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The Organization of the Central Soviet Government in Russia
THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA

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Chapter 1

The Historical Background

1. How a Socialist Government Came into Being
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1. How a Socialist Government Came into Being.

In his reflections on Today and Yesterday Maxim Gorky remarked, "Yesterday the Socialist thought of Europe pointed the way to the Russian people; today the Russian worker is striving for the triumph of the European thought".\(^1\) Russia was a very rich soil for the growth of Socialism. Russia has been a country of peasants who are illiterate, miserably poor, and for centuries down-trodden by the blind, absolute Czarist government. The Czar, the royal satellites and bureaucracy, all lived on the blood of the peasantry and drained the country of its vitality. The mass (eighty-five percent of them were peasantry) were long seething with discontent and angry at heart. These conditions would have produced a so-called bourgeoisie revolution in some other countries. It produced the French Revolution of 1789 and the revolutions of such other countries having for their aim the bettering of the government and such minor social changes as abolition of privileges and titles. These very same conditions in Russia produced, not a bourgeoisie, but a proletarian revolution, for, in addition to these very same conditions existing in an intensified form, there are three other conditions which determined the character of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In the first place, Russia, of all oriental countries, was more susceptible than other countries of Asia to western thought on account of her geographical propinquity. When Karl Marx was championing the cause of Socialism in Western Europe, his influence reached far and wide, and Russia was one of the countries which was inoculated with the germs of socialism. Secondly, the Revolution came after Russia had developed her modern industry to a very large

\(^1\)Soviet Russia, Vol.1, no.8, p.2.
extent. A revolution happening before or after modern industrialism is established will be different in the absence or presence respectively of the part played by the class-conscious workman. The growth of Russian commerce and industry at the close of the nineteenth century was phenomenal. Commercial activity showed a marked gain in the 'eighties; after 1895 it developed with prodigious rapidity. Factories began to spring up like mushrooms. Foreign capital, especially French, poured in. Between 1888 and 1906 Russia borrowed twelve billion francs from France. The process of urbanization went forward on a scale steeply graduated upward. In the thirty years between 1867 and 1897 Lodz increased her population by 372%, Vladivostok 1205.6%, Ivanovo-Vosnesenk 3896.2%. The guiding hand of Russian industrialism was De Witte. But this new industrialism was only another form of exploitation and created the Russian proletarian working class who were the immediate supporters of the distinctly socialistic November Revolution. Thirdly, it was in Russia that the horizontal division of society into nobility and peasantry, privileged and unprivileged, high intellectual culture and pitch-dark ignorance, in short everything and nothing, presented itself in the most acute form. To the former the welfare of the latter was a matter of indifference. There was no considerable middle-class such as determined the bourgeoisie character of other revolutions. The November revolution was a task accomplished by men who were the down-trodden bourgeoisie society. Nothing but a complete upsetting of the old and the creating of a new social order would satisfy them. These three factors are responsible for the birth of the socialist government of Russia. These were the tremendous forces which nothing could

2.01gin. The Soul of the Russian Revolution, p.413.
stop when they were set in motion. The November Revolution was the inevitable result of these forces. The Revolution of March, 1917, failed because it did not go far enough.

In this Revolution history has found another instance of justifying its contention that no event of such magnitude could happen as a mere accident; for the genesis of the Bolshevik party showed that this party was not the only one contaminated with socialist ideas. "There were three principal socialist organizations in Russia,—the socialist Revolutionary party who accepted terrorism as a transitory necessity; the Social Democratic party, pure Marxists, advocating the class movements as against individual action; and the Bund, composed exclusively of working Jews." The Bolsheviks who instituted the November Revolution were formerly a faction of the Social Democratic Labor party; and they had the vision.

"His Proletarian Majesty, the workingman of all the Russias", is the main stay of this party. The Revolution of November, 1917, was the culmination of the socialist movement which the Provisional government and others had tried but failed to stem. The Provisional government did not go far enough. In the words of N. Lenine, "Before the November revolution he (the Proletarian) had never seen the possessing, exploiting classes sacrifice in his favor anything that was really of value to him. He did not believe that he would be given the often-promised land and liberty, that he would be given peace, that the interests of a "greater Russia" and of the secret treaties aiming at a "greater Russia" would be sacrificed; that capital and property would be surrendered. He realized this only after November 7, 1917, when he took it himself by force and when he had

to defend this by force against the Kerenskys, Cotz, .... and Kornilovs." 4 Such is the source from which emanates the present revolutionary Bolsheviki government. Socialist that government must remain as long as they are able to hold their ground. "We, the Bolsheviki party, have convinced Russia. We have won Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. And now it is our task to manage Russia." 5

2. The Federation of Republics.

The new Socialist government of Russia is a federation of republics. "The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics." Again it is said "These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic on a federal basis." 6 The country was originally divided into four federal republics as follows:

(1) Commune of the North
(2) Commune of the West
(3) Central Commune
(4) Commune of the Volga

The first is composed of the governments of Petrograd, Archangel, Viatka, Vologda, part of the government of Pskov, Novgorod, Tcherepovetz, and Olonetz. The second comprises the governments of Vitебsk, Smolensk and Pskov; the third the governments of Moscow, Orel,

4. N. Lenin. Soviets at work, p.36.
5. N. Lenin. " " " , p.8
Koursk, Toula, Tver, Nijni-Novgorod, Voroneje. The fourth those of Kazan, Simbirsk, Saratov and Perm. It is not clear whether other regional republics have been established as the area governed has been expanded.

The Republics were thus named as the French departments were named in the French Revolution, after the natural physical features of the locality. Although it is a federation, there is a difference between the Russian federation and the other federations of history. The German federation came after a long period, during which the states were more or less independent, and the instinct of federation had been nurtured by the previous confederation of the Rhine, the North German Confederation, and the regional leagues, as the Hanseatic League. The accession of the South German states after the Franco-Prussian war was only a last step in completing the long-cherished national desire for federation. The creation of the Swiss federation showed the same feature. The Preamble of the Swiss constitution clearly states that it is "to confirm the alliance of the Federation and to maintain and promote the unity, strength and honor of the Swiss nation". The Articles of Confederation of American history codified, in a way, like international law, the already existing practices since the establishment of the Continental Congress. But in the new Russian federation there existed previously neither the more or less independent parts nor the tendency nor necessity to federate. The Czar's governors governed the country in his behalf and for his interest only. There has been no tradition and preconceived tendency looking toward federation. On the other hand, Russia is a country of extensive territory, and as such the regional interests differ very much from each other. The social and

7. British Parliamentary Report on Russia, no.1, 1919, p.64.
economic interests must necessarily find proper care in a regional autonomous government. The several component parts of Russia all assumed an attitude of independence after the revolution of February, 1917. In creating a federation of republics the Bolshevik government satisfied a long-suppressed need of the political life of Russia; and in it they found a proper solution well supported by theories of political science.


In the Bolshevik government the Soviet is a fundamental feature. A Soviet is a council of soldiers or workmen or their deputies. "Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belong to these Soviets." But the Soviet did not at first belong exclusively to the Bolsheviks, only the Bolsheviks succeeded in making it exclusively their instrument. The origin of the Soviet dated back as far as 1905, the first revolution in Russian history. "The idea of organizing a Soviet of workingmen's Deputies first originated in Petrograd in October, 1905, with the Mensheviki faction of the Social Democrats. The idea was supported by the Socialist-Revolutionists, but met with a strong opposition from the Bolshevik, who styled the creation of such organizations 'the invention of semi-bourgeoisie parties to enthrall the proletariat in a partyless swamp'. But the first undertakings of the Soviet organized by the Petrograd workers met with such success among the masses of the Petrograd proletariat that the Bolsheviks had no choice but

to enter the council. The original Soviet did not last very long, however, being driven out of existence when the autocracy of the Czar regained its strength. The second period of the history of the Soviet witnessed the organization of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. Soviets after the Petrograd fashion were organized in other cities and factories. In May, 1917, the all-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies was formed, one of the leaders being the 'grandmother of the Russian Revolt'." — Catherine Breshkovsky.

The aims of these Soviets were outlined as follows:

1. To organize the revolutionary forces of the Russian people.

2. To organize and give expression to its political and social demands in connection with the Revolution.

3. To give support and aid to the Provisional Government in its task of coordinating the state machinery of the liberated country.

4. To concentrate the forces of the working classes as the most interested in the preservation of the newly-won liberties.\(^9\)

The fact that the Bolshevik party, who overthrew the provisional government, retained this feature as a part of the new system indicates its importance. All four purposes for which the Soviet was revived early in 1917 might still be said to hold good after the November revolution except number three, when, instead of giving support to the Provisional Government in its task of reconstruction, help was given to the Bolsheviki government. A Soviet in its simp-

lest form is a deliberative body. The Bolshevik government is a pyramid of Soviets with the village Soviets at the bottom and the all-Russian Congress of Soviets at the top. From the bottom up there are a series of congresses of Soviets called the rural, county, provincial and regional. These congresses, including the all-Russian congress, have important features in common. They are all deliberative bodies in their respective areas; they elect an executive committee from among their own members; and they meet at least twice a year. The people come into contact with the central government at only one point by electing members to the village or local Soviets. Regarding this practice the Soviet system has received much vehement denunciation. The disposition to establish direct touch between the elected representative and the elector in a democratic government like the United States is ever on the increase, as evidenced by the institution of Direct Primary Elections and the introduction of popular election of United States senators. In this respect the Russian farmer is many times farther away from the all-Russian Congress than the American farmer is from the United States Congress.
Chapter 2

The Nature of the Soviet Constitution

1. Declaration of Rights
2. Lack of Historical Continuity
3. Sovereignty
4. Position of the Individual Citizen
   a. Who are citizens? Who are not?
   b. Granting of citizenship to foreigners
   c. Duties
   d. Constitutional protection
   e. His relation to government – the maximum government theory
5. How amended?
General Consideration of the Soviet Constitution

The fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic may be said to consist of two parts, six articles in all. The two parts were adopted in different periods. The first part, i.e., Article 1, is a declaration of rights, passed by the third all-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918. The second part, Articles 2 to 6 inclusive, is the main body of the constitution, and was adopted by the fifth all-Russian Congress on July 10, 1918. The whole thing is a simple instrument divided into 17 chapters in 90 sections. Article 2 deals with the general provisions of the constitution; Article 3, the organization of the Soviet Power, subdivided into (A) Organization of the Central Power, (B) Organization of local Soviets; Article 4, the right to vote; Article 5, the budget; and Article 6, the specifications of the coat of arms.

1. Declaration of Rights

The declaration of rights is one on the part of the laboring and exploited people in contrast with the declaration of the rights of Man and of the Citizen in the French Revolution. Nor is it like the philosophical assertions of the American revolution that "all men are created equal", or that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the inalienable rights of the people. It is not a list of grievances, but is rather a list of remedies that they believe would operate to insure the rights of the proletariat and redress their wrongs. The key-note is expressed by "abolition". To abolish the existing economic and social order is the aim. "Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of the exploitation
of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist Society and the victory of Socialism in all lands,¹⁰ is the rating of its purpose. The remedies proposed in this declaration of rights are:—¹¹

1) Abolition of private property in land without compensation.
2) Abolition of private property in natural economic resources, whether animate or inanimate, all to be nationalized.
3) To insure the control of the workers over the exploiters by confirming the establishment of a Supreme Soviet of National Economy, as a first step toward nationalization of all means of production and transportation, factories, mills, mines and railways.
4) Annulment of loans made by the government of the Czar, by the landowners and bourgeois.
5) Nationalization of banking institutions.
6) Universal obligation to work, either mental or manual. "He shall not eat who does not work."
7) Organization of the Red Army and the disarmament of the propertied class, to prevent the restoration to power of the exploiters. This provision is the most important of all, for the Bolshevik regime must defend itself by force of arms.

Then the declaration goes on to proclaim the abrogation of secret treaties, the principle of concluding peace without annexations or indemnities, the abolition of exploitation by a few nations of the working populations of Asia and elsewhere, the independence of

¹⁰. Soviet Constitution, Article 1, chap. 2, sec. 3.
¹¹. Same Article 1, chap. 2.
Finland, the withdrawal of Russian troops from Persia, and the right of Armenia to self-determination. Finally it reiterated that "the power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives," debarring the exploiters from holding positions in any branch of the government.

2. Lack of Historical Continuity.

Thus a noticeable fact presents itself, that in this Russian Soviet Constitution there is an abrupt break with Russia's past. It is a challenge to the theory of historical continuity. In the American constitution was embodied the great body of English inheritance as individual liberty, political liberty, property rights, equality before the law, and local government. The English constitution affords still a better example of the preservation of traditions and former customs, as it is partly written and partly unwritten, consisting of usages and customs. Thus almost every human institution exhibits a certain degree of "historical continuity", the blending of yesterday with today. In the absence of the element of continuity the Russian Constitution resembles the first constitution of the French Revolution. The Russian revolution resembled much more closely the French revolution than the American revolution. The French constitution had nothing to back its declaration of rights except the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire and others. The Russian constitution has principally the theories of Karl Marx and his disciples. It does not codify existing political traditions that are ingrained in the habit and mind of the people. The Russian Soviet constitution, aside from external causes of disturbance, will

12. Soviet constitution, Article 1, chap. 4, sec. 1.
probably suffer the same fate as the first French constitution. Lenin said, "The appearance on the historical stage of a new class in the role of a leader of society never occurs on the one hand without a period of upheavals, struggles and storms on the other hand, without a period of false steps, experiments, wavering and hesitation with regard to the choice of new methods that will fit the new objective circumstances".13


One great question in every modern state is that of sovereignty. In the United States and other democratic governments, the supreme power resides with the people. The Russian Soviet constitution did not provide that the sovereign power belongs to the people, but that it belongs solely to a certain class of people. "The entire power within the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic belongs to all the working people of Russia united in urban and rural Soviets."14 The authority thus established is the dictatorship of a class, nor did they wish to deny this interpretation. "The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, in view of the present transitory period, is the establishment of the dictatorship of the city and rural proletariat and of the poorest elements of the peasantry in the form of a powerful all-Russian Soviet government for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing Socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of auto-

13. N. Lenin. Soviets at work, p.27.

a. Who are citizens and who are not?

Governments exist for the people who live under them. Thus it is always an interesting point to know the position of an individual citizen under any form of government. This leads to the question as to who is a citizen. In case of the Soviet Russia it is also necessary to ask "who is not?" Section one of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside". The Russian Soviet Constitution did not provide in unequivocable language who shall be citizens. In reality the Bolsheviks profess internationalism. They are Socialist-Internationalists. They aim at international revolution. They have brothers everywhere. "The Spartacists are the German Bolsheviks."[16]

The I.W.W. of the United States and the Syndicalists of France all recognized no national geographical boundary lines, and pay little attention to the strict definition of citizenship. It cannot be reasonably inferred that the "proletariat", the "poorest peasantry" alone constitutes the citizenry. The fact that the capitalistic class is deprived of voting does not mean that they are not counted as citizens legally speaking, although all security and the good that is usually associated with citizenship is reduced to the minimum. They become political outcasts.

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b. Granting of Citizenship to Foreigners.

On the other hand the Russian constitution readily grants political rights to foreigners who belong to the working class. "In consequence of the solidarity of the workers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic, and are engaged in work and who belong to the working class." Also under this constitution the local Soviets were allowed to grant citizenship to foreigners. In the United States the process of naturalization is within the competence of the Federal government. Long years of residence have been required, at first fourteen years, then it was changed to five years. Even under the present law the steps are many and punctilious. The foreigner must renounce his original citizenship and declare his intention to reside permanently in the United States. He must not take his first paper under the age of eighteen, and may take his paper only after three years of residence, and his second paper at twenty-one years of age; and the United States court grants the petition only after a hearing. But in Russia all these steps are unnecessary. The constitution provides that "The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such working foreigners without complicated formality". In order to get the citizenship of the United States the foreigner must declare that he is neither a polygamist nor an anarchist. In Russia the foreigner who expects Russian citizenship must not be a bourgeois. Perhaps in no country has the persecuted foreigner been afforded more secure protection than in Russia under the Soviet gov-

ernment. It has given political or religious refugees protection by a constitutional provision.

c. Duties

The duties of the citizen of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic were clearly set down in the Constitution. In the constitutions of some countries the duties of the citizen include liability for military service and for taxation. In Soviet Russia the duties are two in number, and the provision for military service is especially important. The Bolsheviks believe in the international good will of the workers, but that time is yet to come. The present is a transition period. The Bolshevik leaders recognized the inevitability of counter-revolution, particularly from the Russian monarchists, from the intrigue of the French or English bond-holders and concessionaires who wished to have their interests in Russia liquidated, and from the less violent socialists. Lenin has said, "The perishing feudal nobility took revenge on the bourgeois, which was conquering and displacing it, not only by conspiracies, attempts at insurrections and restoration, but also by torrents of ridicule at the inability, clumsiness and blunders of the 'insolent upstarts' who dared to take hold of the 'sacred helm' of the state without the ancient training of princes, barons, nobility and aristocracy for the work, - quite like the revenge of the Kornilovs and Kerenskys, Gotz, Martovs, and other heroes of bourgeois morality or bourgeois scepticism, on the working class of Russia for its 'insolent' attempt to seize power".18

It is, therefore, the duty of every Russian citizen to come to the defense of his "Socialist Fatherland", with the restriction that "the honor of defending the revolution with arms is accorded only to the workers, and the non-working elements are charged with the performance of other military duties". 19

The whole structure of the Russian socialist order was based on the theory of abolition of exploitation of man by his fellow-creatures. Rents, interest, all banking business and manufacturing enterprises which were counted as honest businesses under the constitution of other countries, and call for the highest ability, were condemned as exploitation. To produce directly, by either manual or mental toil, for the purpose of consumption, not profiteering, is what is meant by work. The Russian Soviet constitution provides that "the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: 'He shall not eat who does not work'". 20

d. Constitutional Protections.

One of the principal aims of a modern constitution is to protect the citizen against arbitrary exercise of power by the government. The amount of protection afforded the citizen, not merely against foreign foes but against the arbitrariness of the government, is a fair barometer of democracy. In the Russian Soviet constitution nowhere was to be found any such protection of the people.

20. Same sec.18.
against the government. The Bolsheviks thought their arch-enemy was the counter-revolutionists and the bourgeois; for the enemy of the new order ruthless suppression was justifiable, while to the "workingmen", "the proletariat", "the poorest peasantry", nothing but justice could be done by the government, necessarily meaning that the government was all-wise and all-just. Yet the best-intentioned regime is not infallible in the matter of justice, especially when the government is deeply intrenched in power and becomes invulnerable and irresponsible. Even though the Russian government is responsible to the all-Russian Congress, injustice to the citizens can come from an arbitrary legislature as well as from an arbitrary executive. One great danger to the Bolshevik people themselves is the Red Army. There are no provisions in the Russian Constitution that "no soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law", that no warrant shall be issued without oath in probable cause, "particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized"; similar constitutional provisions for due process of law is also lacking. The individual citizen is, therefore, not accorded constitutional protection. The Bolshevik Constitution has afforded constitutional protection, however, of one class against the encroachment of another. Even with the abolition of all privileges based on the recognition of equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, these equal rights are by no means secure. On the other hand the government was secured against the individual and group of individuals by the pro-

vision in the Constitution: "Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Soviet Revolution." The right which might be used most effectively to the detriment of the Soviet regime is the right "to keep and bear arms". Thus it is possible for the Soviet government to disarm any portion of the Red Army, any group of people, or any individual under this provision.

e. His Relation to Government - the maximum government theory.

Such is the incongruity of this "higher type of democracy", with little constitutional protection of the individual. But the Soviet works under a principle different from any other type of government. The political thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was characterized by the "laizez-faire" doctrine. Jefferson, for example, believed the government that governed the least governed the best. "I have great confidence in the common sense of mankind in general." "Let the general government be reduced to a very simple organization and a very inexpensive one, and a few plain duties to be performed by a few servants." Jefferson was denounced as a radical by his opponents, the Federalists, but Jefferson was not thought of as the same radical type as are the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik government operates under the theory of attaining the maximum of government. That government that governs the most governs the best. The Russian Soviet Constitution provides for the greatest

amount of governmental interference or help in the affairs of the individual. The Russian Soviet Government, under this constitution, not only "offers assistance, material and otherwise, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize", but it extends its function of helping the people to the minutest possible extent. The government gives the poorest peasantry and the working people the necessary facilities for the printing of newspapers, pamphlets and books, and guarantees their "free circulation" throughout Russia. The constitution also provides for "enabling the workers to hold free meetings; the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances".  

One does not expect details such as lighting and heating to be incorporated in fundamental law, but it illustrates the Bolshevik theory of maximum government. They are out and out Socialists but not anarchists. The government extends its action to the remotest village and its inhabitants in affairs that were considered entirely private. Lenin has said, "Every factory, every village, is a production and consumption commune, having the right and duty to .... solve in its own way the problem of accounting in production and distribution. Under capitalism this was the private affair of the individual capitalist or landowner. Under the Soviets this is not a private affair, but the most important national affair".  

Perhaps nothing touches the life of the individual to a fuller extent than the production and distribution of wealth. If the Soviet is a government of "production and distribution of wealth", the

amount played by the government reaches the maximum and the part played by the individual the minimum. Upon this principle the Soviet system is based.

5. How Amended?

A constitution may be tested in the last instance by the method by which it may be amended. In the United States a constitutional amendment may be proposed either by the United States Congress or by a Constitutional Convention, and ratified by three fourths of the states, either through the state legislatures or through special conventions in the states. This method is clearly set down in the Constitution itself, so as to provide a method by which this fundamental instrument may be made to suit the needs of the times. But in the Russian Constitution there is no provision to show how the fundamental law may be amended. As it was adopted by two of the all-Russian Congresses, which is equivalent in function to the English Parliament, the Russian method is similar to the English in allowing all-competency to the parliament in the sense that it can do anything that is not physically impossible. All Russian Soviet Congresses may thus amend it as they see fit. There is in Russia no court similar to the American Supreme Court to declare any law unconstitutional, but there is also no political tradition of the English sort which prevents arbitrariness and folly on the part of the parliament. Thus the nature of the all-Russian Congress is both legislative and constituent. The merit of combining the functions of combining both fundamental and statutory law is an open question; but countries of later constitutional development have in
general insisted on their separation.

The lack of provision in the constitution for a definite method of amendment and the failure to include in it many very fundamental things cause one to doubt whether the Soviet Government meant to regard the Constitution with the same seriousness with which the United States Government has looked upon the Federal Constitution. The circumstances under which this Constitution was drawn up were those of confusion and upheaval in Russia. It was in July of 1918 when the fifth all-Russian Congress of Soviets was in session that this constitution was drawn up. It was just the time when the Soviet government was busy building the Red Army by conscription, and otherwise making preparation to protect the Revolution against internal and external foes. The Constitution was, in a way, an instrument of propaganda to be used to attract people to the Red standard. Mr. Lincoln Eyre testifies, "In the former Government Square (Moscow), renamed Soviet Square, they have raised, in commemoration of the founding of the republic, a really impressive granite column, on the base of which is imprinted in letters of gold the complete text of the Soviet Constitution". But the Soviet Government has gone farther than this. "The fifth Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce into all schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this constitution. How energetically this is done may be seen from the section in chapter 4, The operation of the Soviet Government, with Education in Soviet Russia. In the educational system not only have several

26. Soviet Constitution as reprinted by the Nation, p.3
special schools for the teaching of Communist principles been opened, but these principles are also introduced into the curriculums of the secondary schools. It may be expected that if things settle down and the Soviet Government continues, an attempt will be made to revise the constitution, which has served its purpose as an instrument of propaganda and temporary adjustment. The way leading to revision is wide open because the power of amendment is left to the all-Russian Congress, and the procedure of amendment was not specified in the Constitution.
Chapter 3

The Organization of the Legislative, Executive and Administrative Branches of the Central Soviet Government

1. The Legislative Branch.
   a. Functions of all-Russian Congress
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      1. Sole jurisdiction
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2. The Executive Branch.
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   b. The function and powers of the Council of People's Commissars
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1. The Legislative Branch.

a Functions of the all-Russian Congress

The all-Russian Congress of Soviet is the legislative organ of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. It is the repository of the supreme power of the country. The constitution provides that "the all-Russian congress of Soviets is the supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic". In reality this congress not only enacts all the statutes for the Republic, but also, as has been pointed out, is the constituent convention which set up the Russian Soviet Constitution. "As in England, the national legislature itself is the designer and repairer of the government machine. The hand of the past does not rest, an autocracy of death, upon the institutions of the Soviet state. The all-Russian Soviet fashions the instrument of the government, and can re-fashion them at will to fit the circumstance of change." This congress meets at least twice a year, but special sessions may be convoked by the Central executive committee upon its own initiative or upon the request of the local soviets having not less than one third of the population of the entire country. Since the Bolsheviks have been in power there have been nine, or about one congress every three months.

The all-Russian Soviet Congress has another very important function, viz., the executive. It is not a congressional type of government, as is that of the United States, where both Congress and

27. Soviet Constitution, Article 3, chap.6, sec.24.
the President claim ascendency and leadership in the determination of policies. The all-Russian Soviet Congress is by no means the product of the theory of checks and balances. It was given "supreme power" by the constitution, and resembles the Swiss Federal Assembly in that it elects 200 members to constitute the Central Executive Committee, which, during the interim of congresses, assumes the legislative and executive functions and is responsible to the all-Russian Soviet Congress as the Swiss Federal Council of seven is responsible to the Swiss Federal Assembly.

The all-Russian Soviet Congress is a uni-cameral assembly. Of all the western countries Russia is the first to use a single-chambered legislature. In spite of the abuses of the United States Senate, the suspicion of its connection with and control by privileged and big business interests, President Wilson observes the necessity for it and the political wisdom and firmness of the senators acquired through long years of service. "What gives the Senate its real character and significance as an organ of constitutional government is the fact that it does not represent population, but regions of the country, the political units into which it has, by our singular constitutional process, been cut up. The Senate, therefore, represents the variety of the nation as the House does not." 29

On the other hand, there has been much agitation to abolish the Senate. One of the planks of the American Labor Party, which recently emerged in Chicago, is "the abolition of the Senate". 30 For the Russian Bolsheviks there existed no necessity for a senate.

They had abolished every rank, no class being allowed to participate in political life except the poorest peasantry and the workingmen. Heretofore no nation has dared to abolish this upper house; it remains with the Russians to make the experiment.

b. Representation and Composition

The basis of representation in the all-Russian Soviet Congress is different from that of other countries. The problems of representation which aroused many heated debates in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 do not seem to have confronted the Bolsheviks. They did not take as a basis of representation the size of the population, but they gave to the supporters of the Bolshevik regime full representation, those whom they thought to win over to their side partial representation, and the bourgeois was excluded entirely. The Bolsheviks drew their main support from the workers of the city and their influence was weakened with the peasants as distances separated them from the centers of the Bolshevik revolution. By this constitution the city was given representation five times as great as that given to the rural population, yet the great majority of Russia's population was the peasantry. "The all-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of urban soviets (one delegate for every 25,000 voters) and of representatives of the provincial congresses of soviets (one delegate for 125,000 inhabitants)" 31 This method of numerically unequal representation in the Russian Congress holds true with the provincial congress by giving

31. Soviet Constitution, Article 3, chap. 6, sec. 25.
one representative to 10,000 voters of the rural districts, and one representative to 2,000 voters of the city. Of this method of representation the report of the Congressional investigation has this to say: "Having professed an adherence to the democratic form of government, to assist in securing control of Russia, the Bolsheviks, in establishing its paper government, sought to maintain its dictatorship, under color of a representative political system. A recognition of the democratic principle that all men are created equal, however, would have necessitated the equal participation of all citizens in the affairs of government. Such universal participation would have made impossible a dictatorship of the minority, but would inherently have been a rule of the majority and would have accomplished just what the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly was intended to prevent. The following of the Bolshevik government being more numerous in the cities, and these by reason of their concentration within more restricted territorial limits being more readily led and dominated, it was prescribed by constitutional direction that representation from cities in government shall be five times as great as the representation from the provincial districts. In other words, representation from cities is in the ratio of one to every 25,000 of population, while from the rural districts and the territory of the peasants, who constitute a large percentage of the Russian population, representation is one to every 185,000 of the population." 32

When the fourth all-Russian Congress was convoked there were 1084 delegates with a deciding vote, and 80 delegates with a con-

32. U.S. Congressional Record, 1919, p.1211.
sulting vote. They belonged to the different parties as follows: Bolsheviks 732; Left Social-Revolutionists 238; Anarchists 14; Unionists 24; Social Democrat Internationalists 16; Social Democrat Ukraines 3; non-Partisan 18; Social Revolutionists Center 15; Social Revolutionists Maximalists 24. The Congress, upon opening, immediately elected a Mandate Commission, whose function was to examine into the credentials of the delegates, a task similar to that performed by the Committee on Credentials of an American national party convention. This Mandate Commission was composed of one member for every 100 delegates present and one for any fraction thereof above 20 delegates. At the close of the Congress there were 1198 delegates seated as members. 33

It was also claimed by the Bolsheviks that they had achieved in the matter of representation what had for years baffled the leading American and European political scientists and statesmen, viz., the recognition of occupational representation as well as territorial. The delegates came primarily from the "shop", secondarily from the "map". There has no doubt been a widespread and keen desire to achieve some sort of occupational representation. "For years forward-looking American political scientists have realized this and have talked of the substitution of economic for geographical representation as the only reasonable remedy. Men's interests, they have said, are essentially economic. People are bound together more closely by their occupations than by the neighborhood in which they happen to live. It might well be that legislative bodies representing different economic interests, instead of districts arbitrarily

33. The Nation, Sept. 6, 1919, p. 348.
assigned on the map, would give more adequate expression of public opinion, and would bring the legislator into more constant and intimate relations with those he represents."34 It was very natural for the Bolsheviks to apply this principle. The political individual is the worker, who must usually be a worker of some farm or factory. Delegates from city soviets were elected not by the American method of wards, which has proved so baneful to the American municipal government, nor on a general ticket, but from the different trades or occupations. There were the textile union, the coachmen's union, the teachers' union, union of postal clerks,—in short, all kinds of unions of the trades. The Bolsheviks thus made their representation fundamentally functional and secondarily geographical. This desire to change parliamentary representation from a geographical to a functional basis has been manifested also in other countries, notably in England. The national Industrial Conference called by the British government in January, 1919, proposed, among other things, the creation of a National Industrial Council of 400, to be presided over by the Minister of Labor and to meet twice a year, a standing committee to meet once a month. This Council was to deal with all questions of labor and capital, and was to be the normal organ through which the government will get into touch with the country's industrial situation. This amounts to a devolution of that economic and industrial part of the parliament's function, with which they thought the Parliament was incompetent to deal. The Parliament was to give final sanction. There was a very close resemblance in the method of representation for the all-Russian Congress and that suggested for the

34. The Nation, March 22, 1919, p.423.
c Powers of the all-Russian Congress.

The powers of the all-Russian Congress may be classified under two headings, namely, those over which the Congress has sole jurisdiction, and those which the Congress holds in common with the Central Executive Committee, which exercises these powers when the Congress is not in session. 35

1. Powers over which the all-Russian Congress has sole jurisdiction
   a. Ratification and amendment of the fundamental principles of the soviet constitution.
   b. Ratification of the peace treaties.

2. Powers which the all-Russian Congress holds in common with the Central Executive Committee
   a. Constituent
   b. General direction
   c. Territorial
      1. Establishing and changing boundaries, also ceding territory belonging to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

35. Soviet Constitution, Article 3, chap.9.
2. Establishing boundaries for regional Soviet unions belonging to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, also settling disputes among them.

3. Admission of new members to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and recognition of the secession of any parts of it.


d. Economic


2. Working out a basis and a general plan for the national economy and for its various branches in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

e. Financial


2. Levying taxes and establishing the duties of citizens to the state.

f. Foreign affairs

1. Foreign relations, declaration of war, and ratification of peace treaties.


3. Granting and cancelling Russian citizenship and fixing rights of foreigners.
g. Judicial

1. State legislation, judicial organization and procedure, civil and criminal legislation, etc.

2. The right to declare general and individual amnesty.

h. Appointment

1. Appointment and dismissal of the individual People's Commissar or the entire council, also approval of the President of the Council of People's Commissars.

i. Military

1. Establishing the basis for the organization of armed forces.

2. The Executive Branch.

a. Functions of the Central Executive Committee

The Central Executive Committee is organized under the Russian Soviet Constitution. With the all-Russian Congress it shares supreme legislative, executive, administrative and controlling powers. It sits during the interim between the sessions of the all-Russian Congresses. It is elected by the all-Russian Congress, which delegates the executive, administrative authority to it, and to which it is responsible. "Before it (the fourth all-Russian Congress) disbanded, a permanent executive committee of 200 members was elected, which remained in office until the next all-Russian Congress elected their successors. For every six delegates there was one member on the executive committee. Each party, according to
its strength, was allowed to place the representatives it desired on this committee. This executive committee is the real power in the Soviet government, and elects or dismisses the People's Commissars at will". 36

b Its powers.

The powers of the Central Executive Committee are provided for in the constitution. They may be classified in five ways:

1. Executive and general. The all-Russian Central Executive directs in a general way the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' government and of all the organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it coordinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolutions of the all-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet power. In this way it may exercise the powers of Class II under the powers of the all-Russian Congress.

2. Legislative. By this power the Central Executive Committee exercises the function of legislation in the real meaning of the word, namely, it considers and criticizes. The all-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

3. Power of Convocation. The Constitution provides that the all-Russian Congress is to be convoked by the Central Executive Committee at least twice a year, and that upon the petition of not

36. The Nation, Sept.6, 1919, p.349.
less than one third of the whole population of Russia, or on its own
initiative a special congress may be convoked. When the congress
meets, the Central Executive Committee reports on its activity and
on general questions.

4. Administrative. The all-Russian Central Executive
Committee forms a council of People's Commissars for the purpose of
general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal
Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments which are called
People's Commissariats or Administrative Colleges, for the purpose of
conducting various branches of administration. The members of the
all-Russian Central Executive Committee work in the commissariats and
execute special orders from the all-Russian Central Executive Com-
mittee.

5. There is the group of powers which is forbidden the
Central Executive Committee, and which is reserved solely for the
all-Russian Congress. This is Class I under the Powers of the all-
Russian Congress.

3. The Administrative Branch.

a. The Relation between the Council of People's
Commissars and the Commissar.

Modern political scientists have held the opinion that the
division of the functions of a government into legislative, execu-
tive and judicial is not exhaustive. There ought to be added two
other functions, namely, electoral and administrative. The adminis-
trative function of government is more clearly understood as man
attempts to run the government in a more business-like way and as the government gradually enlarges its sphere of activities. The Russian Central Soviet government features the administrative function as more or less distinct from the executive. The central administrative body is the Council of the People's Commissars. It is formed by the Central Executive Committee, to which it is responsible. The people's commissars who are made the heads of the commissariats or departments are chosen by the Central Executive Committee. The relation between this council and the departments is interesting and unique. The spirit is that the members of the council are assigned the chief place in some department, thereby emphasizing the collective nature of the council, and not that the heads of departments were summoned together to form the council, thereby laying stress on the individual character of each department. The Constitution clearly provided in separate clauses that "the all-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a council of People's Commissars for the purpose of general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments (People's Commissariats) for the purpose of conducting various branches". Thus both the Council and the Commissariat are separate creations of the Central Executive Committee. Both have the same functions to perform, that of administration, but each is entrusted with a different phase of the same function supplementing each other, the one the general management and the other the specialized phases of the work. The motivating force is supplied by

37. Soviet Constitution, Article 3, chap.8, sec.37.
assigning each of the People's Commissars to some department acting as its head.

b The Functions and Powers of the Council of People's Commissars

The Council of the People's Commissars has the right to issue orders, decrees, resolutions, and in general take steps for the proper and rapid conduct of governmental affairs. The responsibility of the Council to the Central Executive Committee is effected by requiring that all these orders and resolutions must be immediately transmitted to the latter, which has the right to suspend or revoke any or all of the orders and resolutions which the Council may have issued. The ascendancy of the Central Executive Committee is further safeguarded by providing that "all orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of great political significance are referred for consideration and final approval to the all-Russian Central Executive Committee". But measures requiring immediate execution may be enacted directly by the Council of People's Commissars. The Council of People's Commissars is also responsible to the all-Russian Congress.

c The People's Commissar and the Collegium.

The People's Commissar is made the head of some department or Commissariat. He has the right to decide on all questions that come under the jurisdiction of his commissariat. But this right is not

38. Soviet Constitution, Article 3, chap.8, sec.41.
absolute. In the exercise of this right he is under the immediate control of the Council of the People's Commissars, through the Collegium. A Collegium of a Commissariat is a sort of council whose members are appointed by the Council of People's Commissars. The Commissar has the right to decide on any question of that Commissariat according to his own discretion. The Collegium can do nothing to prevent him from exercising his discretion. But after the decision is made, he is required to report the decision to the Collegium, which may or may not agree with him. When the whole Collegium or any of its members disagree with the Commissar on a certain question, the Collegium reports its complaint to the Council of the People's Commissars or to the Central Executive Committee. Thus the action of the Commissar, though not impeded, is watched at every turn by the Collegium, which is nothing less than the ears of the Council of the People's Commissars or the Central Executive Committee. This scheme allows a large amount of freedom of action to the Commissar, and at the same time prevents any of the Commissars from launching any plan in the management of his own departmental affairs that is subversive to the general and collective administration.

d The Eighteen Commissariats.

There are eighteen departments or commissariats in all. Of these eighteen departments some correspond readily with those of other countries. They are: Departments of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Army, Navy, Justice, Finance, Agriculture, Ways of Communication, Post and Telegraph, Education, Labor, Commerce and Industry. Some of the departments are of a new character. They are the departments of Social Welfare, National Supplies, State Control,
Supreme Soviet of National Economy, National Affairs, Public Health. Of these new departments that of Public Health is sometimes advocated in non-Socialistic countries. It was one of the proposed ten departments for the reorganization of the government of Great Britain as drafted by the Committee on governmental machinery of the ministry of reconstruction organized by the act of Parliament July 17, 1917.
CHAPTER 4


1. Efficiency of Public Defense

2. Economic Reconstruction
   a. Abolition of capitalism in Soviet Russia
   b. Industries under Soviet government
      1. Nationalization of industries
      2. The new industrial administration
      3. The condition of industry in Soviet Russia
      4. The causes for the industrial breakdown
      5. The new labor in Soviet Russia
   c. Trade under Soviet government
      1. The abolition of trade and its condition in Soviet Russia
      2. The hope of resumption of trade with the Allies
   d. The conditions of rural economy in Soviet Russia
   e. The organization and functions of the Supreme Council of National Economy

3. The finance of the Soviet government

4. Education under the Soviet government

5. Evolution of the Communist Party since 1917
1. Efficiency of Public Defense

Since their accession to power the Soviet Government has been confronted with the very acute problem of public defense. For the Soviet Government the only way to assume the right to exist as a government was to prove itself capable of defense by force of arms. The conditions existing in November and December 1917 and in 1918 were most critical. The problem of demoralization was very serious. The menace of the German army was temporarily staved off by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which was ratified in Moscow on March 14, 1918. But the numerous enemies of the Soviet Government were gradually rising from all sides in that year. The Allies adopted military intervention in August. On August 5, 1918, allied troops landed at Vladivostok in order to protect Allied war materials in Siberia, to watch the German and Austrian prisoners interned in Russia, and to aid the Czecho-Slovaks. Later in the year, on November 18, at Omsk, Admiral Kolchak effected a coup d'etat, drove away the five directors of the Omsk government, and made himself Dictator. He was to be the "White Hope" in Siberia. In the North Allied troops were already in Archangel, in the South the armies of Denikine and in the Northwest the armies of Yudenitch were gathering. So 1918 was, appropriately speaking, the period of formation for the anti-Bolsheviki forces.

For the Soviet government 1918 was a period of preparation characterized by the utmost of desperation. By changing its emphasis from international revolution to national preservation, the Soviet government rallied the strength and morale of the Russian people about the newly organized Red Army. The evolution of the
Red Army was indeed very interesting. At first it was a volunteer army. After the breakdown of the Russian army in 1917, immediately before the Bolshevik Revolution, no other method of military recruiting was possible. Leon Trotsky, the Soviet Minister of War, said, "The ruinous breakdown of the old army, and of its whole system of organization meant that no fighting forces could be formed except from volunteers.... It was not until the great masses of the old army had been absorbed into the towns and villages, and new local military institutions set up, such as local, district, and central recruiting and commissariat agencies, that a beginning could be made of proceeding from volunteer corps to conscription". How far and how long did the volunteer method of recruiting continue as the sole method, there are no statistics to show; but very early in the summer of 1916 the Red Army entered into the second stage of its evolution. In this stage the Soviet government did two things to improve the Red Army. First, it instituted conscription by which a number of years of the laboring classes were called. It was to be a proletarian army. The honor of defending the Revolution was to be reserved principally for the workers. Simultaneously there was instituted universal military training to prepare a body of reserves. It was "during the summer of last year (1916) when the iron ring with which the imperialists in all countries wanted to throttle us was being drawn even more tightly around Russia - we were forced to hurry on our military institutions. We began by mobilizing several years all over Russia, and by hurrying on their training and draft-

Simultaneously with our use of barrack units and field units, we are everywhere carrying on the military training of the workers and peasants. We view the first steps of this universal training in the light of a rough preparation and an acquirement of certain methods which every fighter must master. This will make further training easier when the soldier is drafted into our regular units. It has already been proved that, in spite of its restricted operation, universal military training has been of utmost use in reconstituting the army." As early as April 22, 1918, the decree on General Military Instruction was published. On May 7, 1918, the first order was issued. In July, 1918, the first all-Russian Congress of Military Instruction assembled. The Red Army thus created was estimated at various figures. At the beginning of 1919 the active army was estimated by some to be 750,000 men. This was confirmed by the Soviet Russia, published in the United States, that "early in 1919 the Soviet Headquarters Staff already had at its disposal a well-equipped and splendidly drilled army of 750,000 men, highly disciplined and led by experienced, trustworthy generals and officers. An equal number of troops was prepared for the reserves". These figures are given here because no figures for the Red Army for the end of 1918 were obtainable. One can safely presume that at the close of 1918 the Red Army was not far from 750,000, with as many reserves.

41. " Nov. 1919, p. 311.
42. Soviet Russia, v. 2, no. 14, p. 335.
44. Soviet Russia, v. 2, no. 1, p. 2.
The Red Army was well officered. Many of the generals and officers of the Czarist regime entered into the service of the Soviet government. They were well rewarded for their services and their families were kept as hostages to insure their good faith.\(^{45}\)

The Soviet government opened courses of instruction for officers and created five military schools of the middle type, and there was maintained also the higher grade military academy of the General Staff.\(^{46}\) That the Soviet army was well officered at the end of 1918 was not generally believed, but events afterwards unmistakably demonstrated that its leadership was adequate.

There remained one problem – army discipline. The leaders of the Soviet government were witnesses of the dissolution of the old army under Kerensky. The elected committee of the regiment of that time was more powerful than the commander, and the order to advance was often held up for discussion or even disobeyed. The Soviet authorities abolished the soldiers' committees in the Red Army. The oath of the Red Army contained a section providing "I pledge myself

\(^{45}\) Soviet Russia Army, officers, second to none – by Col. Henry J. Reilly. "Not only have many generals and general staff officers of the old regime entered the bolshevik army, but also thousands of line officers. They are well paid on the one hand and on the other are shot if unfaithful. Where married, their families are hostages for their good behaviour. In addition it is reported that 3000 former German officers are employed, many of them being artillerymen, engineers, and officers of other technical branches." – Chicago Daily Tribune, Feb.28, 1920.

\(^{46}\) Current History, Nov. 1919, p.311.
strictly and unflinchingly to observe revolutionary discipline, and unhesitatingly to carry out all the orders of the commanders placed over me by the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

"If by mischievous design I break this my solemn oath, then may universal contempt be my lot, and may I be punished by the stern hand of revolutionary law."\(^{47}\)

With the year 1918 as the period of formation of the anti-Soviet forces and as a period of feverish preparation by the Soviet government, the year 1919 was to become an eventful one for Soviet Russia. There were the five fronts of Archangel, Siberia, Turkestan, South Russia and Northwest Russia. It was claimed that General Kolchak in Siberia had 300,000 men, Denikine in South Russia had 250,000 to 300,000 men, Yudenich had 60,000 men equipped and financed by England, and the Allies in Archangel had 14,000 men. The anti-Bolshevik armies were at first so successful that for a time the prospect for the Soviet government seemed very dark. The three generals Kolchak, Denikine and Yudenich all had had their meteoric successes before their final defeats. Denikine's army came as near as 175 miles to Moscow. On October 10 General Yudenich started his drive on Petrograd. Within four days his vanguard reached the vicinity of the old capital of the Czar. But one after another the Soviet government defeated its enemies and put them to flight. On November 15 Omsk, the seat of the government under Kolchak was taken, just three days less than one year after the coup. Kolchak was pursued, and on February 7, 1920, he was betrayed and surrendered to the

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Red Army and executed in Irkutsk. Yudenich was pursued, and on December 20 he reached Riga in Estonia. The Estonian government disarmed his men. General Denikine continued his retreat to the South. On February 8 Odessa, one of the bases of the army of Denikine, was captured by the Red Army. It was claimed by "Soviet Russia", published in the United States, that the Red Army at the time of the drive in the middle of October 1919 numbered about 3,000,000 in all. But the total was put at 1,200,000 at the minimum in 1919 by some military observer. This is more nearly the true number. Accretions to the Red Army were sometimes due to desertions from the enemy ranks. Once 40,000 of Kolchak's men went over in a body. To the Red Army belongs a very large share of the credit of preserving the Soviet government. How this feat was achieved strategically was summed up by a newspaper correspondent: "In spite of limited transport facilities, a concentration was first made against Gen. Yudenich, and operations were continued against him until he was virtually destroyed. Admiral Kolchak was attacked next and driven into Siberia. The last concentration was against General Denikine, with the result that his summer gains, which had led to the hope for the fall of Moscow were taken from him."

49. Col. H.J.Reilly. "While various figures are given, the minimum strength of the bolshevik army is commonly put at 1,200,000, which number is steadily increasing. The army is organized in accordance with modern principles into divisions.... The recent successes against Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikine have brought many deserters and prisoners from these great armies into the Bolsheviki one. At one stage of the last days of Kolchak's army, 40,000 troops surrendered without firing a shot. Thousands of soldiers from the Green army, which was the army of the Ukraine and fought both against the bolshevik army and Deni-
government has been fighting off the Polish invasion on the West. The fortunes of the war are not yet decided. The Soviet government had some reverses, and under General Brusiloff has won back part of the area occupied by the enemy. At the time of this writing the final outcome of the struggle is not decided. Thus far the Red Army has fulfilled its duty in successfully defending the Proletarian revolution of November 1917 by force of arms. The danger of immediate dissolution for the Soviet government, either from the civil war or from the success of the invasions of foreign armies, is temporarily if not permanently removed.

kine, also have joined the bolsheviki army since the virtual conquest of their country." - Chicago Daily Tribune, February 28, 1920.


51. Poles hold off Lenin Reds on 400-mile front. Warsaw, March 24, 1920. - Bolshevik attacks have been launched against the Polish line at scattered points along a front of approximately 400 miles. While the Bolsheviks have made small advances at some places, the Poles have been holding them in check in most sections. The Reds have been compelled to retreat from several newly acquired positions, but fighting still continues, the Soviet troops using heavy artillery, tanks, and armoured cars. - Chicago Daily Tribune, March 26, 1920, p.2.

52. Reds shatter Polish line. - London, May 20, 1920. Confirmation that the bolsheviki have captured the towns of Polotski and Lepel, in the government of Vitebsk, was given by an authoritative British source today. It was stated that the bolsheviki have advanced 30 miles in depth along a front of fifty miles. - Chicago Daily Tribune, May 21, 1920.
2. Economic Reconstruction.

The victory of the Red Army insured proletarian supremacy, but economic reconstruction was a task which was infinitely more important to the Soviet government than the military success. It was also more difficult. The attention of the Soviet government in 1918 was riveted on the destruction of the old order and the preparation for the coming military struggle, while 1919 was largely a year of battles and campaigns. During these years all the economic machinery and the resources of the country were devoted to the struggle to survive civil war and foreign attacks. There were many powerful economic elements which remained to be converted to Communism, and which the exigency of the military situation warned the Soviet leaders to handle carefully and without antagonism. Among these elements were the farmers and the co-operatives. Therefore, in the field of economic reconstruction, the Soviet government has merely made a beginning during the three brief years of its existence, although many of these beginnings are of far-reaching significance. For an adequate survey of economic reconstruction, one will have to wait. Little has been accomplished that can properly be designated reconstruction. The reconstruction program and the efforts put forth are in the process of development. They have not yet matured, and could not so early and easily mature in an accomplished result such as the military victory of the Red Army. However, I shall attempt to show how far the development of a new communist economic order has gone, and wherein the plans have failed or been abandoned.

The first step toward the new economic order was the abolition of capitalism. On December 14, 1917, a decree was issued to abolish banking as a private business. Banking was declared a state
monopoly. Only the interests of the small depositors were protected. The shares of the big financiers were confiscated by the state without compensation. The banks were the very center of the whole economic system, the headquarters of the control, ownership and administration of the whole economic life of the bourgeoisie society, which the Soviet government came to destroy.

As to industries, all the big enterprises were nationalized. When the Soviet government came into being in 1917, there were in European Russia some 10,000 factories employing more than 20,000 men. These came directly under the operation of the nationalization law. Of these 10,000, only 6,000 were located in the territory then controlled by Soviet Russia. The method used for nationalization was direct expropriation by which they were forcibly taken away from their capitalistic owners without compensation, and declared to be the property of the state. The factories were put into the hands of the workers. The workmen controlled the factories through their elected committees. The factories were then run in

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53. Decrees and Constitution of Soviet Russia, p.39. This decree was issued on the ground that it is "In the interest of the regular organization of the national economy, of the thorough eradication of bank speculation, and the complete emancipation of the workmen, peasants, and the whole laboring population from the exploitation of banking capital, and with a view to the establishment of a single national bank of the Russian Republic, which shall serve the real interests of the people and of the poorer classes." The name of this National Bank was called the People's Bank, which is the organ through which the issuance of notes was effected.

the most haphazard fashion and the efficiency of the workman decreased to the lowest point. There was neither order nor discipline. This state of affairs was true in a good part of 1918. It was not until in the latter part of that year that the beginnings of a unique system of organization were discernible. The outstanding feature was the organization of each industry throughout the whole country as a unit. There was created a national administration for that industry. In management it was a sort of nation-wide trust. (a) It has the power of management of the industry in question, (b) finance, (c) technical unification and reconstruction, (d) standardization of the working conditions. The composition of the national administration of a certain industry consists of representatives, one third from each of the following: (1) employee, (2) the general proletariat, and (3) the technical, scientific and commercial groups. 55 There are local administrations as sub-divisions of the central administration for a given industry. The orders of the Supreme Council of National Economy are binding on the National Administrations of the several industries. 56 This is the system elaborated by the Supreme Council of National Economy for the guidance of the Soviet government in economic reorganization. Industrial conditions continue to be as chaotic as before. Among industries thus organized were textiles, machine construction, paper, rubber, honey-raising, cement, coal, saw-mill, peat, salt, match, tobacco, shoe, leather, starch, alcohol, sugar, and baking; and

55. Soviet Decrees and Constitution, p. 73.
there were many others.

There was still a group of industries that were not nationalized. These were the small factories employing less than twenty men. The absorption of this class of industry was found too impractical for the time being. Also the small hand-crafts were not absorbed. In fact nearly all the industries nationalized in 1918 and 1919 were re-organized according to this new system only on paper. The actual condition of the industries of Soviet Russia during these years is in general very much worse than the picture presented to the outside world by the Soviet newspapers. The description of the total absence of any form of production, including every form of economic production, is perhaps untrue. Some writers have called the hopelessness of the industrial situation the cardinal failure of the Soviet government as such. But this attitude is not justified, because the Soviet government inherited from the Kerensky government a broken industrial organization. The truer picture of the real industrial condition is given by Mr. J. Clayton. His statement is a more balanced attempt to establish some causation and to describe the actual industrial condition in Soviet Russia.

57. "Confusion and wretched conditions generally prevail throughout Russia, according to a report made to British and American representatives here (Warsaw, March 27, 1920) by a technical expert . . . who has spent months in Russia. There is absolutely no wheat or flax in Russia for export, he says, and wool is scarce, as sheep throughout the country have been killed for food. The expert, who is a native of Russia, was permitted to visit farming and manufacturing districts, and is emphatic in declaring the task of rehabilitating the country under the leadership of N. Lenin is hopeless." – New York Times, March 28, 1920, p.1.

58. Kiev, May 12, 1920. Bolshevism a failure, by Col. H.J.Reilly. Throughout the country all conditions indicate Bolshevism is a failure. It has been unable to permanently better condi-
Mr. John Clayton wrote: (Reval via Paris, May 17, 1920)

"Industrial Russia is dead. Two things, civil war and the Allied blockade, have killed it. There were many minor causes, but those are the principal ones.... I have just completed extensive investigations in Moscow, and have added to the results through conversations with engineers, both Russian and foreign, who have visited other industrial districts. In Petrograd and Moscow nothing was being done. In the Ural districts, I am told, there is more activity, because the shortage of raw material probably is less acute there. But in all Russia, except for munitions and clothing for the army, certainly less than ten per cent, possibly less than five per cent of the normal production is under way. In plants like the Moscow metal works and the Putiloff works and the Trengoldnik in Petrograd, I have been told by engineers that perhaps two per cent would be the correct figure.... Until recently, of the 25% of the pre-war transport now available, all but 2% has been used for the army to transport munitions, food, and clothing to the soldiers at the various fronts. Ryckhoff, head of the Supreme Economic Council, told me that practically no peace-time necessities had been produced in the last two years, but none would be produced until the civil war was liquidated and transport brought back to some semblance of order." 59

In the food industry the Soviet government has achieved better results. Food is considered an industry, because the feeding of the

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entire population has been undertaken by the government. For this purpose it has been necessary for the Soviet government to get food materials from the farmers and concentrate in the hands of the government. The conditions affecting the concentration of food material during the years 1917-1919 were described by the assistant commissioner of food control in the following language: "During the ten months from November 1917 to August 1918 the peasants' committee gave over only 10% of the government's demand. During the year from August 1 1918 to August 14 1919 we got 10,000,000 tons, representing 42% of the total. Since August 1 1919 the government has received 15,000,000 tons, with prospect of collecting 50,000,000 tons more before next August. This represents but 35% of the total demand by the government." 60 Similarly good results have been achieved in the baking industry, which may be considered as a branch of the food industry. In Petrograd four bakeries were producing 300,000 pounds of bread a day to feed the 1,000,000 Petrograders in March 1920. 61

Of the two immediate reasons for the collapse of industry, one stands out more eminently than the other. The breaking-down of the transportation facilities is more significant than the disappearance of labor discipline. The former is not within the power of the Soviet government to remedy, while the latter is; so one may say that the single great factor for the industrial break-down is the lack of transportation facilities. Mr. Lincoln Eyre testified that the Russian industrial crisis hinged on locomotives. Of the 20,000

60. Chicago Daily Tribune, March 31, 1920, p.5.
61. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 13, 1920,
pre-war locomotives only 4,000 were in use. 2,500 of these were devoted to troop and ammunition movement. The repair facilities were exceedingly few. Every month there were 200 locomotives which were put out of commission for lack of repairs. An American engineer working for the Soviet government attributed the industrial crisis to six reasons: want of transportation, raw material, food, fuel, labor discipline, skilled labor and trained executives. The first four really were questions of transportation. Transportation is, therefore, the key to Russia's industrial recovery.

The policy of Soviet Russia marks a new departure in labor history. It also indicates the consciousness of the Soviet leaders of the necessity for speedy industrial reconstruction. There was recently published a new labor code for Russia. Under this law every able-bodied man is liable to labor as he is liable to military duty. It is a conscription of labor. Many people denounced it as a method to enslave the Russian worker. Mr. Jerome Landfield said on this point, "The new labor laws of Soviet government, so far from liberating the workman, simply place him in a condition of industrial serfdom the like of which has not been known for a hundred years..." The most striking feature of the whole code is to be found in Section 1 of Article 1, which provides that all citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic between sixteen and fifty years of age, who are not incapacitated by injury or illness, 'shall be subject to compulsory labor'... In order to enforce this still further, Article 24 provides that 'an unemployed person has no

right to refuse an offer of work at his vocation, providing that the working conditions conform with the standard fixed by the respective tariff regulations." But the Soviet government naturally viewed the situation differently. In fact, the Soviet constitution clearly laid down that "universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country." A distinct purpose of the new labor law is not only the establishment of obligation to work, but the improvement of labor discipline. It is the management of labor that gives its efforts effectiveness even under Communism. Trotsky said, "The transition to the principle of one-man authority in the domain of administration is absolutely necessary. Management by Collegiums is a mere drunkenness, and is now passing and exhausting itself." Trotsky also advocated the organization of special revolutionary labor tribunals for the enforcement of that rigid discipline without which, he alleged, there could be no economic salvation. The third army was transformed into a labor battalion. It numbered about 100,000 men. There were three other armies similarly transformed. "The third reserve army of the Kazan region is sending thousands of men from the ranks to the various stations. The Viatka garrison is also sending men to the railway workshops and to clean the tracks." With this vast supply of disciplined labor power, the economic revival of

Soviet Russia today appears more likely than it was a year ago. The restoration of transportation will bring untold advantages both to the revival of industry and trade.

Trade, both internal and external, was also declared to be a national affair. In foreign commerce the ban on private enterprise was more strict. The Soviet commercial agents were in European countries and the Baltic countries and in America. The Soviet government, through its Commissar of Commerce, Krassin, was all the time holding very tempting offers and concessions before the American business world. The Soviet government intended to coordinate Russia's needs and her surplus, and control her imports and exports through the government Commissar of Commerce and allow no pri-

68. Soviets start five trade chiefs to Paris and London. - John Clayton. "Reval, March 4, 1920. The central administration commission, acting on reports by Makieff and Schmellioff, appointed a commission of five, with power to act, to visit Paris and London and to accept contracts to reestablish commerce between Russian and the Western world." - Chicago Tribune, March 6, 1920, p.2.

In America the so-called Soviet ambassador Martens was also the commercial agent before his deportation. Bolshevik agents in Denmark and other Baltic states were a common occurrence. Copenhagen is a favorite of Soviet agents. These states depend much on Russia for trade in food-stuff.

Reds must Stick to Business on Trip to Britain. London, March 15, 1920. "Replying to a question in the House of Commons today, Premier Lloyd George announced that the government would permit the visit of a delegation from the Russian cooperative societies subject to the right to exclude individuals. Every facility would be given for the coming to England and returning to Russia, the Premier added, but it must be clearly understood that the delegation would be forced to confine its work to commercial lines." - Chicago Daily Tribune, March 16, 1920, p.2.
But in internal trade private business still exists to some extent. Although all kinds of trade was forbidden, especially in the necessaries of life, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, selling and buying are still going on, mostly in food-stuffs and curios of the nobility. The Soviet authorities are said to tolerate food speculators inasmuch as the government's supply of food in the big cities like Moscow and Petrograd was inadequate, and starvation would result if it were not for speculative

69. Lion and Bear get ready to lie down together. London, May 29, 1920. "Statements regarding negotiations between British officials and Gregory Krassin, Russian Bolshevik minister for trade and commerce, continue contradictory. Some insist they involve general recognition of the Soviet government, others that they relate merely to trade. It is generally believed Premier Lloyd George will meet Krassin, but it is stated that if he does so the interval will be wholly personal. It is recalled here that Great Britain is not acting alone in these negotiations, which concern the supreme allied council as a whole." - Chicago Daily Tribune, May 30, 1920.

England Demands Pledges. London, June 3, 1920. "Trade negotiations between the Allies and Gregory Krassin, Russian Soviet minister of trade and commerce, have not yet begun, Premier Lloyd George told the House of Commons today. Russia must guarantee that there will be no attacks on British interests in the East or at home while negotiations are proceeding, Lloyd George said, and must guarantee to release all British prisoners, whether civil or military, before negotiations could proceed." - Chicago Tribune, June 4, 1920.

70. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 9, 1920.
activity in securing food from the country. Governmental allowances of food and other necessities of life were very small. Only about 40% of the workers' needs in Petrograd were secured from the government, and the remainder had to be shipped by the speculators at extortionate prices.\footnote{St.
Louis Post-Dispatch, March 13, 1920.}

In the matter of foreign trade with the Allies, the Soviet government has actually accomplished nothing. Here again the question of transportation comes in. But Mr. R. Martens rightly inquires, "Is it physically possible to trade with Russia's population? My reply is 'No', because the transportation system, never adequate, during five years of war became very much dilapidated, so that is was one of the primary causes of Russia's disastrous breakdown early in 1917. Since then three years have elapsed, and naturally not in the direction of improvement."\footnote{R.
Martens' Bulletin "Russia" for March, 1920.} There is no need to question the desire of the Soviet government to resume trade relations with the Allies. The assistant commissioner of food control said, "If the governments wanting our surplus food will send boots, clothing, and agricultural implements in exchange, they will find the peasants ready and eager to do business. But above everything we must have locomotives. The need among the Russian population is only a question of transport".\footnote{Chicago Daily Tribune, March 31, 1920, p.5.}

But transportation is not the only thing that is in the way of a resumption of trade relations. The Allied foreign policy is harder for any outsider to interpret than the railway difficulty of Russia.
Mr. Edwin L. James spoke of the Allied action in this respect: "The Allied proposal to resume general commercial relations with Russia appears for the present lost in the maze of European politics. A month ago the three Premiers in London issued their proclamation saying that though they could not recognize the Soviet government at that time, trade with Russia should be encouraged by all possible means. Nothing tangible has so far been accomplished by the Allies, or if anything tangible has been done, it is a carefully guarded secret".  

In rural economy Soviet Russia fared very much better than in her industries during the period 1919-1920. Russia has been an agricultural country. During the war farming was not neglected to the same extent as in France, because the devastated area of her territory was very small in proportion to the total, and the enormous expanse of grain producing territory continued to offer to mankind the gifts of nature. There was great deficiency of labor on the farm, but the Russian women are good farm workers. During these years of war, there were actually accumulations of cereals in the granaries of Ukraine and Siberia. The lack of food in the city was not because of the lack of food in the country, but because the breaking-down of the transportation system. Of the actual condition of farm produce, Mr. J. Clayton testified thus: (Moscow, March 26, 1920) "Ten million tons of grain now are awaiting the world market when the blockade eventually will be lifted, and means of

transportation provided. Of this 4,000,000 tons are in Siberia and 6,000,000 tons in Ukraine. In addition to grain, there are 100,000,000 pounds of butter, 480,000,000 pounds of meats and 3,000,000,000 eggs available for the export market.

In the reconstruction of rural economy, land was an important question and remains unsolved. The land, according to the socialist theory, must belong to the state. The Soviet government provided in their constitution that "all property rights in the land, treasures of the earth, waters, forests and fundamental natural resources within the boundaries of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic are abolished", and that "the titles of large landed property are annulled and can not be redeemed". But the Soviet government did not dare to take the land away from the peasantry, whose support was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Soviet government. Fully 80% of the Russian population belonged to peasantry; and they had an immense influence on the Soviet government. The result was that land continued to remain with the peasantry and new land was given to those who were at first without it. It was guaranteed that "lands belonging to enlisted Cossack soldiers and peasants are not subject to confiscation". There have arisen since 1917 a class of rich farmers who might be called "propertied peasants" in contrast to the poor community peasants. On June 6, 1918, a large meeting was held in Moscow. Lenin made a speech in which he denounced the attitude of the peasant class, saying, "We

(Continued on p.66)

75. Chicago Daily Tribune, March 31, 1920, p.5.
76. Decrees and Constitution of Soviet Russia, p.18.
77. Etienne Centonetti's Bolshevik Russia, p.256.
78. " " " " p.263-264.
The Land Policy of Soviet Russia. "After this first stage of the agrarian revolution the Soviet Government in the first half of 1918 made the first attempts at agricultural socialization. From the very beginning this work fell in two main divisions: the organization of Soviet estates and the promotion of agricultural communes and of other collective agricultural enterprises not under state control. In August, 1918, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture published some principles and by-laws on the organization of communes, and on November 2 of the same year the Government by a decree created a fund of one billion rubles for loans to collective agricultural enterprises.

The estates are supposed to be scientifically arranged model agricultural enterprises of the highest possible productivity; undertaking such agricultural and industrial activities as dairies, stock-farms, vineyards, wine presses, tea, tobacco and beet plantations; and equipped with experimental fields, agricultural schools and exhibitions, libraries and museums. The purpose of the scheme is to make the Soviet estates serve as large agricultural centers for the benefit and instruction of the peasants.

The agricultural communes are collective enterprises voluntarily organized by a group of producers from their individual land allotments and the equipment of their households, or from lands and inventories placed at their disposal by the Soviet authorities; the communes are operated primarily for the needs of their participants on the basis of an equal collective application of their labor and communal consumption of the products.

Collective cultivation of land means, in the law, collective tillage, manuring, sowing and harvesting of lands by a whole village community or a part of its members, who for that purpose combine in partnerships, sharing in the collective work with their own labor, inventories, and working animals, or with an inventory owned solely by the partnership. Village lands not allotted to individual households are marked out for collective cultivation as well as private plots whose holders are not able to till them and lands assigned for that purpose by Soviet authorities from the land reserve.

The Soviet authorities and economists ascribe great importance to each form of collective agriculture. The Soviet estates are conceived as the basis of a complete socialization of agriculture on a national scale. The communes are also supposed in the course of time to become nationalized enterprises; while the collective cultivation of land is regarded as a means of training the peasants in agricultural collectivism and of paving the way for ultimate combination in communes. In this connection both the communes and the partnerships for collective cultivation constitute only temporary, transitory economic organizations leading finally to the complete nationalization of agriculture.

In pursuance of the principles and methods outlined in the
Forgoing, the Soviet Government during 1919 has organized many new soviet estates and promoted the organization of agricultural communes. The cultivated territory of the estates, numbering 2,524, comprised a little short of 1,000,000 dessiatines, of which the whole annual produce, estimated in money, amounted to 843,000,000 rubles; it is intended to increase this territory in 1920 to 2,000,000 dessiatines. Some inference as to the growth of the communes may be drawn from the respective data available for the provinces of Petrograd, Novgorod, Vitebsk, Mohilev, Tula, Kaluga, and Orel, where in the middle of 1919 there were in existence 1,330 communes with a land area of 179,000 dessiatines." – The Nation, May 15, 1920, p.646-648.
have reached a point when the problem we face is incomparably harder to solve than the problem of defeating the counter-revolution. We must take over the essential products which have been seized not by members of the upper bourgeoisie but by numerous small owners." Whether these small peasantry owners will give up their essential products and also their land is a doubtful question. Evidently practical statesmanship has demanded of the Soviet leaders that they maintain the good will of the peasantry and leave the question of the nationalization of the land to the future. The numerous peasant revolts against the anti-Soviet armies showed that this good will was well preserved in 1919. These revolts in the Caucasus and in Siberia often threatened the rear of the advancing anti-Soviet army and helped to bring the victory to the Red Army.

The above paragraphs show that in certain restricted fields of economic reconstruction the Bolsheviks have made a promising beginning in the direction of socializing the means of production.

The organ that has served since the very beginning to direct the economic reconstruction is the Supreme Council of National Economy. The Council was instituted by the decree of December 13, 1917. The composition of this Council was made up by the members of the Council of Workmen's Control, the representatives from each of the Commissariat, and expert advisers. It directs and unifies the work of regulating the national economy. It is empowered to confiscate, requisition, sequestrate, and syndicate various establishments in the field of production, distribution, and state finances. It is divided into sections, each dealing with separate economic phases.

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73. Etienne Centonetti's Bolshevik Russia, p.263-264.
Bills affecting national economy in its entirety are brought to the Council of People's Commissars through the Supreme Council of National Economy. It issues a paper called "Economicheskaya Zhizn", which is the official organ of that body.


The figures showing the financial condition of the Soviet government were not made known to the outside world until quite recently. There has been considerable guess-work as to the financial confusion in Russia, and the opinions given were supported by the reasoning that financial catastrophe inevitably follows any great revolution. But substantial data was wanting. To begin with, the Soviet government was established in November 1917. The figures for this year were not available at that time. The Soviet government was in power only the last two months of the year. The expenditure of the Soviet government in 1918 amounted to 46,000,000,000 rubles; that is an increase of 19,000,000,000 rubles over 1917. Therefore we may conclude that the expenditure for 1917 was 27,000,000,000 rubles. It is not known, however, that this sum covered the entire expenditure of Russia for that year. It seems doubtful whether during its two months of power the Soviet government had any budget at all. Subsequent information may help to decide this point.

In 1918 the expenditure of the Soviet government for the

80. From the Special Correspondence of the New York Evening Post from Amsterdam, November 22, 1919.
January–June period was 17,602,727,rubles, and the receipts 2,852,727, rubles, leaving a deficit of 14,750,000. For the July–December period, the expenditure was 39,074,194,000 rubles, the receipts 12,720,174,000, leaving a deficit of 16,344,000,000. This was the budget as presented by Krestinski, the Soviet Finance Commissar. It did not represent the real financial condition of that government for 1918 for several reasons. The January–June budget was criticized for having omitted the account of the operations of the chief productive organ, the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, and the People's Food Commissariat. These two departments, as will be shown by the 1919 budget in items, occupy very important positions in the Russian budget. It is alleged that these defects were due to the fact that the budget was gotten up in the immediate wake of the revolution. The budget for the July–December period also failed to show a complete picture of the financial operation of the government. The Food Commissariat and the Supreme Council of National Economy disposed of their receipts as their own special resources apart from the general budget. The deficit for the July–December 1919 period was in reality over 25,000,000,000 rubles, and not 16,344,000,000, as the budget estimated. The reason was that of the expected receipts, only a fraction was actually collected, and fully ten billion was counted on from practically uncollectable taxes. This ten billion was in the form of capital levy, of which only 979,139,273, rubles, or less than one tenth, was paid up.

80. From the Special Correspondence of the New York Evening Post from Amsterdam, November 22, 1919.
81. United States of America State Department Memorandum on Certain Aspects of the Bolshevist Movement in Russia, p. 39.
82. From the Berlin "Vorwärts", date not mentioned.
To sum up the financial situation of 1913 from the various statements quoted above, there was in round numbers a receipt of six billion rubles against an expenditure of 46 billion, leaving an annual deficit of 40 billion rubles.

The budget for the first half of 1919 is now published in full in the Memorandum of the State Department of the United States of America. It shows all the state expenditures and receipts. They are as follows:

Receipts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rubles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Direct taxes</td>
<td>1,752,001,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Indirect taxes</td>
<td>2,572,184,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Customs</td>
<td>97,939,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. State regalia</td>
<td>810,696,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. State property</td>
<td>14,789,563,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reimbursement of expenses of state treasury</td>
<td>63,659,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>277,877,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20,343,027,888</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Disbursements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rubles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. All-Russian Central Executive Committee</td>
<td>459,156,742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Office of Council of People's Commissaries</td>
<td>842,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Commissariat for Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>11,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Commissariat for Affairs of Nationalities</td>
<td>16,714,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Commissariat for Internal Affairs</td>
<td>655,542,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Commissariat for Education</td>
<td>3,887,993,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Commissariat for Labor</td>
<td>280,816,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Commissariat for Public Health</td>
<td>1,227,834,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Commissariat for Justice</td>
<td>250,523,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Commissariat for Finances</td>
<td>1,405,804,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Supreme Soviet of National Economy</td>
<td>5,813,951,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Commissariat for Agriculture</td>
<td>532,725,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Commissariat for Food</td>
<td>8,152,380,527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83. United States of America State Department Memorandum on Certain Aspects of the Bolshevik Movement in Russia, p.39-40.
Disbursements - Continued.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rubles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15. Commissariat for Commerce and Industry</td>
<td>202,007,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Commissariat for Post and Telegraph</td>
<td>573,103,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Commissariat for Military Affairs</td>
<td>12,149,770,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Commissariat for Naval Affairs</td>
<td>521,038,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Commissariat for State Control</td>
<td>107,599,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Central Statistical Office</td>
<td>69,119,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. All-Russian Evacuation Commission</td>
<td>348,258,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution, etc.</td>
<td>100,181,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. To liquidate Annull ed Loans</td>
<td>1,625,617,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Interest on debt to People's Bank by treasury</td>
<td>5,162,625,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Expenses of local soviets</td>
<td>200,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Appropriations for extraordinary expenses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50,702,627,832</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The items in this budget show remarkably well how a socialist government functions. It is a picture of the economic life of a socialist community. On the credit side the largest income is state property, which is three-fourths of the whole receipts. This means that the state owns every means of production. On the debit side, besides the single item of 12 billion for the Military Affairs, the largest single item is the 8 billion for the Food Commissariat. This means that the state is the largest distributor and feeder of the population. Another very important fact is the amount reached by combining the various items which might be considered as directly or indirectly productive in nature. The combined amount for items 7,12,13,15,16,17,26, is 17.38 billion in round numbers, or more than one-third of the total expenditure. This means that the state is the chief producer of economic goods.

A comparative table prepared from the statements quoted above:
showing the percentage that the deficit bears to the disbursement for 1918 and the first half of 1919, is as follows (stated in billion rubles):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Expenditures</th>
<th>Deficit % of Deficit to expend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.-June</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.-Dec.</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.-June</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27.1  97.3  71.2

The table shows that the financial situation of the Soviet government in the summer of 1919 was decidedly better than in the previous summer. This is extremely improbable in view of the conditions existing in Soviet Russia in 1919. In the summer of that year the very existence of the government was being threatened by the closing in of enemies from all directions. There is no reason to believe that production was greater in that year than it had been previously, nor transportation better. On the other hand we have every reason to believe the contrary. The biggest item of receipts, the state property, is unreliable, because the same item was valued at 50,000,000 rubles in the two previous budgets. If this is the case, the shrinking on the receipt side further expanded the deficit by many more billions, as in the case of the July-December period of 1918. This would bring the grand total of the deficit for January-July 1919 to an amount much higher than 71.2 billion rubles. The

84. From the Berlin "Vorwärts", date not mentioned.
facts presented in the following paragraph bear out this view.

To meet the enormous deficit, the Soviet government has had recourse to the issuing of paper money. The amount in circulation has been placed at various figures. The "Economicheskaya Zhizn" of the Supreme Council of National Economy in May 21, 1919, gave the following figures (in million rubles):85

- Issues before the Revolution (March 1917) = 9,950
- Issued by the Kerensky government = 8,967
- Issued by Bolsheviks to January 1919 = 36,353

55,270

But the circulation was 80 milliard rubles, which was perhaps nearer the truth in view of the 71.2 billion rubles deficit. The proportion of gold reserve to these notes is not known. It is estimated that the gold reserve for 9,456 million rubles in the earlier note issues of Russia, exclusive of the Bolsheviks notes and the Kerensky notes, was only 3.5%.86 The proportion of gold reserve to the entire note circulation must be infinitesimally small.


The achievements of the Soviet government in the field of education establish beyond a doubt how well a government determined to work for the welfare of the people can do even in a short time and under very unfavorable circumstances. The Soviet government's budget

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84. From the Berlin "Vorwartz", date not mentioned.
85. United States of America State Department Memorandum on Certain Aspects of the Bolshevist Movement in Russia, p.16.
86. Literary Digest, March 13, 1920.
for 1919 might be estimated at 100 billion rubles, basing it on the budget for the first half of that year, which was published at 50 billion rubles. For the same year the education budget was 20 billion rubles, or one-fifth of the whole year's budget. This figure alone bespeaks the attachment of the Soviet government to the real interest of the Russian people. The result was the accomplishment of a seeming impossibility. The territory in which the Soviet government is functioning was a part of that empire called "Dark Russia" under the Czarist regime. The Russian people were shown to be very ignorant, approximately 60% illiterate, and even superstitious. The "mujik", in his simplicity and ignorance of learning, was the antithesis of the Czarist nobility and the intelligentsia, with their elegant culture, learning and sophistication. Under the combined politico-religious system of Russia, knowledge was looked upon as undesirable for the masses. Recent information given by the Soviet Commission for Education showed that in the region controlled by Soviet Russia there were, before the revolution, more than 100,000,000 illiterates. Today the illiteracy is decreasing at a surprising rate. The Commissar of Education, Mr. Lunatchavsky's statement is:

"Before the revolution there were more than 100,000,000 illiterates in that part of Russia now controlled by the Soviets. How many of these have learned to read and write in the past two years I cannot say, for accurate statistics covering the whole country are lacking. This we know, however, and that is that where there were originally scarcely 15% of literate Red soldiers there are now nearly 60%.

"In the Navy where the percentage of illiteracy was almost as high as in the Army, there is virtually

87. Lincoln Eyre's Correspondence for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch from Paris, March 24, 1920.
none. We know, too, that where two years ago Petrograd numbered 30% of illiterates among its population (two million), she now numbers only 60,000, or about 8% (population now more than 1,000,000). Continuing at this rate of progress, she will have none whatever six months hence. I don't hesitate to predict that in three years there will be no more illiteracy throughout the whole length and breadth of the Soviet Republic. 87

In the field of primary education the task of the Soviet government was not only to teach the children but also to cloth and feed them and supply them with text-books and stationery. In 1919 the government gave to the children 9,400,000 pairs of shoes, and distributed books to 2,500,000 pupils. The age of compulsory education is from 8 to 15. The educational progress is nation-wide in character. In the Tver government the number of schools increased from 2800 in 1916 to 3400 at the beginning of 1920. The scholars increased from 160,000 to 278,000 in the same period, and the number of instructors was more than tripled. Even in far Turkestan the number of children receiving a first-grade education climbed from 40,000 to 120,000, and that of the teachers from 2,000 to 5,000. The supply of teachers of elementary education is now no longer in a critical state. 87

In secondary education the problem is not yet solved. The Soviet government looked upon the secondary education as a means to serve two purposes. In the first place, it was in secondary education that it was desired to instil into the minds of the pupils the principles of communism. They wished to develop their instruction on the principles of communism to a considerable extent. Secondly,
it was planned to begin the rudimentary exercise of the soviet form of government in the secondary school. In other words, a secondary school is to be a soviet in which the management is carried on, not by the teacher alone, but by a committee composed of teachers, representatives of the children's parents, and delegates of over 12 years of age from the pupils, and an envoy of the local branch of the Commissariat of Education. The difficulties arise from these two prerequisites of the Soviet program of secondary education. In the first instance the teachers cannot instil Communist principles unless they are themselves Communists or sufficiently in sympathy with it. In the beginning teachers who were opposed to Communism and ready to antagonize it in the secondary schools were firmly dealt with by the Soviet government. They now show only passive resistance. In the second instance the teachers were too conservative to adapt themselves to the new theory of Soviet government in the school. They were teachers accustomed to the old methods of the Czarist days, and depended on physical rather than moral force to carry on their instruction. The Soviet government has made vigorous efforts to establish a considerable number of centers for the training of teachers for secondary schools, but the supply is still inadequate. 87

In higher education the progress is also remarkable. Under the Czar there were seven universities; at present there are seventeen. There are also Peasants' Universities, which are special schools dealing with agronomy and other subjects of immediate interest to the farmers.

87. Lincoln Eyre's Correspondence for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Paris, March 24, 1920.
Another educational activity has been the establishment of schools for the study of communism. There was opened on February 1, 1920, the so-called Sverdloff University. Students from all Russia who desire to gain a thorough insight into the Communist doctrines from the political, social and economic points of view attend. This university is designed primarily to train the exponents of communism and world revolution. The Catherine Institute of Moscow is devoted to similar purposes.\(^8^7\)

The Soviet government also undertook vigorous measures to teach adults to read and write. In every school, both in city and in country, there were certain hours set aside when the school was reserved for the use of adults. The ability to read and write became an obligation; and those who could not do so were required to qualify themselves within a certain length of time. If by the end of this time limit one was still unable to do so, he was subject to trial by the revolutionary tribunal. Under this rule bearded peasants had to learn the alphabet and its use from their children under pain of losing their vote.\(^8^7\)

Finally there was introduced a type of propagandist education. Very notable in this sort of education was Mme. Angelica Balabanova, secretary of the Third Internationale. Her work was with the peasantry. She had a train of ten cars equipped with libraries, cinematographs, printing press, wireless, and other equipment, and on which were painted such inscriptions as "All Powers to the Soviets", "Workers of the World Unite", and allegorical scenes of the struggle.

\(^8^7\). Lincoln Eyre's Correspondence for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch from Paris, March 24, 1920.
between capitalism and the proletariat, and the triumph of the latter. At one time there were five such trains in operation. Their directors travelled about the country and preached Communism to the peasants.


It is said that the Soviet government has had little chance to beautify their capital city. A few common statues of Karl Marx have been put up in Moscow to perpetuate the memory of the great apostle of socialism. Yet socialism in the Soviet Russia of today, after two years operation under the very shadow of its founder, is anything but pure socialism. The Bolsheviks started with the idea of the workmen's control in the form of factory committees, and the result was still greater industrial chaos, decrease of efficiency, and ultimately an economic debacle. The authorities were forced to abolish the workmen's committee in the factories and finally to adopt the conscription of labor, with revolutionary tribunals for the enforcement of discipline. The Bolsheviks had also stood for the nationalization of the land, but the peasants generally refused to admit the principle, and especially the relatively small class of well-to-do peasants which had been fostered by the old regime on the basis of private ownership. The regime of Lenin is a proletarian dictatorship, but as a matter of fact it is the dictatorship of one man. Lenin is the dictator and has dominated the Russian people by his ability to guage their purposes by his will, his intellect, and his

capacity for adjustment under rapidly changing circumstances. Therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat numbering 85% of Russia's population, results in the real dictatorship of one man. Starting with the idea of an internationalism that recognized no national boundary lines, the Bolsheviks have won a successful war by appealing to the nationalistic instinct of Russia.89

The inconsistencies between the professions and the practices of the Soviet leaders could be illustrated still farther. Soviet leaders recognized this in the most unreserved fashion. Mr. Krasin, Soviet Commissar of Commerce, declared, "Who still believes in Socialism in Russia? Anyhow, neither I nor Lenin".90 Krasin is practical and businesslike, a man of affairs. He personifies the tendency of the evolution of Sovietism towards the right. It was Krasin who suggested to Lenin all the appeals to the workmen in behalf of discipline. It was Krasin who upheld the view that Socialist Russia can only develop with foreign capital, and planned important concessions to foreign business interests.90 Whatever reasons may be advanced for such deviations, it is an undeniable fact that during two and a half years of its existence the Soviet

89. "The victory of Denikine or Kolchak would mean the loss of Russia's independence and the turning of Russia into a milk cow for English and French money bags. In this sense the government of Denikine and Kolchak is the most anti-popular, the most anti-national government; in this sense the Soviet government is the only popular, the only national government (in the best sense of the word)" - The Manchester Guardian, date not mentioned.

90. For Le Temps, reprinted in New Europe.
government has revealed marvellous gifts for compromise. The history of these years is one of compromises on professed principles under the exigency of circumstances. How far the Soviet government will continue in the direction of compromise, only later developments will demonstrate. But in the political life of a country one must take into consideration the hidden forces that often come into play quite unexpectedly and determine the direction of its progress. In Russia these unknown forces may be the continuing awakening of the people, the gradual economic development, or the emergence into power of the peasantry. As it is today the fortunes of the Soviet government are bound up with the evolution of the Communist Party, to which its authority and power have been committed. Mr. John Clayton testified in the following way as to what is behind this seeming inconsistency of the Soviet government: (Moscow, April 14, 1920) "Grouped with Trotsky are the more radical elements of the party, who look with consternation on the abandonment of principles on which they believed the bolshevik group had been founded...... Lenin, on the other hand, while working for the same ideals - the abolition of what he styled the capitalistic oligarchy - knows that in order to live the Soviet Party must conform itself to conditions met in practice, that conditions are too inflexible to shape to ideals, and that ideals must be shaped to meet the problems of government which have arisen under the new order in Russia. The eventual triumph of the Lenin group seems inevitable." 91

This chapter on the operation of the Soviet government is intended to serve as a partial expression of the conclusions which anyone interested in Russia is naturally tempted to make. But it is very hard to reach a completeness or finality of judgment now. There is still much to be known, and the circumstances under which many of the measures of the Soviet government were taken have been very extraordinary. When one views the operation of that government from the efficiency of its public defense, the determination to enlighten the ignorant Russian mujik by means of an extensive educational program, the success that it has had in winning over the peasantry, one cannot fail to be impressed by its honesty of purpose. Regarding the Bolsheviks, there has been available too much untruth, both in praise and denunciation, and too meager a body of facts. Nothing will help any country except the truth. In my attempt to reach conclusions, I have presented such data as can be made the basis of tentative judgments. Whether one thinks the existence of the Soviet government has been justified or not, one cannot regret that the Russian people were willing to try the experiment and explore unknown regions of political, social, and economic order in search of a sovereign remedy for present-day unrest.