and output were very unequal. Whereas the area of the State forests in the basins of the Dnieper and the Dniester, in Poland, and in the Basin of the Niemen, represented 2.5 per cent of the area of European Russia, and the utilized part constituted only 3 per cent of the forests, the gross revenues from the exploitation of these forests nevertheless represent more than 35 per cent of the total revenue from the forests of European Russia. In the five provinces of the North, the output of the exploited forests was about 0.32 rubles per dessiatin (0.06 dollars per acre), while in Poland it was 14.74 rubles per dessiatin (\$2.81 per acre).

In all the provinces of European Russia an average of 27.8 cubic feet per dessiatin (10.3 per acre) of exploited forest area was cut, an insignificant figure, it is true. This is explained by the fact that there was almost no production in the provinces of the North. On the other hand, in the basins of the Dnieper and the Dniester, the cutting reached 241 cubic feet per dessiatin of exploited forest, or 89.3 cubic feet per acre.

Up to the present our woodworking industry has not been able to exploit all the wealth of our forests, or, rather, has ignored them. In 1905, in the provinces of the North, there were 164 saw-mills



and woodworking establishments (53 of them in the single province of Petersburg); in the central industrial district of Russia 222 factories, and in the central agricultural district, 230.

The exploitation of forests in Northern territory properly so-called, which, because of its geographical situation, descends towards the White Sea, was not at all developed in the provinces of Archangel and Vologda, but on the other hand, it increased in the countries towards the Gulf of Finland and Petersburg. In 1911 Russia exported through Archangel and the ports of the White Sea 66 million cubic feet of timber and manufactured wood, and 78 million through Petersburg and Kronstadt.

Under these circumstances there can be no fear that Soviet Russia would be injured by organizing rational exploitation of forests under the direction of the government and by granting concessions to foreigners.

The projects of Hannevig and Borissov were, to allow foreigners to exploit the forests in northeast European Russia, principally, which cover an area of 8 million dessiatins, 21.6 million acres). There are also in the same region of the northeast, in the district which extends towards Kama, and in the province of Perm, immense forests, almost untouched, and from 5 to 6 million dessiatins in area (13 to 16 million acres). In the province of Perm, notably, are the forest districts of North-Kolvinsk, Poluchinsk, Weshanchinsk, etc., as well as numerous other forests. All this region is immensely valuable to foreign capital. Naturally the exploitation of these forests is closely connected with the construction of railroads and waterways (Soroki-Kotlas-Obi Railway, and development of the Staro-Yekaterininski Canal).

Under the present circumstances the Soviet Republic is not able to undertake the construction of big railway lines, as its railroad system is absolutely impaired by the wear and tear, and all the rails which have been or will in the next few years be made, can serve only the big lines already existing or the projected railroads to be constructed in order to improve the supply service of Russia's industry.

The situation is the same as regards rolling stock. The Russian republic will not be able, therefore, to undertake the construction of large or small railways in the north of Russia within less than ten years.

It seems then under these circumstances that it is to the interest of the economic fabric of Russia, in addition to the necessity for her re-establishing commercial relations with the powers of Western Europe and with America, to conclude a special agreement relative to the construction of railroads and waterways, an agreement granting foreign capital the exploitation of our forests.

According to information in our possession on the negotiations begun with the foreign concessionaires on the subject of the proposals suggested by Hannevig and Borissov, we are to have a say on the conditions under which these concessions

may be brought about. Unlike former concessions, these will probably be of mixed character.

With regard to the railroads and the canals, the concessionaires are authorized to exploit the resources of the forests and the soil, which will be indicated explicitly. These concessions can be granted only on the previous condition of obeying, without evasion, all the decrees which have been or will, in the future, be passed by the Soviet Government. The concessionaires must observe rigorously all the Soviet laws concerning labor. The enterprise of the concessionaires is placed under the strict control of the Soviet Government, which has the right at any time to purchase this enterprise. The exploitation of the forests and the soil is permitted only after or during the time that the construction of a railroad is going on and rolling stock is provided. In case of violation of the rules which govern the construction of the railroads or in case of infraction of other conditions imposed on the concessions, the concession right is taken from the concessionaires for the benefit of the public treasury and without compensation. The concessionaires have the right to exploit the forests and export wood abroad. Nevertheless, the Soviet Republic has the privilege of buying all the material designed for export. The concessionaires are to pay to the public treasury, for every tree, a certain sum based on the price of the wood before the war, plus a fixed rate. The government can guarantee the entrepreneurs a certain rate on the profit realized, as well as on the capital stock.

The forest and railroad concessions must depend absolutely one on the other, that is, must proceed together, and be exploited by the same company. As for the forest exploitation, it must proceed in accordance with the plans elaborated by the Soviet Government.

Foreign capital thus acquires a certain guarantee on the profits realized in the enterprise. At the same time, the Soviet Republic is benefited not only because of the lifting of the economic blockade, but also by reason of the construction of new railroads which will open up the districts where the exploitation of the forests could not be effected hitherto because of the complete lack of transportation facilities.

The possibility of Soviet Russia's obtaining for herself an option on all the wood intended for export gives thus to the question of concessions, from the point of view of exportation, a particularly reassuring character for Soviet Russia, since it is under effective control of the government itself.

If we consider the railroad concessions, it must not be forgotten that the Soviet Republic has absolute need of an enormous railway system of which the following lines would be of particular importance for Russia:

1. Moscow-Voronezh railway to the Donets Basin (via Rostov), extending to Mariupol and Taganrog, Sawolschskaya-Mantorovo-Kazan-Bugulma.

2. Ufa-Perm railway.

3. Railroads from Embinskaya to the Amu-

Daria (the shortest route from London to the Indies).

4. Railways Koslov-Swytzi-Krest; Basin of the Kusnetz - Tomsk - Krasnoufmsk - Kostroma; Basin of the Kuznetz-Magnitnaya-Insa.

5. Ural railway: Slavgorod-Semipalatinsk-Vernyi.

It is at present impossible with the means at Russia's disposal to construct all these railways: it is necessary either to postpone their construction to a distant future or to seek foreign capital.

The situation is identical with regard to our waterway system. We have often enough in the past been shown the necessity of constructing the canals Riga-Kherson, Volga-Don, Onega-White Sea. Soviet Russia could not in the near future complete more than very little of all this work.

It is also of capital importance for Soviet Russia to organize the rational exploitation of oil and cotton, which at present leaves so much to be desired. But this work would be completed only in

years to come unless we have recourse to foreign capital.

In closing we will say a few words concerning our cotton program, which is, in the true sense of the word, our labor program. The territory which Soviet Russia can devote to the culture of cotton is in Turkestan, and the implements which have been sent there are intended for this work alone. In this region, moreover, are immense plains, all along the southern frontier of Russia; in the direction of Afghanistan and towards the Caspian Sea, which, if they were irrigated, would be best suited for these cotton plantations.

It has always been intended to divert the course of the Amu-Daria (from the Arad Sea on), towards the Caspian. This project will always be of immense importance from the international point of view, as the place where one could most easily divert the river's course is in Afghanistan, and the execution of this work depends first of all upon the consent of England and that of several other states.

## The Crimean Tartars and the Revolution

By N. B.

IN AN article in Nos. 48 and 49 of "The Life of Nationalities" devoted to an ethnographic review of the Crimean peninsula, Comrade Gaven writes:

"The population of the Crimea is extremely heterogenous. The numerically predominant part (about forty per cent) consists of Crimean Tartars, with an admixture (a small percentage) of Turks. Then follow, according to their numerical strength, the Russians and Ukrainians, Greeks, Germans (about 40,000), Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, etc. In the large cities of Crimea the Russians (including the Ukrainians) are predominant, but in the village and in small towns the Tartars compose from seventy to eighty per cent of the population."

As to the social differentiation of the Crimean population, "the Crimean Tartars are, in their vast majority, peasants who devote their labors to gardening, cattle breeding and agriculture. The Tartar bourgeoisie consists largely of small and middle artisans and merchants. The bourgeoisie is comparatively poor and not numerous, and is therefore of no importance as a social-economic force. But the numerically tiny class of Tartar landed proprietors (*mirzas*) possesses immense riches and owns large estates, enormous orchards and vineyards. The Crimean Tartar peasantry belongs to the poor peasantry. "Fisthood" is strongly developed, but in the role of "fists" (*kulaks*) there appear mostly Greek and Armenian merchants and usurers. This is one of the economic causes of the hatred which the Tartar peasants feel toward the "unbelievers", chiefly toward the Greeks. The cultural level of the Tartar peasantry is very low.

Until the October revolution they were in complete spiritual subjection to their priests (*mullas*), who are either ignorant and superstitious or conscious impostors. The class of city workers is still in the embryonic stage among the Crimean Tartars. This class is composed of a small number of proletarians of the shop-counter, office employes and laborers, that is, of that section of the proletariat which is the hardest to assimilate the ideas of the class struggle and of communism. The industrial proletariat—this vanguard of the proletarian revolution—is not to be found among the Crimean Tartars.

The division of the Crimean Tartars along political lines in 1917 was as follows: the liberals, chauvinists and social-nationalists united into a "people's party" (*Milli Firka*), which started among the masses of the Tartar population an extensive oral and printed agitation in favor of the formation of a Crimean-Tartar democratic republic. From the very first day of its appearance on the political scene with the slogan of national self-government, the *Milli Firka* party absolutely forgot the fact that over half of the Crimean population was non-Tartar. The *Milli Firka* party set out to agitate for the convocation of a representative organ of the Crimean Tartars, and the elections took place while Kerensky was still in power. The Tartar parliament, the Kurultai, assembled in the historical Bakhchisarai, in the palace of the Khan. In November, 1917, on a motion of the *Milli Firka* party, the Kurultai formed the so-called Crimean-Tartar Government, with Mufti Chelibeyev as premier.

This imitation government, uniting all the bour-

geois and nationalist elements of Crimea, became a reliable support for the international counter-revolution in Crimea. "As a result of sanguinary battles, the troops of the 'Crimea-Tartar Government' were destroyed by the revolutionary detachments of the sailors of the Black Sea fleet and of the Sebastopol workmen. The Kurultai was dissolved by the Sebastopol Military-Revolutionary Committee, which took over the power until the convocation of a provisional congress of Soviets." Such was the sad ending of the first adventure of the Crimean Tartar chauvinists. "The leaders of the *Milli Firka* party went into hiding and continued their black work. Creating conflicts between the unenlightened masses of the Tartar peasantry and the Soviet troops, they succeeded in raising a wall between the toiling Tartars, on one hand, and the workers and peasants of other nationalities, supporting the Soviet power, on the other hand." They roused national hatred, and, thanks to this, they overthrew the Soviet rule in Crimea. "But shortly after this insurrection a change began in the state of mind of the Tartar workmen and peasants."

In the spring of 1918, "together with the German troops, the leaders of the *Milli Firka* party and the members of the cabinet of the 'Crimean-Tartar Government', who had escaped from the Bolsheviks, reappeared in Crimea. They were so sure that the aims and plans of the German imperialists did not conflict with their own aims that they immediately took steps to govern the Tartar people. The second premier of the Tartar cabinet, Jafed Seydamet—an adroit adventurer who posed as a Socialist Revolutionist—delivered public speech in which he lauded the merits "of the great monarch, who, sword in hand, has defended the interests and rights of the enslaved peoples." A petition which was signed by the president of the Kurultai was presented to Emperor Wilhelm, in which the "elected representatives of the Tartar people" appeared in a disgustingly, cringing attitude towards the then leader of international reaction.

Soon after the occupation of Crimea by the German hordes, the Czarist General Sulkevich appeared suddenly on the scene and unceremoniously dismissed the Kurultai cabinet, declaring himself the ruler of Crimea. The rule of the "usurper" Sulkevich, which was supported by German bayonets and by the Crimean, including the Tartar, landed proprietors who returned to their estates and began to inflict punishments on the peasants who were involved in the seizure of the estate lands, was a better lesson for the Tartar poor peasantry than the Bolshevik agitation.

About the same time in the Crimea appeared a new oppressor in the person of the Entente imperialism, which based its calculations and plans on the victory of Kolchak and Denikin, who adapted the slogan "a united and indivisible Russia." The Kurultai was again left emptyhanded.

In the beginning of 1919, when the Soviet power was again established in the Crimea, a de-

cidated change in favor of the Soviet power occurred even in the views of the leaders of the *Milli Firka* party, thanks to the cautious policy of the Crimean communists, who tried to attract to active participation in their work of the Soviets the more conscious Tartar workmen and peasants, and one of the most eminent leaders of the *Milli Firka*, in an article in the *Krumsky Kommunist*, pointed out that the "Bolsheviki succeeded in appraising with mathematical precision the hopes and aspirations of the Mussulman people" and have thus shown "great statesmanship." At the June (1919) conference of the communist organizations of the Crimean Tartar delegates were present from seventeen units, representing a membership of over 400 and considerably more sympathizers.—Petrograd *Izvestia*, January 30.

### RUSSIA AND THE EAST

A delegation from Khiva arrived at Moscow. The delegation includes the People's Commissar of the Khiva Republic, Baba-Akhund-Salimov, who is greatly respected in Khiva, and the President of the parliament, which had been dispersed by the overthrown Khan. The delegation was elected by the *Kurultai* (Representative Assembly) and was sent to express to the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic the appreciation of the people of Khiva for the support in the struggle against the power of the despot and to give assurance of the eternal friendship of the Khiva people to the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic.

### POSTAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SOVIET RUSSIA

The Vladivostok *Krasnoye Znamya* of June 8, contains the following news item:

"The Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs reports the conclusion of an agreement between Russia and England with regard to the resumption of postal communication, including the dispatch of money orders not exceeding one thousand rubles."

### TO THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT: THE MODERN PROMETHEUS

By CARLETON BEALS

To steal white fire from Zeus were crime enough  
For all the lesser gods to shrink in fear  
From out the star-hewn mansions you might rear  
Upon the simple human soul-made stuff,  
And turn to cringe before the same rebuff  
Of master and of scorn as yesteryear,—  
And still in toothless hate grown old and drear,  
They would rechain you to wild cliffs as rough  
As those your patient might had through the past  
Of ages, calm endured. But now the chains  
Are forever snapped apart, and you are free  
To face the blinding sun of destiny  
That floods your troubled path with light at last  
And leads you on to final victory.

### IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Next week SOVIET RUSSIA will print an announcement of the series of "Soviet Russia Pamphlets", in which a complete rearrangement of the series, including new pamphlets, will be described. But this is only one of the reasons why you should not fail to buy next week's copy.

## 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.

**G**ERMANY, according to a statement made by her present Foreign Minister, Dr. Walter Simons, to the Reichstag Foreign Affairs Committee on September 1, was urged to "collaborate with the Russian bolsheviki as a means of breaking the bonds imposed by the Treaty of Versailles." Simons, according to his declaration, "rejected this course after mature reflection."

"If we had followed these exhortations" said the Foreign Minister, "Germany would immediately have become a theatre of war. Furthermore, the disastrous consequences which Bolshevism might be expected to bring with it would have fallen with double force upon Germany."

Dr. Simons said proposals also have been made that Germany cooperate with the western powers against Russia, which he considered an equally impossible course. "No power at war with Soviet Russia," the Foreign Minister added, "need count upon our support." (N. Y. *Globe*, September 2, 1920.)

Germany appears therefore to be between the devil and the deep sea. The Entente would have her enter the lists against Soviet Russia, exhausting her resources and population in the service of world reaction, while the German workers are not only determined that they will not be used for such purposes, but are actively preventing munitions from passing through their country, in many cases going so far as to destroy such consignments when they discover them. The reader will find a number of news items reprinted in this issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*, describing such incidents. It is not surprising that Dr. Simons cannot decide to plunge Germany without some hesitation into the civil war that would immediately result from an attempt to intervene militarily in Soviet Russia.

**S**WITZERLAND is reported to have declined to permit the transporting of munitions of any kind across her territory. Switzerland is frequently spoken of as the oldest republic in Europe; she might therefore be expected to have a sympathetic interest in the maintenance of other governments of the same type elsewhere in Europe. But the people of Switzerland seem to know that what goes by the name of "Polish Republic" is a reactionary country, manipulated by an unscrupulous ruling class, and surrendered by them body and soul to

the Allies, for use in the nefarious task of attempting to crush the Soviet Republic. And the people of Switzerland seem to have sufficient influence with their government to force it at least to publish a declaration forbidding the use of Swiss territory as a thoroughfare for the transportation of materials to be used in destroying the only workers' government in the world. The people of England have succeeded in forcing the government headed by Lloyd George to make a similar declaration. Of course, this has not prevented the English Government from assisting Poland, as well as Wrangel, in their imperialistic designs on Soviet Russia. Similarly, the Swiss Government, which was ready to precipitate its country into the Great War, and could not decide on which side to enter, may do its friends abroad a good turn by permitting occasional consignments to slip through. But it is interesting and encouraging to note that there is now not a single country in Europe, outside of the fireside of reaction which is now France, where the workers have not been able to force their rulers to promise to be neutral toward Soviet Russia.

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**I**N HIS latest book *The Brass Check*, Mr. Upton Sinclair sounds the alarm against the dangers involved in the great news agencies and the big newspapers, with their enormous circulation, for the formation of what is called a true public opinion. And in fact, no one possibly has felt so much the power for harm of these modern organizations, in shaping the mind of the general public, as the adherents and sympathizers of the Soviet regime in Russia. However, the same industrial development that has created this dominion of the news agency and the big press over the minds of the people, has made possible the existence, in this field, as in many others, of a corrective to this dangerous influence, in the fact that, owing to modern means of communication, such as railroads, steamships, telegraph and wireless, it is impossible completely to shut off the truth from the knowledge of the public, and sooner or later truth is bound to filter through to the interested community. We surmise that the same reactionary circles which are planning and bringing into execution their world-wide plans of dark and bloody reaction and which, by the way, are able to force their perversion of the facts on the public as information, or rather misinformation, would in many cases prefer to have none but medieval conditions of communication, in order that their black deeds might remain in the darkness for a considerable length of time.

We feel that such must be also the feelings of the Polish reactionaries, when they are compelled, for the sake of "western" public opinion, to whitewash their government and their nationals of the blot and odium of anti-Jewish pogroms.

A friend has provided us with a copy of a circular letter sent out by a Polish daily in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, *Kuryer Polski*, together with a clipping from this paper, apparently sent broad-

cast to the press in the country, which, because of its significance, we are reproducing below in full.  
Dear sir:

The enclosed clipping from the *Kuryer Polski* shows "Who are the Present Rulers of Russia."

Until recently the American public opinion was misled by the Bolshevik propaganda exalting the Red victories over the Polish armies.

Now, however, with the war tide decidedly favoring the Polish arms, we must prepare ourselves for the renewal of "pogrom propaganda."

In justice to the four million of Poles in America, may we not ask you to be on guard against the malicious Jewish-Bolshevik "pogrom propaganda"?

There should be expected some executions of the Jews in Poland, who, as the latest telegrams inform us, were captured with arms fighting on the Bolshevik side.

Would not our own government punish its American citizens for giving help and comfort to the enemy overrunning the U. S.?

Thanking you for your impartial stand in these trying hours for the Polish nation, we remain,

Respectfully yours,

KURYER POLSKI,

(Signed) S. LEMPICKI, *Editor*.

Out of consideration for the reader we refrain from reproducing the contents of the clipping, one of the clumsiest and most mendacious pieces of anti-Bolshevik propaganda we have ever come across. In the above mentioned list of the alleged "rulers" of Russia are gathered names of Russian political writers and workers, friends as well as bitter foes of the Soviet regime alike, whose only connecting link in this case is the fact of their Jewish descent. Possibly it may be the same list that was recently circulated by the American Society for International Conciliation. However, it is the letter which calls forth some necessary observations.

It is clear as day that those of the Polish reactionaries whose unenviable duty it is to "neutralize" the foul odor emanating from the Polish misdeeds know too well from the past—this has been the Polish reactionary practice since the year 1910—that anti-semitic propaganda and excesses are the frequent, and, unfortunately up to now the surest means, used by the reaction threatened in its very existence, to foster "patriotic enthusiasm," so necessary for the support of the tottering Polish state. They know that with the recent working up of a new "patriotic outburst," there "should be expected some executions of the Jews in Poland," or, more correctly, indiscriminate killing and pillaging of the Jews by inflamed and instigated legionaries and black hundred elements aroused by the civil war. To forestall the news of these heroic deeds, the Polish propagandists speak of a "renewal" of the "malicious Jewish-Bolshevik pogrom propaganda," forgetting—poor souls—that it was the Polish War Ministry itself which saw itself compelled to issue quite recently an order against anti-Jewish excesses. It is characteristic also that the alleged facts about the "Jews fighting with arms on the Bolshevik side," if true, refer, according to telegrams, to localities lying in White Russian or Lithuanian territories, whose inhabitants could only be considered as "Polish citizens" by the principle of "might is right."

It is really inadvisable for the Polish reactionary editors in this country to leave their literary dens, from which they are gladdening their not too fastidious Polish readers with humorous accounts of old Jews whose beards are literally torn out, or Jewesses fleeing from the drunken voluptuousness of an unbridled soldiery. After all, the thin veil of sham innocence and concern for civilization may, under the breath of publicity, easily melt away, displaying the hideousness that is underneath and calling forth its correct appreciation in line with the known maxim of Boileau: *J'appelle un chat un chat et Rolet un fripon*. We advise the Polish editors of such papers to restrict their public utterances to the columns that are read by their own reactionary readers, and not to court the exposure that they cannot escape if they appeal to masses that may really understand them.

\* \* \*

IS IT REALLY planned by the American Red Cross to send the Russian children from Petrograd, who are now in New York, to France, instead of to their homes in Soviet Russia? We have already called attention to the fact that sending them to France means sending them to an enemy, openly at war with Soviet Russia, an enemy who has savagely maltreated many citizens of Soviet Russia who had been sent to France by the Czar's government. The duty of the American Red Cross toward the children, if this plan should be persisted in, would be almost impossible of fulfillment. That duty would seem to be to forward the children at once from the port in France at which they arrive (assuming that the children *must* be sent to France), to Petrograd or to some other Russian port designated by the Russian Soviet Government. If this should be impossible, the American Red Cross will be faced with the almost insuperable difficulty of keeping the children from the clutches of the French authorities, who will of course, in pursuance of their vicious Russian policy, attempt to hold them as hostages of Soviet Russia, in order, perhaps, to use them for the collection of the Czar's loans. Assuming that the bulk of the children should thus be compelled to remain in France, under the protection of the American Red Cross, it will be the difficult task of that body to prevent the French Government from attempting forcible enlistments of the older boys into the counter-revolutionary forces of Wrangel (with whom the French Government is said to have made a criminal alliance, to cover a period of twenty years). That there is an almost certain danger of such an attempt on the part of the French Government is proved by its conduct in the past toward the Russian soldiers in France, as well as by the fact that already the group now in New York had been deprived, while in Siberia, of some of the older boys, who were recruited there for Kolchak's army. Of the 777 children in the group, 427 are boys, and 350 girls. We have prepared a list of the various age-groups in the colony (some of the girls have reached the age of 20), and find

that while there are fewer girls than boys in the number, the boys greatly outnumber the girls in all the year-groups from four to fifteen years, while the girls (whose total is less than that of the boys), are far more numerous than the boys in the age-groups of sixteen to twenty years, inclusive. The figures are these:

	Age 15 and Under	Age 16 and Over	Total all Ages
Boys .....	310	117	427
Girls .....	168	182	350
Both Sexes ....	478	299	777

Some of the boys, after being recruited, escaped and traveled great distances on foot to return to the camp of the children's colony.

It will be necessary for the American Red Cross to prevent the French Government from repeating such lawless and cruel acts on the older boys of the group. But it would be very much better to send the children to Petrograd directly, and thus escape the arduous responsibility of answering for the savage acts of a government that has grown mad with imperialism.

As this issue goes to press, we are informed that Mr. Martens has received an answer to his protest from the American Red Cross. This answer, together with his reply, will be published in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

\* \* \*

**I**N OUR issue of August 31, we described a savage execution of civilian prisoners by Latvian White Guards. We are now in a position to give details of the manner in which news of this act was received in Latvia.

At the regular session of the Constitutional Assembly of Latvia, June 3, 1920, the Social Democratic faction introduced an interpellation:

"We ask the minister of defence, does he know this fact of the shooting down of prisoners without trial and if he knows what steps he is to take to avoid such murders and to call the guilty persons to account."

The motivation of this interpellation is stated by the speaker of the Social Democratic faction as: "this is not a single fact, but a well-known thorough system." He quotes other facts from his own personal experience on the amnesty commission where his attention was called to the fact that political prisoners who had been granted amnesty disappeared after they were rearrested without having committed any new offences.

A Latvian newspaper, reporting the event, adds the following editorial comment:

"We have here disclosed a part of the well-known, thorough system," through which in Latvia alone tens of thousands of alleged communists have already been murdered.

As we can see by the above facts this "thorough system" goes far beyond its limits in the territory of Latvia. Some of the murdered victims start on their way to Golgotha through the act of Deportation from London.

## The Revolution in Persia

By A. LEONTIEV

[An interview with Comrade Voznesensky, in charge of the Eastern Department of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, on the Revolution in Persia.]

Persia is on fire. A revolutionary Provisional Government has been formed in Resht. The entry of our troops into Enzeli seems to have given wings to the Persian revolutionists. They felt the proximity of fraternal support. In an interview with one of our collaborators regarding the significance of the Persian revolution for Soviet Russia the Director of the Eastern Department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Comrade A. Voznesensky, said:

"At the head of the revolutionary government is Kuchuk-Khan. He was one of the most active among the Persian revolutionists of 1908. He is a nationalist, and has a burning hatred for the enslavers of Persia, the English, and the Teheran government which sold itself to them. When Persia became a field for military activities after the outbreak of the world war in 1914, and was invaded by British, Russian and Turkish forces, Kuchuk-Khan formed his own detachments, which were named 'forest brothers.'"

After the solemn declaration of Trotsky regarding the annulment of the former treaties, which was followed by the evacuation of our troops from Persia, Kuchuk-Khan inaugurated a definite orientation toward Soviet Russia, and began to act with more energy against the English. He captured Resht several times, and arrested the English consul. Strong forces were repeatedly sent against him, but they could never capture him, because he was hiding in the mountains and had the support of the broad masses of the people, who idolized him as a hero. The numerical strength of Kuchuk-Khan's forces fluctuated between one thousand and eight thousand men, depending on the extent of the revolutionary activity. At present, before the capture of Teheran, Kuchuk considers the uniting of all the Persians as the most important task. When the capital city passes into the hands of the revolutionists, social reforms will be inaugurated, and first of all the land reform, since side by side with many large land owners Persia has an enormous mass of destitute agricultural laborers. Kuchuk's program includes the nationalization of the banks and custom houses, and also the introduction of an income tax.

As early as the summer of 1918, Comrade Kolomeyev was sent to Kuchuk-Khan with a special letter addressed to the Persian people. The letter did not reach Kuchuk. Kolomeyev was captured by the English and shot. We nevertheless succeeded in establishing connections with Kuchuk.

Besides Kuchuk, in Western Persia, in the district of Kussan and Shyrvan, there is the insurrectionary activity of Dokhol-Khan, aiming at the

liberation of the sacred city of Meshkhed, which the English are using as their base. This movement also became stronger after the meeting at Enzeli. It may lead to momentous results. For the revolution will undoubtedly pass from Western Persia into Sestan over the railway line that is now being built, and thence it will inevitably spread to Afghanistan and Beluchistan. And when Afghanistan is aflame, the fire will spread to northern India. Kuchuk's insurrection thus acquires the importance of a world event.—Petrograd *Krasnaya Gazeta*, June 10.

### FROM WORKERS CONFERENCE

On July 12 the All-Russian Conference of workers in socialist agriculture opened at Moscow. The People's Commissar of Agriculture, Kurayev, read a long report on the immediate problem of Socialist agriculture. Comrade Kurayev pointed out that heretofore the process of organization of new forms of agriculture had been but a rudimentary one. But now we are in a position to make the first steps in the direction of conscious influence on the process of agricultural production. He emphasizes the connection between the Soviet farms, communal farms, and peasant farms. The methods of organization in these three forms of agriculture, which are connected by a single plan and policy, should nevertheless be different. The Soviet farms permit the direct execution of a definite production plan, while in the collective and peasant farms only measures of indirect regulation and the influence of education and demonstration can be used. The plan of production should be based on the division of Russia into agricultural districts, which should also be the basis for influencing the agricultural population in the desired direction.

The Conference then listened to the reports of the delegates. The reports show that immense work has been accomplished on the agricultural farms as well as in the agricultural communes and artels (cooperative teams). All of them are united in the All-Russian Union of Communes and Artels. Of late there has been a notable increase of the agricultural communes and artels in the border provinces. The exploitation area of the collectives has greatly increased. The general impression from the reports is that the Soviet Farms as well as the communes and artels have become considerably stronger in comparison with last year, despite the extremely difficult conditions for their development. Gradually the peasants are becoming friendly towards them.

### THE NAPHTHA SITUATION

*Economic Life* of July 27 contains the following report on the naphtha situation in Russia.

On June 12 the stock of naphtha products in the Baku region was represented by the colossal figure of 291,716,000 poods. This is three times as large as the stock in pre-war days (91,200,000 poods on June 1, 1913). There are no complete

reports on the production of naphtha in the Baku district.

As to the Grozny district, the production between January 1 and June 14 amounted to 10,641,000 poods. The small production of naphtha in Grozny, on the average a little over 2,000,000 poods a month, is explained chiefly by the fact that many wells have been closed since the end of 1917, owing to the overcrowding of the storage places and the small exports. The exports of naphtha products from Grozny on the railways increased in June, giving an average of 232 cisterns a day, as compared with 150 cisterns, which was the number set for the district according to the plan of the Supreme Naphtha Committee attached to the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Let us now take up the question of the transportation from Baku of naphtha by water. The export of naphtha products from Baku was 21,200,000 poods in June, which is an increase of thirty-one per cent in comparison with May (16,500,000 poods). The total export from Baku since the beginning of the operations (in May) up to July 1, amounts to 37,400,000 poods, which is fifty per cent of the quantity determined by the plan for the export of naphtha products from Baku during the current navigation period.

### RUSSIAN RAILWAY PROJECTS

A few months ago, a German Economic Mission went to Soviet Russia. A member of this commission, which has recently returned to Berlin, writes in a Berlin newspaper:

"At the present time, Russia is suffering most from a shortage of locomotives in good repair. Of the 35,000 locomotives which Russia possessed in 1914, only 1,200 are in good repair. The entire industry and economic life in Russia is, of course, harmed considerably by this shortage. Russia is now trying to remedy this evil by ordering machines in foreign countries. England and America are broadminded in this respect, at any rate, more so than Germany, for in spite of the agitation carried on in their countries against the cursed, Bolshevik Russia, they are, nevertheless, attempting to do business with Bolshevism. When we arrived in Petrograd, 200 brand new, highly modern machines were being unloaded, which had been manufactured in America and had been shipped to Russia. At present, the crisis in the shortage of machines seems to have been overcome. During the stay of the German Investigating Commission in Moscow, the representatives of English and American industries who were present there, were commissioned by the Soviet Government to carry out the gigantic project of electrifying the entire Russian railway system. The electrification is to be finished in ten years. Eight long-distance power stations are to be built, each of which is to produce 300,000 kilowatts. Soviet Commissioner Krassin, who is in London at present, has already made payments on this project. The gigantic plan was already concluded in March of the present year, during the sojourn of the German Investigation Commission in Moscow. At first the Soviet Government wished German industry to have the contract, but the German Government, as Herr Mueller has emphatically said, put up so many subterfuges that the negotiations came to nothing. It is a question of a contract worth 80 million dollars. Unfortunately, Germany has not received it, and the more astute, energetic English and American industries have skimmed the cream. Our biggest long distance power station at Bitterfeld produces only 200,000 kilowatts."—From *Die Rote Fahne*, July 1, 1920.

## Agreement between Soviet Russia and Latvia

*The following agreement regarding the repatriation of refugees was signed at a session of the Russian-Latvian Commission on Saturday, June 12, 1920. Our readers will recall that a complete peace treaty has since been concluded between the two countries. We are in possession of the full text of this treaty, which will be printed in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.*

### TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA REGARDING REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

Russia, on the one hand, and Latvia, on the other, actuated by the desire to hasten the liquidation of the distress caused by the world war, to enable the refugees of both sides to return immediately to their fatherland, without awaiting the conclusion of peace between the contracting parties, and to facilitate thereby the establishment of peaceful, good-neighborly relations between the two parties have concluded, to this end, a treaty for the repatriation of the refugees, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic—A. A. Yoffe.

The Government of Latvia—I. I. Wesman, P. R. Bergys and Colonel E. U. Kalnin.

After the reciprocal presentation of their credentials, which were found to be of the proper form, the plenipotentiaries came to an agreement with regard to the following decisions:

#### Article 1

Refugees of both contracting parties who desire to return to their fatherland shall be returned to their former places of residence within the shortest possible time.

#### Article 2

The terms "refugee" shall apply to persons who formerly dwelt in the territory of one of the contracting parties and are now on the territory of the other, having left during the World War of 1914-1917, or during the civil war, the districts occupied or threatened by the enemy or having been exiled by order of the military or civil authorities from a district of military operations.

*Note.* The term "refugee" likewise shall apply to all war prisoners of the World War who formerly resided on the territory of one of the contracting parties and who are on the territory of the other contracting party after the present treaty shall have gone into effect.

#### Article 3

Refugees shall be sent to transfer (exchange) stations in echelons or in single cars.

The transfer of refugees to points whence they will be sent in echelons or in single cars shall, contingent upon local conditions, also be made in groups, if possible, or individually.

In all these cases each of the contracting parties shall bear the expense involved in the transport of the refugees and of their belongings within the territory of the contracting party.

*Note 1.* Russia shall send each week to the Russian-Latvian border not less than two thousand refugees.

*Note 2.* The following shall serve as stations for the exchange of refugees: the railway station Rozenovskaya, of the former Windau-Rybinsk railway line,

and the railway station Zhogovo, of the former Petrograd-Warsaw railway line. The exchange stations may be altered in the future by agreement between the respective organs of the contracting parties.

#### Article 4

Refugees have the right to export their belongings in accordance with the rules regarding the transport of baggage appended to this article.

### APPENDIX

#### I

Refugees returning to their fatherland may take their belongings with them.

The total weight of the baggage, besides that carried by hand, must not exceed eight poods for the head of a family or for a single person, five poods for each adult member of a family, and two poods for children up to ten years.

Among other things, the hand baggage of refugees going abroad may contain:

1. Clothing and underwear: clothing and boots—not more than two pieces or pairs of each kind (only one fur coat) and not more than six changes of underwear for one person.

2. Necessary travelling belongings in finished form, not to exceed in number the ordinary needs for the journey, such as, for instance, pillows, blankets, sheets, towels, tea pot, etc.

*Note.* Persons of special vocations, such as physicians, artists, artisans, etc., shall be allowed to take along implements necessary for their professional work.

#### II

Refugees shall not be allowed to export:

1. Printed matter, deeds and business documents, photographs and records of any kind, unless these carry marks showing that they were examined by the respective institutions.

2. Arms, products of military equipment, and field glasses.

3. Manufactured goods, fur goods, leather goods, dry goods and similar products, intended for trade and not for personal use.

4. Over twenty pounds of provisions for each person,—among these over eight pounds of flour or bread, five pounds of meat products, three pounds of dairy products and four pounds of other food products, including over one pound of sugar and one-quarter of a pound of tea.

5. Domestic cattle and fowls.

*Note.* Refugees who do not travel by rail should be allowed to export domestic cattle and fowls, in the same number as they brought with them when they evacuated their fatherland.

6. Automobiles, motor cycles, bicycles, any kind of carriages, carts or sleds.

*Note.* The note to (5) shall be effective with regard to carriages, of any kind, carts and sleds.





7. Precious metals in crude form, loose gems, gold and silver coins.

8. Gold and platinum products weighing over sixteen zolotniks (2.5 ounces) each, gold and platinum wares exceeding in total weight sixteen zolotniks for one person and silver products exceeding in total weight one pound for one person.

*Note.* Refugees shall be allowed to export gold or silver watches, marriage rings, silver cigar cases and silver bags—to the number of one piece for every grown-up person, and the weight of these shall not be included in the norm determined by the present article.

9. Wares of precious stones (diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires), and also of pearls, the total weight of which will exceed one carat.

10. All kinds of machines or parts of machines, physical apparatus, surgical and musical instruments,—except those mentioned in the note to article two of the Appendix.

*Note.* One sewing machine for a family shall be allowed for export.

Musical amateurs shall also be allowed to export musical instruments, if it will be proven that they brought these with them when they fled from their country.

11. Tobacco products (over 500 cigarettes or half a pound of tobacco for every person over eighteen years of age).

12. Soap, over one piece of toilet soap for each person and over half a pound of plain soap for a family.

13. Paper currency of any issue, over 20,000 rubles of Russian or Latvian money for each person. The passage of a greater sum than that

determined in this article shall be allowed only by special permission of the respective organs.

14. Foreign bills, excepting bills of the contracting parties, without special permission of the respective organs in each individual case.

15. Any kind of interest or dividend drawing papers, mortgage deeds and coupons, as well as notes, transport receipts and insurance policies, save those the passage of which will be permitted by the respective organs.

16. Articles of artistic or antiquarian value, unless there will be special permission for their passage by the respective organs.

#### Article 5

First of all shall be repatriated those refugees the members of whose families are on the territory of other contracting party. The repatriation of refugees, with the observance of this provision, shall begin with districts which are the most unfavorable for them in food, housing or other living conditions.

#### Article 6

The present treaty shall not be subject to ratification and shall become operative immediately after it is signed.

As authentic texts shall be considered both the Russian and the Lettish texts.

In confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both parties affixed their signatures to the present treaty.

The original is in two copies.

A. YOFFE,  
I. VESMAN,  
P. BERGIS,  
E. KALNIN.

Moscow, June 12, 1920.

## Kolchakists on Trial

By A. GOYKHBARG

*[The following interesting revelations, from the pen of a talented official in the Commissariat of Justice at Moscow, were published in two instalments in Ivestia, in the latter part of June, 1920. This account is not complete in the present issue; the rest will be printed next week.]*

**T**HE Kolchak rule was liquidated in January last. Kolchak was captured near Irkutsk, with the gold which he was carrying away. Many of his ministers were seized in Irkutsk. A considerable number of his former ministers managed to escape under the protection of the Czechs and the Japanese.

And the trial of the Kolchakists by an extraordinary revolutionary tribunal took place in Omsk only in May,—four months later, when not a trace was left either of Kolchak's military forces, or of the forces of his successor, Denikin.

Nothing like this trial has ever occurred in history,—whether we judge by its external setting, or by the character of the defendants and the crimes of the perpetrators of violence, and of the representatives of the middle-in-the-roads, the wavering petty bourgeois socialist parties, as revealed at the trial.

The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia

should be informed of everything that was revealed at this trial. They should also know what becomes of respectable, "ideal", "socialistically" minded people, when they enter into a bargain with the undisguised bandits of capital.

We will begin with the environment of the court and a description of the defendants.

*The external environment of the court.* An immense new hall in the railway shops, with snow-white columns, lighted through the glass roof by dazzling sunlight. The hall is filled with about eight and a half thousand workmen, Red soldiers, students from different parts of Siberia and special peasant delegates from the counties that have suffered most. The hall was hurriedly fixed up to give it a better appearance and to make toilers attending the trial feel more comfortable.

A striking impression is made on the defendants by the self-control, the almost incredible discipline of the mass of toilers. "How was this ac-

complished, how did the Soviet power manage to change them so quickly!"—the defendants and their partisans whisper to each other. And indeed, this vast "mob" listens to a recital of horrible crimes, they see the very perpetrators of these crimes on the stand, they listen to the testimony of witnesses who but a short time ago shot with their own hands friends and relatives of those who are in the "mob", and yet this "mob" sits as if bewitched, firmly relying on its workers' and peasants' tribunal. During the days of the trial the chairman only three times had to call for order: when there was applause after the reading of the indictment, when almost all the audience shouted that the defendants ought to be shot, and when there was again applause at the conclusion of the prosecutor's address.

*And the defendants?* Almost all of them intellectuals. Some of them eminent scientists, former representatives of the left parties. And in this political trial they hardly ever tried to voice any political note. In the political trials of the Czarist regime the defendants always appeared morally superior to the power which tried them. But in this case the moral superiority of the Soviet power over the defendants was revealed in every word of the defendants, until, finally, they openly began to laud the Soviet power and tried to prove that they had been defending some of the Soviet achievements.

Let us give some individual characterizations.

The chief figure is A. A. Cherven-Vodali. At the end of the Kolchak rule he was acting President of Kolchak's council of ministers; he appealed for help to the Japanese troops and to Semionov's bestial bands, insistently urged the transfer of all the gold reserve "as all-Russian property to all the Allies." He found his way to Kolchak from Denikin. And to Denikin he went, through Kiev, in a "lawful" way, with *Soviet* documents. It was shown that for a whole year, from October, 1917, to October, 1918, he was an active organizer of the "National Center" at Moscow, "working" at the same time in the Soviet commission for the regulation of questions connected with the Brest treaty. In 1906 he organized in Tver a committee to combat unemployment, and in 1917 he was chairman of the revolutionary Executive Committee in Tver.

The second figure is Shumilovsky, Minister of Labor. He was called "a minister from head to foot." Was an elector from the Mensheviks to the second and fourth dumas, was a candidate for the Constituent Assembly from the same party; voted for Kolchak as dictator; thanked the Omsk garrison for the successful suppression and shooting of workers; thanked General Rozanov for the brutal suppression of peasant insurrections; resigned from the party to get a free hand; defended hospital funds (sick benefit funds). And when the Czechs were leaving the front, believing the Kolchak regime too reactionary, he was drafting democratic declarations for his "government."

Here is another one—Laryonov. A railway spe-

cialist. Evacuated toward the East the mining enterprises and all the railway stock. While holding the post of Minister of Communications, he was at the same time employed by the privately owned Altai railway. Copies of the applications to the "council of ministers", in which this road solicited certain privileges, were sent to its "minister", who was a salaried employe of the road. Over his signature he published in the Collection of Laws a decree granting lands to this very road. On the eve of Kolchak's fall he transferred to his personal account in Vladivostok and Kharbin, from his current account as minister, 5,000,000 rubles, and during the negotiations for the surrender of the power he appropriated another 50,000 rubles "for evacuation."

Then there is Professor Novombergsky. "For the 170 millions of the population of Russia there are only six such men as I" (Doctors of Constitutional Law),—he declared at the trial. He was a member of the Siberian regional Duma, took part in the election of its presidium, and, to win favor with the Kolchakists, he compared this presidium to a merchant swindler who would swallow a note of his creditor; voiced his approval of executions, and was rewarded for this by his appointment to the post of assitant minister. He reproached the Bolsheviki because they prevented, by their revolution, a separate peace with Austria-Hungary, and urged a fight against them for the Brest peace. He, a "Marxian", became an "informant" of the cossack troops, took an ikon from His Eminence (the Bishop) to bless cossacks for a battle against the communists, and, on March 18, 1920, he spoke at a meeting about the Paris Commune. He won the confidence of the students by this speech, and they elected him chairman of the Council of the Omsk Polytechnic Institute. And it is said that he planned to join a unit of "sympathizers" (of the Communist Party), but the trial spoiled this plan.

And here is Professor Preobrazhensky. He received a commission from the geological committee, which was financed by the Soviets. "The front passed over him,"—and he became a minister. Science takes no interest in gold, nevertheless he claims that as a result of his labors the next few decades will see an additional 30,000 poods of gold. And, with his approval, 10,000 poods of the stolen gold reserve were sent abroad, and his appointees demanded that the remaining 20,000 poods or more be also sent abroad. But he tried to carry into life the principles of a single school.

And here is the assistant minister of finance Khronovsky. Before he was appointed to this post, he was a Director of the International Bank, and under the Soviet power in Ufa he was chairman of the commission for the distribution of the Soviet levy.

Take State Controller Krasnov. He was entrusted with a certain task by People's Commissar Lander. But the front rolled over him, or he rolled over the front, and during "the forced year and a half of interruption of the Soviet work"

he held the post of State Controller with Kolchak. But he "was enforcing all the time only the decrees of the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissaries)," and he asked to be taken into Soviet service.

Or take Zhukovsky, the assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs. He consistently followed "a liberal-democratic policy," and "supported the ideas brought forth by the revolution." But when he was in the train with Kolchak,—to whom he served as confidant—in December, 1919, he was writing verses to the effect that Russia could be saved only by a monarch crowned at Moscow by the Patriarch.

We could follow this up with a description of the rest of them. One cannot imagine intellectuals sinking lower than this, to greater corruption and lack of principles.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

VIENNA, August 7.—Thomas Dabal, who is not a Socialist, but a representative of the left radical peasant party, made a speech in the Polish parliament that was completely suppressed by the Polish censor. In his speech Dabal spoke as follows:

In the name of the Radical Peasant Party I have the honor, as representative of the poor peasants and of the landless, to declare that I should like to espouse with all my heart the cause of a Poland of the people, and that its protection must be our highest aim, but I wish to observe that the destructive war-policy, which since the beginning of the Polish State has been followed by the Polish bourgeoisie, powerfully supported by those who are the gainers in war, the landowners and capitalists, falls squarely on the shoulders of the working people.

The war which is being waged against Soviet Russia has not in reality for its aim the protection of the independence of Poland, since this has been recognized by all the states of the world—by Soviet Russia earlier than by the Entente. The only purpose of this war is to overthrow by our bayonets, with the assistance of foreign capitalists, the internal regime of Soviet Russia. The Polish bourgeoisie, conjointly with foreign capitalists, out of fear of the victorious onward march of the world revolution, and in spite of the peace proposals of Soviet Russia, has continually, on the one hand, through the Polish Prime Minister Paderewsky, been clamoring for the overthrow of the present regime in Soviet Russia and, in conjunction with the blackest reaction, has challenged it to combat. Instead of putting the government in the hands of the country and city proletariat, and leaving to it the task of restoring economic conditions in the state, the people has been given over to misery and starvation, and every movement for its liberation has been met by reprisals which have often surpassed in cruelty those of the Czar. Two years of this rule have completely ruined economic conditions in Poland and have clearly shown to the people that they cannot expect a better future from such a government.

It is therefore no wonder that the people, who honestly desire peace and the beginning of constructive work, are unwilling to enter the army, inasmuch as they see in the war only the class interest of a handful of exploiters. The present coalition government, whose majority is composed of those who until now have been decidedly of the war party, cannot have the confidence of the people. The people, who wish to defend only a real Poland of the people, see their liberation not in a war with Soviet Russia, but in a lasting peace, in the bringing about of the necessary changes in present-day society, which is based on exploitation.

### THE HYPOCRISY OF POLAND IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

From Stockholm we received the following telegram: Comrade Sadoul makes public a statement concerning statements which were made to him confidentially in Moscow by the French Deputy Ernest Lafont, with regard to Pilsudsky and other leading Polish statesmen, with whom he had the opportunity to speak personally about a week ago in Poland. According to Pilsudsky's opinion the Polish army is not defeated, it is only obliged to retreat on account of lack of shells, because their transportation has been blocked by German and Czech workers, and is in need of a truce only to reorganize its forces.

Through the influence of the Entente, Poland would receive from Germany in exchange for necessary concessions in Silesia a part of the arms and munitions which Germany would have to deliver up to the Allies in accordance with the Versailles Treaty. As soon as these munitions arrive, the army, through enlistment of volunteers, will soon be in fighting condition again and will advance victoriously. Now it is only a matter of gaining time for that purpose, thinks Pilsudsky. Sadoul declares it to be unnecessary to emphasize the importance of this report, which shows with cynical openness that Pilsudsky and his government are entering into negotiations for a truce only in order to gain time, while the Soviet Government announces its honest desire for peace.

### POLES APPROPRIATE WHITE RUSSIAN FORESTS

MINSK.—The Polish Government has undertaken an energetic exploitation of the forests in the occupied districts of White Russia. It is also selling vast quantities of flax and hemp for export through large commercial firms. Recently timber, to the amount of two billion rubles, was sold to English lumbermen.

### KONI LECTURES TO THE SAILORS

A group of Petrograd sailors decided to take up the study of ethics. The People's Commissariat of Education invited the former Senator, A. F. Koni, a prominent lawyer, to give a course of lectures on this topic.—*Russki Golos*, New York, July 10, 1920.

## Recent News Items

### GERMANY'S NEUTRALITY, GERMAN WORKERS ON GUARD

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Simons, said in his speech of yesterday:

We must maintain our neutrality. It is to the interest of the Entente to send troops through Germany to the East. If it should turn out to be true that preparations with that end in view have already been made in the occupied area, then German neutrality would thereby have been violated. For whether unoccupied or occupied, German territory remains German territory, and no part of the territory of a neutral power may be used for the movement of troops. We shall try to protect our neutrality by all means at our disposal.

Thus Mr. Simon.

We received by telephone the following communication from Berlin:

In Kattowitz the railway management received a telegram from the Entente Commission, announcing the transportation of French troops through Upper Silesia. The railway workers of Upper Silesia have declared a general strike, in case the railway management yields to the demand of the Entente.

We see that the German proletariat has every reason to place no credence in the solemn assertions of ministers. It will take care itself that Germany will not be used by the Entente as a place for marshalling troops against Soviet Russia.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, August 3, 1920.

### NO MUNITIONS FOR POLAND

From Woellersdorf there arrived yesterday at the Nordbahnhof (Northern Station) three cars of small-arm munitions, with the order to be sent on to Poland. The consignment, which had been announced by our comrades, was entered on the declaration as paper. Investigations revealed the contents of the consignment.

The constant holding up of consignments of munitions is a proof of how necessary it is for the workers to keep the closest watch, and how little they can rely upon any official declarations.—*Same source as above.*

### GERMAN WORKERS DESTROY WAR MATERIAL DESTINED FOR POLAND

STUTT GART, August 4.—“The new military automobiles, which had been destined for the Reichswehr and provided with guns and loaded on railway cars, were completely destroyed Tuesday afternoon in the Daimler Works at Untertuerken by Spartacan elements in those works.”

The *Rote Fahne* of Berlin writes as follows concerning this report:

The autos and guns, which were already on board the cars, were destined for Poland. Through their vigilance, the workers of Stuttgart thwarted the purpose of the shipment, which is now being

hurriedly declared to have been destined for the Reichswehr. This act of the workers of Stuttgart deserves to be ranked with the acts of the workers of Chemnitz, Marburg and Erfurt. It shows above all how the railway workers can be assisted in a practical way by other groups of workers in preventing the transportation of troops and war materials.—*Same source as above.*

### NO MOBILIZATION IN RUMANIA

VIENNA, August 2.—The Royal Rumanian commissariat in Vienna communicates the following:

With regard to a telegram from the South-Slavic Press-Bureau from Belgrade of July 31, 1920, we again deny most emphatically the report of a mobilization in Rumania.

According to a telegram arrived today from the General Staff in Bukarest, not a single Russian soldier has entered Bessarabia, and perfect quiet and order prevails in the whole country. Likewise, the report of a visit of the King of Roumania to Belgrade, for the purpose of asking for help against the Bolsheviki, is false. All reports in contradiction to the foregoing statement are inventions of interested circles.

### ATROCITIES OF THE POLISH WHITES

AT MINSK.—According to the *Izvestia*, of July 29, 1920, a resident of Minsk who had just arrived at Moscow reported that before they evacuated Minsk the Polish soldiers looted the city, perpetrated violence on the inhabitants and burned houses. On the day preceding the entry of the Red troops into the city, the workers and students organized a defence force, which courageously resisted the Polish bands. The entry of the Red troops into the city was welcomed by the whole populace. It has been established that the Polish bands at Minsk killed thirty-five Jews, raped 150 women, burned 1,500 houses, and looted all the stores and about 1,000 homes.

ALONG THE LINE OF RETREAT.—Reports arrive every day from the towns along the line of retreat of the Polish army from Vilna to Grodno, giving details of the Jewish pogroms perpetrated by the Polish legionaries. Especially brutal was the pogrom in the town of Rudzishai. There were many killed, among them old Jews; children were tormented, Jewish girls outraged. Actually all the inhabitants of the town fled into the woods, leaving their belongings to the looters.

The Vilna organizations of the Socialist parties organized a special investigation commission to inquire into these pogroms.

### A PRESENT FROM THE QUAKERS TO SOVIET RUSSIA

A Moscow wireless reports the arrival in Moscow of several railroad cars with medicaments, fats and sugar, which were sent by the English Quakers as a present to the Russian workers.

## Recent Russo-English Correspondence

[Unfortunately we have not a complete set of all notes passing between Soviet Russia and England during the past six weeks. We print below such as are in our possession, and hope to have occasion later to interpret the relations between the various documents.]

### I

*Radio sent by Chicherin on July 24 to Lord Curzon of Kedleston:*

The Russian Soviet Government expresses its willingness to meet the desire of the British Government in its proposal to convene a conference with the purpose of establishing a definite agreement between Russia and other powers which participate in hostile actions against her or support such, and is of the opinion that the said conference ought to be composed of representatives of Russia and of the leading powers of the Entente. The Russian Soviet Government agrees that this conference should be called together in London.

It makes known at the same time to the British Government that orders had been given to the military command to meet the Polish parlementaires and to begin with them pourparlers relative to an armistice and peace.

The Russian Government can not refrain from expressing its astonishment, in view of the demand of the British Government to suspend the trade negotiations after the adoption by the Soviet Government of all its proposals, which were the condition for the opening of these negotiations, since none of the said proposals has been violated by that government. And the latter thinks that the establishment of durable peaceful and friendly relations will be extremely difficult, if agreements once adopted are violated on the following day or left unheeded, or if conditions already accepted are, after the adoption of an agreement, supplemented by new and unexpected conditions not stipulated before.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the British Government will henceforth adhere immutably to the principles laid down in the British memorandum of July first and in the reply of the Soviet Government of July seventh and will in future abstain from any violations of this agreement or from adding to the latter new conditions not provided for therein.

The Russian Government on its part strictly adhering to its declarations, as laid down in its note of July seventeenth, expects that before the beginning of the above conference the surrender of ex-General Wrangel and of his military forces will have been carried through on the conditions of securing personal safety to him, his adherents, and the fugitives under his protection, and of the transfer to the Soviet power of all the territory under his control as well as of the war material, stores, means of communication, and vessels now in his hands.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, CHICHERIN.*

### II

*The reply of the British Government to the note of July 24 from the Soviet Government of Russia, which is printed above, was dispatched in the form of two notes. The first, dated July 26, reads as follows:*

The British Government is glad to learn that the Soviet Government has authorized the military command of the Soviet armies to negotiate an immediate armistice with the Polish military command, and that they are prepared to agree to a conference meeting in London for the purpose of establishing a definite agreement between Russia and the Powers which were engaged in hostile actions against her or supporting such action.

They note that the Soviet Government further proposes that the representatives of the leading powers of the Entente should attend this conference, and they are communicating with their Allies on this subject. Meanwhile they would suggest that Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin should be authorized by the Soviet Government not merely to conclude the trade agreement between Russia and the Allied Governments, but also to discuss preliminary arrangements for the proposed peace conference, because communications by cable will involve delay and possible misunderstanding.

In reply to the latter part of the telegram, the Bri-

tish Government would point out that no trade agreement, even if completed, could have produced practical results if Soviet Russia had refused an armistice and invaded Poland, and had thus forced Great Britain and her Allies to give active support to the Polish people in defending their liberties and independence. They, therefore, thought it best to stop Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin from making a journey which would be fruitless if no armistice were arranged.

In view, however, of the present reply, they have instructed the destroyer to bring Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin to England immediately, or, if they prefer another route, the British Government will ask the governments concerned to facilitate their journey.

As regards General Wrangel, the British Government must declare that General Wrangel is not, as the Soviet Government have suggested, their agent, or in any way under their control. Nor have they had any responsibility for the recent offensive, while the suggestion that the British Government have any such designs with regard to the Crimea as the Soviet authorities appear to imagine is absurd. They have, however, communicated to General Wrangel the terms of the Russian Government's declaration.

### III

*The second note is dated July 28, that is, after the meeting between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand at Boulogne. The text follows:*

The British Government, having consulted its Allies is now in a position to send the following reply to Chicherin's telegram of July 24:

The British Government which, on the assumption that an armistice is about to be concluded and that hostilities are about to cease between Soviet Russia and Poland, is proposing to its Allies that they should take part in a conference to be held in London, at which the Soviet Government of Russia will also be represented, considers that no doubt should be left as to the object of the meeting, as to the powers which are to be summoned to attend it, or as to the essential subjects which it is to discuss.

The two last telegrams from the Soviet Government leave some doubt upon these points. The telegram of July 19 seems to reject the participation of the Allies in the negotiations for peace between the Soviet Government and other neighboring governments of Russia. The last telegram, on the other hand, seems to admit this participation.

The British Government considers that, if the Allied Governments are to meet the delegates of the Soviet Government with any chance of success, the delegates of the Polish Government, and of the other border states who are concerned, must also be present.

The conference should have as its essential object the reestablishment of peace in Europe, and in the first place between Poland and Russia, upon conditions which would secure the independence of Poland and the legitimate interests of both countries.

The conference shall also consider the questions which are still outstanding between Soviet Russia and the border states which have not as yet signed a definite peace with Russia.

After the settlement of these questions the conference could proceed to deal with the matters in dispute between the Government of Soviet Russia and the Allies, and the reestablishment of normal relations between them.

### IV

*Copy of Note sent to Lloyd George by Kamenev on August 5:*

I have the honor to inform you that I sent last night to my Government an urgent telegram communicating the statement you made at our interview yesterday about the decision of the British Government to side

with Poland in her war with Russia and to renew the blockade in consequence of the invasion of ethnographical Poland by the troops of the Soviet Government. At the same time I am instructed by my Government in connection with the reference made in the British Note of August 3 to the delay in the negotiations between Russia and Poland to draw your attention to the following facts. In the Note to Chicherin of 20th of last month Lord Curzon of Kedleston informed him, that the Polish Government had been urged by their Allies immediately to initiate negotiations for armistice and for peace. On the 22d July a telegram over the signature of Prince Sapieha, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, was received at Moscow proposing in accordance with the suggestion of the Allies, to open negotiations for an armistice and peace. At the same time a telegram received from General Razvodovski, Chief of the Polish General Staff, mentioned July 30 as date of meeting of the delegates of both parties. On the very same day, namely, July 22, Mr. Chicherin, on behalf of the Soviet Government, informed the Polish Government of his consent to begin negotiations for an armistice and peace. The Polish delegates crossed the frontier on July 30 and met the Russian delegates at Baranovichi. It turned out, however, that contrary to the agreement reached by the previous exchange of messages the Polish delegates had only been authorized to deal with the military problems and that their powers had been derived solely from the military command. It is obvious from the above quoted facts that such limited powers did not correspond to the tasks with which the conferences of the delegates were to deal, in accordance with the proposals of both the British and Russian governments. It goes without saying, that the Russian Soviet Government have and never have had, any desire to combine the negotiations for an armistice with negotiations for a definite peace treaty between Poland and Russia: nevertheless, it is inevitable that negotiations for an armistice should include negotiations for certain conditions and guarantees over and above the strictly military domain. The history of the Polish attack against Russia, the patent facts of the systematic and uninterrupted assistance to Poland on the part of France and the presence on the right wing of the Polish army of the troops of General Wrangel, who is also supported by the French Government, render it a matter of necessity for the Russian Soviet Government to demand the inclusion in the terms of armistice with Poland of such reasonable guarantees as would prevent all attempts on the part of Poland to use the period of armistice for the renewal of hostile acts against Russia. Such guarantees would include partial disarmament, the cessation of recruiting and conscripting soldiers, as well as of voluntary enrolment and so on. It was the absence of authority to deal with such questions by the Polish delegates which compelled the Russian delegates to propose, that they should obtain powers. They agreed, at the same time, in order to accelerate the proceedings, to begin the negotiations for an armistice as soon as wireless communication had been received from Warsaw at Baranovichi that a courier had set out with new credentials. But the Polish delegates did not accept this suggestion and decided to return to Warsaw, thereby deferring the commencement of the armistice negotiations. International law and the customs of war know of no case in which the army of one of the belligerents has suspended military operations before the conclusion of an armistice, and it is therefore natural that the Russian Soviet army should continue its advance, which, being purely a military operation, does not in the least prejudice the nature of the peace treaty and does not constitute an attempt against the independence and integrity of the Polish state in its ethnographical frontiers. The Russian Soviet Government have more than once pledged themselves fully to respect the independence of Poland and the right of her people to political self-determination, and the intended terms of armistice and peace in no way include any restriction of the Polish people in this respect. The sole obstacle in the way of commen-

ment of the negotiations for the suspension of military operations is at the present moment the absence of the Polish delegates, and their return is being awaited by the representatives of the Russian Soviet Government in order immediately to open those negotiations. One is indeed justified in inferring from the conduct of the Polish delegates, who have preferred to return to Warsaw, that the Polish Government are speculating on foreign assistance and are delaying the armistice and peace negotiations in expectation of it.

The Russian Soviet Government will exceedingly regret, if any false hopes or exaggerated expectations on the part of the Polish Government of strong support from outside should cause the failure of the Polish delegates to present themselves for negotiations with the Russian delegates at the earliest possible moment. As for the suggestion of a conference in London the above mentioned British Notes of July 20 explicitly declared that the British Government had not the least desire to insist upon the inclusion of other states in our negotiations with Poland, if the Soviet Government adhered to their objections. It was on the strength of that declaration, that Mr. Chicherin in his Note of July 22 proposed a conference with the leading powers of the Entente. The only usefulness of such a peace arises from the fact that without the assistance of these leading powers other states could not wage war against us and such a conference would really guarantee the general peace of Europe. We are still of the opinion that direct negotiations with Poland for peace would serve the interests both of the Russian and the Polish peoples, and the Russian Soviet Government again declares that it is firm in its recognition of the freedom and independence of Poland and its willingness to grant to the Polish state wider frontiers than were indicated by the Supreme Council and mentioned in the British Note of July 20. Such a conference in London between the leading powers of the Entente and Russia would have for its object the regulation of the international position of Russia and the settlement of all outstanding questions between her and the Allies for the benefit of the general peace.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

KAMENEV.

V

*The following telegram was received in London on August 12 by M. Kamenev from the Soviet Government:*

It is obvious that the Poles try to protract preparations for negotiations and to delay the latter. On August 7 we sent our answer to Warsaw. The wireless station at Warsaw refused to give receipt, but several days later acknowledged having received this radio. On the same date this radio was communicated to the British Government and published in London.

In this radio we invite Polish delegates to cross the front on August 9 and begin negotiations in Minsk on August 11. When a representative of the Military Command, Piatnikov, went on August 9 to meet the Polish delegation the latter did not appear, but a Polish officer on the spot told Piatnikov that the delegation was coming; he sent to Siedlice, but did not find the delegation.

On August 10, in the morning, Piatnikov sent autos to Siedlice, but the Polish Delegation could not be found. Later on in the same day the Red Army took Siedlice and found there the Polish Delegation. Afterwards it was ascertained that the latter consisted only of a pair of the real Polish Delegation. They declared that the Polish Government had not received the Russian radio of August 7.

The delegates present in Siedlice had come to agree about the date of meeting. They proposed that the Polish Delegation should cross the front on August 14; this was accepted by the Russians, and thus the meeting with the Poles is once more postponed.

This thing has continued already for three weeks, and every time the delay comes from Poles.

It is obvious they have reasons for desiring the nego-

tiations to be delayed; probably they think that if Warsaw is taken it will force the Allies to intervene.

Behind them is France, which deliberately hinders peace and kindles war.

It is known that four billion francs for the restoration of the Northern Department of the French Government has been used for intervention in Russia lately.

On ships carrying Russian soldiers repatriated to Odessa hydroaeroplanes were found, undoubtedly intended for Wrangel. When Russian military authorities in Odessa, using their obvious right, declared they would not allow this war contraband to leave Odessa, a French squadron appeared outside the harbor and the French admiral threatened to shell the town.

France attempts to draw into the trap not only Russia, but also Britain, which desires conciliation. France tries to throw responsibility for the delay upon Russia, but it is clear who is the real culprit. France tries to protract war and to prevent Poland from reconciliation with Russia. The workers must put an end to this shameful policy of the French Government.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

*Mr. Lloyd George a few days later sent a Note to M. Kamenev protesting against the alleged wireless delays on the part of Moscow, which he accepts as the reason for the failure of the Poles to turn up!*

#### VI

*Kamenev to Lloyd George, August 15, 1920:*

M. Kamenev presents his compliments to Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George and has the honor to communicate to him the following statement:

The recognition of General Wrangel by France, made, as it was, after the declaration of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons on August 8, promising, in the name of those who took part in the Hythe Conference, not to give any support to Wrangel, has transformed the question of the former General Baron Wrangel into a question of international politics.

Owing to the decision of the French Government, the question of a general peace has become bound up with this question.

It is important, therefore, to fix the responsibility borne by England for Wrangel's attack and to put the question whether the British Government, in view of its earlier steps on behalf of Wrangel, will not deem it necessary to take some new steps which would facilitate the resumption of friendly relations between the English and Russian nations and their governments, and would remove all obstacles from the road leading to that goal.

The question of Wrangel was brought by the British Government for the first time to the notice of the Soviet Government in Lord Curzon's Note to Chicherin of April 14 last. In that Note Lord Curzon wrote:

"Having realized for some time that the military struggle in South Russia should not be indefinitely prolonged, and being convinced that its continuance could not but be attended by further loss of life and by serious set-backs to the recovered tranquility and prosperity of Russia, I have exerted my utmost influence with General Denikin to induce him to abandon the contest, and have promised him that if he did so I would use my best efforts to make peace between his forces and yours, and assure the safety of the rank and file of his followers and the population of the Crimea. General Denikin finally decided to act upon this advice, and has left Russia, resigning his command to General Wrangel.

"Therefore, I communicate with you at once to request you in the interests both of Russia and of humanity to issue orders for the termination of hostilities, and to grant general amnesty upon the disbandment of the volunteer army. If the latter are not assured of conciliatory treatment, they are, I understand, still able to maintain themselves in being, and to offer a stubborn resistance for some months to come in the Crimea."

In the same note Lord Curzon, not content with appealing to humanity and to the special interests of England in the fate of General Wrangel's army, de-

clared that there would not be much hope for the successful opening of commercial relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, if the Soviet Government did not agree to this proposal.

After Great Britain's refusal to begin the direct negotiations proposed by Mr. Chicherin, for the solution of the fate of Wrangel's army (raised in the above-mentioned Note by Lord Curzon), the Soviet Government on May 5 declared:

"The Russian Soviet Government notes with pleasure the conciliatory spirit of the British Government's wireless message, dated May 4, and, being on its part invariably imbued with completely pacific intentions, is ready to meet in the largest measure the wishes of the British Government.

"In its earnest desire to accelerate the conclusion of a general agreement with Great Britain about all questions concerning both governments, the Russian Government, in compliance with the wishes of the British Government, is ready to negotiate immediately with the British Government, or with the Government or Group indicated by the British Government, a suspension of hostilities on the Crimean front for the purpose of a speedy conclusion of a special agreement with Great Britain concerning a general amnesty for those who are continuing still in the ranks of Denikin's forces the struggle against the Soviet authority and for the purpose of a bloodless liquidation of the Crimean front."

On May 18, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, noting the receipt of the Soviet Government's agreement to Great Britain's suggestion with regard to a peaceful solution of Wrangel's question, said:

"His Majesty's Government are anxious that hostilities should cease as soon as possible, and I am endeavoring to arrange for immediate opening of negotiations in South Russia, in which General Wrangel and any British military and political representative will participate."

On May 21 Mr. Chicherin declared as follows:

"Russian Government will consider in most friendly spirit proposals of amnesty for White Guard remnants, which the British representatives will put forward during the impending armistice negotiations."

In the meantime, under the cover of these negotiations, and taking advantage of the fact that the Russian Government, relying on the declaration of Lord Curzon, had taken no military measures to increase the strength of its army against Wrangel, the latter, with the British assistance, reorganized his army in the Crimea, and started an offensive against the Soviet Government. The British Government answered to this with a declaration disowning any responsibility for Wrangel.

After the demands which the British Government made to Russia in the interests of General Wrangel, and which facilitated General Wrangel's preparation of his military enterprise, the Russian Government was entitled to expect more active steps on the part of the British Government, and explained its view thereon in the Note sent by Mr. Chicherin on June 11.

In that Note it says:

"Though the declaration of Great Britain disowning any solidarity with Wrangel, and his attack against Soviet Russia, is to be welcomed, there still remains the fact that this attack is the result of the political protection secured for Wrangel's White Guards by the diplomatic intervention of the British Government and of the direct help given them by the Allies. If the White Guards prepared their offensive under the cover of the diplomatic protection of Great Britain, it must be admitted that this offensive is not entirely unconnected with the position taken by the British Government.

"Wrangel, Commander-in-Chief of the White Guards, in an Army Order of May 6, himself refers to the diplomatic intervention of Great Britain on his behalf as a means of securing for him the Crimea and the opportunity to prepare a fresh blow against Soviet Russia. The Russian Government is therefore unable to share the view of the British Government that the latter can

be held exempt from responsibility for this fresh attack against Soviet Russia.

"For this reason the Russian Government regards it as all the more important that it should be made clear in what actual form the British Government proposes to embody its present negative attitude to the aggressive action of Wrangel.

"Having regard to the fact that the British Government threatened us with new military operations by British forces against our armies and our territories, when it believed, on the strength of the non-reception of a reply from us (although this was held up by its own agents), that we were not inclined to accept the British proposal for an amnesty, we hold that we have the right to expect that similar measures will be taken against Wrangel when it is he alone who stands in the way of the desire of the British Government being successfully carried out.

"We should be glad to receive information on this point in due time, in order that we may be able to co-ordinate our measures in this matter with the measures of the British Government directed to the realization of the same object."

It is a matter for regret that the Russian Government received no reply to this communication. Only in the Note of July 11—i.e., exactly a month later—did the British Government return to the question of Wrangel. On this occasion, however, the point of view of the British Government showed a marked change—instead of the proposal to cease hostilities on the basis of an amnesty, the British Government suggested only that an armistice should be granted and that General Wrangel should be present at the London conference.

Thus, after the treacherous attack by General Wrangel, in defiance of the British proposal, the British Government again took upon itself the protection of Gen-

eral Wrangel and the defence of his interests, and deemed it possible that he should be present at the conference.

Despite the fact that this new proposal meant the open protection of Wrangel and was inconsistent with the earlier proposals already agreed to by the Soviet Government, the latter again expressed its willingness to meet the wishes of Great Britain, and declared itself as follows in its Note of July 17:

"... The Soviet Government is of the opinion that the greatest possible concession on its part, a concession which is the proof of its anxious desire to come to terms with the British Government, is its willingness to agree to the capitulation of the ex-General Wrangel and of his troops, with the guarantee of their personal safety . . ."

To this the British Government replied that it had no control over General Wrangel.

It will thus be seen from the documents quoted above that on every occasion the British Government has appeared before the Soviet Government as the guardian and protector of the interests of General Wrangel's army (by doing which it actually facilitated the preparation of his military plans), while on the other hand it refused to undertake any practical steps whatsoever to make it more possible for the Soviet Government to bring to an end quickly and peacefully the hostilities in the South of Russia.

Availing himself of this situation, General Wrangel has been enabled to wait for the moment when he has been at least given official recognition by Great Britain's ally, France. Having regard to these considerations, the Soviet Government would be glad to know the final decision of the British Government with reference to General Wrangel.

## THE NEXT ISSUE

of

# SOVIET RUSSIA

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

1. *RUSSIA, by George Brandes, the famous Danish critic of art and literature; by many considered to be the greatest critic in the world; he strongly denounces intervention and blockade.*
2. *NIKOLAI LENIN, by Maxim Gorky. In this article, Gorky recants his former opposition to the Soviets, and presents a warm appreciation of the character and work of a great statesman.*
3. *REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*
4. *THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF HEALTH. A concrete and up-to-date official account of all the activities of this important and necessary institution.*
5. *THE RUSSIAN RAILWAYS. Professor G. Lomonossov, formerly with the New York Bureau, who left for Russia in May, 1919, gives an interesting interview to a Swedish daily. Professor Lomonossov is now stationed at Stockholm.*

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