

GEORGIAN MAIL

TIFLIS.

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TEXT OF GEORGIAN-RUSSIAN PEACE TREATY.

Agreement Between Georgia and Russia.

The Democratic Republic of Georgia, on one side, and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, on the other side, guided by the common wish of establishing between both countries a steady and peaceful existence for the welfare of the nations inhabiting both countries, decided to conclude for this purpose a special agreement and appointed their plenipotentiaries for this; for the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia—the member of the Georgian Constituent Assembly, Grigori Ilarionovich Ouratadze, and for the government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic—the acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Lev Mikhailovich Karakhan. The plenipotentiaries, after exchanging information regarding their power to treat, which were acknowledged as being to the above enumerated persons the right to sign this agreement, have agreed regarding the following articles:

Article I.

Pursuant to the right of all nations to free self-determination even to an entire isolation from the state in which they formerly were, such as was proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, Russia unreservedly acknowledges the independence of the Georgian state and renounces voluntarily any sovereign rights which she had with regard to the Georgian people and land.

Article II.

Pursuant to the principles announced in the preceding article (I) of this agreement, Russia binds herself to exercise no kind of interference in the inner affairs of Georgia.

Article III.

1. The state frontier between Georgia and Russia goes from the Black Sea along the river Psou to the mountain Akhakhitcha, across the mountain Akhakhitcha and the mountain Tsquet and along the northern frontier of the former Black Sea, Kutais and this provinces to the Zakatali region

and along the Eastern frontier of this region to the border with Armenia.

2. All the mountain passes on the said frontier line are being recognised neutral until February 1, 1922. They may not be occupied by the troops of either side of those concerned and may not be reinforced by either of them.

3. On the Darial mountain pass the neutral zone, pointed out in the 2nd clause of this article, will extend along the mountain pass from Balta to Kobi, on the Mamisson mountain pass from Zaramag to Oni, and on all the remaining mountain passages for a distance of 5 versts on both sides of the point where the frontier passes.

4. An exact fixing of the state frontier between both parties concerned will be carried out by a special mixed frontier commission with an equal number of members from both sides. The results of this commission's work will be consolidated in a special agreement between both parties concerned.

Article IV.

1. Russia binds herself to recognise as absolutely part of the state of Georgia, in addition to those parts of the Black Sea province which are being joined to Georgia in virtue of clause 1 of article III of this agreement, the following provinces and regions of the former Russian Empire: the Tiflis, Koutais and Batoum provinces with all the districts and regions which compose the said provinces and regions as well as the Zakatali and Soukhoum regions.

2. Afterwards, pending the clearing up of mutual relations between Georgia and other states, except Russia, that exist now or are to be created and which border Georgia along frontiers different from those described in the preceding article (III) of this agreement, Russia expresses her readiness to acknowledge as belonging to Georgia those or other parts of the former Caucasian vice-royalty which will be joined to it on the ground of agreements concluded with these formations.

Article V.

1. Recognising as just the desire of Russia for the prevention of any military operations from now onwards on the territory of Georgia, the occupation by military forces and the

existence of a state of affairs capable of creating on the territory of Georgia conditions menacing its independence or of transforming the territory of Georgia into a base for the operations directed against the Russian Socialist Federative Republic or her allied states and the state order established there, Georgia binds herself.

2. To disarm immediately and to intern in concentration camps the military and military-naval forces, bodies and groups having pretensions at setting up a government in Russia or any part of her or in any states allied to Russia, as well as the representatives and officials, organisations and groups aiming at the overthrow of the government of Russia or her allied states, including those at present on the territory of Georgia at the time of signing this treaty, should such be there, or those of them not yet at present in Georgia.

3. To disarm immediately and to intern all ships in the ports of Georgia which are part of the military-naval forces, organisations and groups mentioned in clause 1 of this article and those which, from one reason or another, were at the disposal of these organisations and groups and which are now in the ports of Georgia. The military and naval property, in the sense of this clause, means: the ships and other means of navigation and generally all pieces of artillery, ordnance (without excepting food material, engineer and aviation supplies).

4. To hand over to Russia after their disarmament the forces, organisations, groups and the crews of the ships mentioned in clause 1 of this article.

Note: Russia promises to assure the life of all the persons handed over to her in virtue of this article.

5. To take measures for the withdrawal from the territory of Georgia, in those of its boundaries defined by article IV of this agreement, troops of any kind and military detachments which are not included in the government troops of Georgia.

6. To take measures for the prevention in future of the sojourn on the territory of Georgia of troops and military detachments enumerated in the preceding clause 5 of this article.

7. To forbid persons belonging to

the forces, organisations and groups enumerated in clauses 1 and 5 of this article, as far as these persons are not Georgians by nationality, entering under any form, including that of Volunteers, the government troops of Georgia.

8. To prevent from now on the organisation and sojourn on its territory within the limits defined by article IV of this agreement, of any sort of organisations and groups with pretensions at setting up a government in Russia or in any state allied with Russia in any part of her, as well as of representatives and officials, organisations and groups aiming at the overthrow of the government of Russia or the states allied with her; Georgia equally binds herself to prevent the transport by the said organisations, groups, representatives and officials through the territory of Georgia of all that may be taken advantage of in order to attack Russia or the states allied with her as well as to forbid the sojourn in its ports and waters of any ships and other means of navigation, of such organisations except in cases established by international law in respect of the ships suffering disaster and so on.

9. In the event of the organisations, groups, representatives and officials enumerated in the preceding clause 8 of this article making an attempt on the infringement of the order published in clause 8, the persons and property are to be arrested by the government of Georgia in virtue of the obligation taken by it on itself, according to clause 8 of this article and will be dealt with in accordance with the statement in clauses 3 and 4 of this article.

Article VI.

Russia binds herself to prevent on its territory the sojourn and activity of groups and organisations of any kind having pretensions at setting up another government in Georgia or in any part of her as well as of groups and organisations aiming at the overthrow of the government of Georgia. Russia binds herself to exercise all her influence on the states allied with her in order to nullify the groups and organisations, mentioned in this article, on their territories.

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EDITORIAL.

The Peace Treaty.

We publish this week the full text of the Peace Treaty signed in Moscow between Georgia and Soviet Russia. Like all treaties, this one is open to criticism. The Tiflis papers—especially those printed in the Georgian language—have found serious faults in certain clauses, the chief one being that referring to the non-necessity of ratification. In this we entirely agree. No matter how good a treaty may be, the people, through their chosen representatives, should have the opportunity of voting on it, and, if necessary, altering any clauses with which they are not in full agreement. "Klde" writes in reference to the treaty that it places Georgia in conditions hostile to the Entente and may provoke discord and difficulties. "Even in spite of everything that takes place in Batoum, Europe must always be for us the defender against Russia. And now Europe is England".

The Adjarians.

"I have got rid of one sorrow, only to encounter a worse", says a Georgian proverb, which is the equivalent of the English, "Out of the frying pan into the fire". The Republic has recently passed through very stormy times, politically and climatically. The Volunteer Army danger gave way to the menace of Bolshevism; the Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia eased the situation, but war broke out on the Eastern front; this senseless attack from the part of "Soviet" Azerbaidjan has been liquidated—but poor Georgia now finds herself confronted with a serious menace from the West. The Adjarian trouble is developing into open hostilities, and to make matters worse the Ossetins are attacking Georgia from the North.

Destruction of Crops.

As far as weather is concerned, Georgia has fared no better. The winter was one of the most severe experienced for many years. There followed the disastrous earthquake which destroyed Gori and forty-seven villages in the surrounding country. And now that we have been experiencing the rainy season there have been terrific storms of rain and hail which have played havoc with the crops. The district of Kakhetia has especially suffered. In the whole of Kakhetia, the hail had damaged from twenty up to forty per cent of the crops by the end of May. Enormous hailstones devastated vineyards, fields,

vegetable gardens and forests in the villages of Napareouli, Saniore, Artana, Nicolaevka, Pshaveli and Shakriani. The crops in the three first are entirely ruined. There will be no grapes in the whole of the region. This—in the chief wine district of Georgia—is nothing less than a national calamity. The cup of Georgia's tribulation is indeed full.

The Pound Sterling.

If further sorrow were required for the Republic, one can find it in the columns of certain local newspapers, where deliberately false statements are published such as only go to make matters between Georgia and the Entente more strained. There is the case of Batoum, for instance. We have repeatedly written that the Georgian claims on Batoum and Batoum province are very great and most legitimate. And we repeat what we have already said, that when the final settlement of the Batoum question is announced, Georgia will have no reason to complain. The settlement, in our opinion, will be entirely favourable. Georgia has an excellent case—but this case may be seriously damaged if false and libellous articles are published instead of clear, honest news and sane criticism. Consider, for instance, the latest vapourings of "Groussia"—a newspaper in Russian which has more than once been closed down by the Georgian authorities as a penalty for its gross mis-statements of fact. "Groussia" now writes of the British speculation in pounds sterling in Batoum. Here is one sentence: "In Europe at the present time the pound sterling costs everywhere not more than 25 francs and in Batoum one must pay up to 50 francs". Any statement more false and more stupid than this, it is difficult to imagine. The decrease of the franc has been the subject of almost daily telegraphic communications—which are received by the Georgian wireless station. There was even a time when the franc fell to 63 to the pound sterling; at the present time the rate in Paris is 54 to 55 to the English pound. Even before the war the pound sterling was always worth 25 and a fraction francs. If one can buy pounds sterling in Batoum at 50 francs—the rate in Paris being, as we have said, 54 to 55, the matter is hardly a speculation—it is a sound investment. As to "Groussia's" references to francs and Italian lire, may we give the following figures?: Quoting current rates of exchange, we may

mention that the franc costs 23½ Georgian roubles. The pound sterling costs 54 to 55 francs in Paris, so that, if we consider the average to be 54½, we find that this would make the English pound equal to 1280⅓ Georgian roubles, whereas the latest quotations are that the pound is standing at 1260—1300 Georgian bonds. The Italian lire is quoted in Tiflis at 18½ roubles. In Rome the pound sterling is 82 lire, which makes the pound sterling 1517 Georgian roubles! "Groussia's" arithmetic and knowledge of facts are about on a par with the "assistance" it is rendering to the Georgian Republic at the present difficult moment—namely, absolutely nil...

The Armenian Mandate.

The refusal of the United States to accept the Armenian mandate and the Great Powers' perplexity regarding finding any other country sufficiently charitable—and brave—to take on the job, are not worrying "Independent" Armenia. *Au contraire*, the Armenian press seems very much relieved because a mandatory has not been found. "Nor-Ashkhatavor", one of the Dashnaktzutun organs, writes: "The Allies, who accused their enemies of imperialism, were in need of a formula under which they could conceal their plundering-conquering aspirations. This formula has been called 'protectorate' or 'mandate'". Then the paper goes on to say cheerfully that as the Allies have each cut off for themselves a dainty bit of Turkey they cannot possibly digest Armenia as well. But they are anxious to give the mandate to someone in such a way that they themselves would always be assured of a pretext to get some profit. "With this object", says "Nor-Ashkhatavor", referring to the more or less reliable telegraphic news we get from time to time, "the Entente proposes the mandate to the League of Nations, to Spain, Denmark, Sweden and Holland, i. e., to such countries as themselves possibly need a mandatory". Finally, "If the Entente really wanted to help Armenia, it could have furnished her with munitions, clothes and agricultural implements instead of mandatories. Under the name of 'mandate' new fetters of political and economical enslavement are being forged for the Armenian democracy, which must understand this and refuse the rulers sent to us by Europe". So that's that—and Lord Bryce and Co. may now sleep peacefully o' nights.... "Independence" in Armenia means being—well, independent...

S. L.

GEORGIA AND AZERBAIDJAN

G. K. Alshibaia's declaration.

G. K. Alshibaia, the diplomatic representative of Georgia in Azerbaidjan, arrived on June 7 in Tiflis and in an interview with the representative of "Gront" communicated those violations of which he felt victim together with other members of the Georgian Mission during the revolution in Azerbaidjan.

"I communicated by telegraph," says G. K. Alshibaia, "of the violations against the Georgian Mission and against me, in particular, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Georgian Republic, E. P. Gegetelkori, on May 30, and it was promised that this telegram would be sent by radio. In my telegram communicated that, being in Karabagh as representative of the international commission from the Trans-Caucasian conference for the stopping of military actions between the Mussulmans and Armenians, I learnt on April 29 of the revolution in Baku and that the Soviet troops had advanced to the frontier of Georgia. On the same April 29 I sent from Bardy to the Commissar for Foreign Affairs a protest against the advance of the troops to the frontiers of Georgia and asked for the possibility, in consequence of the stopping of connections with Baku, of leaving urgently for Baku and of entering into negotiations in order to prevent sanguinary events. I did not receive any answer to my proposal. On May 2 at 3 o'clock in the afternoon I managed to arrive in Baku. At 6 o'clock I was arrested and after search and the taking away of all important documents, put into prison. Thus my proposal of preventing by peaceful negotiations and agreement sanguinary events was not accepted. The first secretary of the Mission, Dgebouadze, and the Military Attaché, Colonel Natvalov, were arrested on April 29 and sent to prison. On May 12 the director of the information department of Abkhazia was arrested and put into prison. We were kept in unexpressible conditions. The first secretary of the Mission, Dgebouadze, who was imprisoned in the Bailov prison, was forced by way of rude violation to clean the streets of Baku against which, as soon as I learnt it in prison, I sent my decisive protest to the Commissar for Foreign Affairs. On May 29 at 3 o'clock in the afternoon all our Mission was set free. On May 30 I visited the Commissar Gousseinov and personally expressed to him my energetic protest against the arrest of the Mission—an arrest unheard-of in the history of international relations—and the scolding at the secretary of the Mission, Dgebouadze".

Agreement Between Georgia and Russia.

(Continued from page 1).

Article VII.

For the prevention of possible misunderstandings both concerned sides have agreed that, during the execution of clauses 5 and 6 of article V of this agreement on the parts of the territory of Georgia which are to be included in it on the ground of clause 2 of article IV of this agreement after the fixing of limits between Georgia and other countries bordering it, except Russia, the necessary preventive measures must be taken in similar cases by Georgia in the shortest time after she takes on herself the formal realisation of the state domination on one or another of these territories.

Article VIII.

For the watching over the exact carrying out of articles V and VI of this agreement and for the surrender and receiving of persons and property mentioned in clauses 3 and 4 of the said article V, a mixed commission is being established of the representatives of both sides with an equal number of members from each side.

The commission itself defines the order of the work.

The surrender and receiving of persons and property mentioned in clauses 3 and 4 of article V of this agreement must be finished in a term of two months from the day of signing this agreement.

Article IX.

1. Persons of Georgian origin abiding on the territory of Russia and who have reached the age of 18 have the right to choose Georgian citizenship. Equally, persons not of Georgian origin who abide on the territory of Georgia and have reached the above age, have the right to choose Russian citizenship.

2. The details concerning the execution of this article must be consolidated in a special agreement between both sides.

3. Citizens of both sides who wish to avail themselves of the right, given by them by this article, will be obliged to carry out the formalities demanded of them during a year from the day when the agreement mentioned in clause 2 of this article is brought into force.

Article X.

Georgia binds herself to set free from punishment and further persecution, legal or administrative, all persons who were submitted on the territory of Georgia to such a persecution for the deeds carried out in favour of the Russian Socialistic Federative Soviet Republic or in favour of the Communist party.

Note: Georgia binds herself to liberate immediately the persons who are in prison for such deeds.

Article XI.

Each of the concerned sides binds itself to recognise and respect the flag and coat-of-arms of the other as emblems of a friendly state. The drawing of the flags and coats-of-arms as well as any changes in them, should such take place, will be mutually communicated through diplomatic channels.

Article XII.

The economical relations between Georgia and Russia are being defined temporarily until a commercial treaty is concluded between both sides for which necessary measures will be taken as soon as possible, by the following general clauses:

1. Both sides put as the base of their commercial mutual relations the principle of the greatest favoured nation.

2. The goods which come from or for one of the sides must not be liable to transit taxes or payments by the other side.

Article XIII.

The resolutions of clauses 1 and 2 of the preceding article XII of this treaty must be put as the base of the commercial agreement which is to be concluded between both sides in virtue of the same article XII.

Article XIV.

The diplomatic and consular relations between Georgia and Russia will be established in the shortest possible time.

Until a special agreement is concluded between both sides regarding the mutual position of the Consuls, for which measures will be taken, the rights and obligations of such will be defined by the decrees existing for this object with each side concerned.

Article XV.

The solution of questions of public-law which may arise between the citizens of the sides concerned as well as the regulation of certain separate questions between both states will be carried out by special mixed Georgian-Russian commissions, which must be established in the shortest possible time after this treaty is signed. The composition and the rights and obligations of these commissions will be fixed by a special instruction consolidated for every commission on the agreement of both sides. Under the jurisdiction of these commissions will be:

1. The composition of the commercial agreement and other agreements of economical character.

2. The solution of questions concerning the dealing out from the former central institutions of the archives and the expedition of business, or justice and administrative deposits and the acts of civil state.

3. The defining of the question as to the order of utilising, possessing and

managing the naphtha oil lines Batoum-Baku in that part which, in virtue of article IV of this treaty, will be on the territory of Georgia. This question will afterwards be consolidated by way of a special agreement between both sides.

Article XVI.

This treaty is brought into force by the very fact and since the moment of its signing and will not be liable to any special ratification.

For the certifying of which the plenipotentiaries of both sides have signed this treaty and placed on it their stamps.

Executed in two copies in Moscow, on May 7, 1920.

G. Ouratadze. L. Karakhan.

The Supplementary Agreement to the peace Treaty Between Russia and Georgia of May 7, 1920.

The undersigned representative of the Russian Socialistic Federative Soviet Republic, the Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Lev Mikhailovitch Karakhan, and the representative of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, the member of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia, Grigori Ilarionovitch Ouratadze, taking into consideration the fact that the Russian government has secured according to the contents of the following articles a preliminary consent of the government of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic, have agreed regarding the following:

Article I.

The question of the contestible localities on the frontier between Georgia and Azerbaijan and in the Zakatali region is being handed over for solution to a mixed commission of the representatives of the governments of Azerbaijan and Georgia in an equal number under the presidency of the representative of the Russian Socialistic Federative Soviet Republic. All the decisions of this commission will be recognised by the governments of Azerbaijan and Georgia as obligatory for themselves.

Article II.

Georgia and Azerbaijan, until the commission adopts any decisions as to the questions touched on in article I of this treaty, will not introduce into the Zakatali region new troops beyond those which are already there at the moment of the signing of this supplementary agreement.

Article III.

This supplementary agreement will be considered as an indivisible part of the treaty between Russia and

Georgia signed on May 7, 1920 in Moscow and on the same day the said treaty is being brought into force by the very fact and since the moment of its signing and will not be liable to any special ratification.

Certifying which, the undersigned have signed this agreement and put on it their stamps.

Executed in Moscow in two copies on May 12, 1920.

G. Ouratadze. L. Karakhan.

Georgian-Ukrainian Relations.

Gegetchkori, Minister for Foreign Affairs, received on June 3 the following wireless from Nicolaev, signed by Rakovsky, President of the council of people's commissars of the Ukraine:

"As connections between Soviet Russia and Georgia are being restored, the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic counts that the establishing of normal connections between it and the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Georgia is very desirable in consequences of the interests of the people of both countries. In spite of the fact that no official connections have existed up to now between Soviet Ukraine and Georgia the workmen-peasants' government did not refuse to protect Georgian citizens, having allowed to return to their native-land six Georgian doctors, who qualified at the Kharkov University, and also carried on business connections with the former Georgian Consuls in the Ukraine. However, to our great regret, we will be compelled to alter our relations if the Georgian government will not find it necessary to regulate its connection with the Ukraine and will not start for this purpose peace negotiations. Counting that for the re-establishing of friendly connections between both states, connected by common economic interests, no serious objections will be made by the Georgian government, I propose in the name of the workmen-peasants' government of the Ukraine to the Georgian government that they appoint their delegate for peace negotiations. The Ukrainian government proposes that Kharkov be the place where the negotiations should take place.

May 23, 1920.

"President of the council of people's commissars and people's commissar for Foreign Affairs in the Ukraine

Rakovsky".

Mr. Alshibaia has been charged by Commander Luke, D. S. O. British Chief Commissioner, with the defence of the interests of British subjects in Azerbaijan.

RED AZERBAIDJAN.

NEWS FROM BAKU.

The Baku news-paper, "Krasnii Voin" (Red Warrior) of May 15, the organ of the political department of the 11th Army, publishes together with orders regulating the life of the Red army, information giving a picture of the present life in Baku.

"The life of Red Azerbaijan": under such a heading we read all local news and find the following typical communication:

"The Bourgeois-cleaners".

On May 13 counter-revolutionaries and speculators who are imprisoned in the Bailov prison (about 20 or 25 men), were sent under escort to sweep and clean the streets. Among them were: former Governor Tekhas; former assistant of the Minister of Supplies, Aliev; assistant of the President of the Armenian National Council, Dashnak Ter-Michaelian, Dgheboudze and others.

Arrests.

The Azerbaijan revolutionary committee invested Sultanzov with full powers "for the clearing of provincial institutions of counter-revolutionary elements". In connection with this all former policemen and guards were urgently dismissed by telegraph and orders were issued to arrest all police inspectors, chiefs of districts, governors and governor-generals.

Creative work.

In this same paper we read the communication that hours of duty were established for those charged with the carrying-out of elections in house-committees with the object of regulating the problem of supplies. Some statistics of Soviet expenses: the revolutionary committee of Lenkoran demanded for May 53,800,000 roubles for current expenses. Curious are such details as: for the maintenance of the officials of civil institutions—5 millions; for militia—two millions; for agitation—half-a million; for the organisation of schools for grown-ups 1 million; for the maintenance of workmen on fishing grounds—15 millions; and finally, for the maintenance of prisoners—100,000 roubles.

At the same time it is communicated that the representative of the chief naphtha committee, Dossar, arrived from Moscow in Baku. He is an expert in the naphtha business and the author of a plan worked out in 1918 for nationalising the naphtha production.

Foreign Policy.

Referring to the foreign policy of Soviet Azerbaijan we find in the "Red Warrior" the following information:

"Georgian Note to Soviet Azerbaijan".

The Minister Gegetchkori has sent to Tchitcherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, the following note: "Supplementary to my note of May 12, I communicate that the government has given orders to the Commander-in-Chief to stop military actions, if you on your behalf agree to same. In this case the Commander of your troops must enter into connection with our Command by means of an envoy".

Foreign Consulates and Representatives.

Lately the representatives of Baku Consulates of Holland, Persia, Sweden, Denmark, United States of America, Switzerland, Belgium and other friendly powers have visited the Commissar for Foreign Affairs and confirmed their friendly relations regarding Azerbaijan. At the same time some of them have sent telegrams to their governments pointing out the events that took place securing good order and also proposing to start commercial relations with the new Soviet power.

The representatives of the Consulates asked the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs not to hinder their Consuls' activity and to take measures to protect the property and the safety of their subjects. All their requests were agreed to. Protecting documents were given them for the flats occupied by their Consulates and personal guarantee promised as well as integrity of all their property. Up to now about 17 foreign Consulates are in Baku.

Persian Goods.

The Council of People's Economy has formed a separate commission of representatives of Soviet Azerbaijan and of the Persian Consulate in respect of clearing up the question of the requisition of different goods belonging to Persian subjects and which at the moment when the revolution took place were in the Baku port.

Communications with Persia.

The representatives of the Persian Consulate presented to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs a request regarding the sending of a delegation on behalf of the consulate to one of the towns on the Persian frontier with the object of starting as soon as possible negotiations with the Persian Government regarding the resumption of regular political and economical connections.

MAKHNO.

A Rebel and His Bands.

(From "Groussia").

Armed forces of three kinds are at present operating in the Ukraine: the regular forces of the Directory, the mutinous detachments of peasants, and the Makhnos. The name of Makhno is already well-known but only few know the truth concerning him and his troops. Whole legends have been created around the name of Makhno, which often impose on him the mask of a frightful villain or, on the contrary, dress him in the theatrical costume of a noble knight.

Nestor Makhno is a former village teacher. Having received a superficial education, he read a lot of political brochures of various kinds and began to count himself a socialist-revolutionary; later he was arrested for theft and sent to penal servitude. After his return from this, he at once plunged into the mass of offended Ukrainian peasantry, who were protesting against the "Pans" authority. By the beginning of the revolution Makhno was already very popular in the Ekaterinoslav province; his residence was Guliai-Pole. As to his principles, Makhno was then already an anarchist. His bands—not numerous in the beginning—soon grew into numerous detachments consisting of beggarly crews, the majority of whom were in the past concerned in one way or another with capital crime.

Makhno's Popularity.

The Makhnos robbed the rich people and did not touch the poor, but even helped them—hence grew the colossal popularity of Makhno. When for the first time the Bolsheviks began to display activity, they immediately established contact with the Makhnos. The Germans came to the Ukraine, and the Red Army fled in disorder beyond Bielgorod and Briansk, but Makhno with his detachments remained in the Ukraine and continued to carry on incessant and cruel partisan war with the "Pans".

When the Petluras appeared, Makhno struggled against them also.

There was a period in the life of the much suffering Ekaterinoslav when four detachments hostile to one another were simultaneously in the town: the Petluras, the Hetmans, the Makhnos, and the Bolsheviks.

Rupture With Bolsheviks.

The further the Bolsheviks triumphantly advanced in the Ukraine, the further and further Makhno parted from Petlura and assisted the Reds. But soon the contact between Makhno and the Bolsheviks was broken. At this period the leading political role in the Makhno movement was played by a group of anarchists, headed by Volin from Moscow, who published his organ, "Nabat", (focsin) which carried on irreconcilable polemics with the Bolsheviks. Makhno's anarchy,

sharing all the theses of the Bolsheviks regarding the complete dissolution and extirpation of the bourgeoisie and the grabbing of everything by the peasants, furiously protested against the Commissar-power of the Communists, the Tchervitchaikas of the aggressive militarism of the Bolsheviks and the attempts of a violent realisation of the communa.

On its part, the Soviet power beginning already to feel the blows from the side of the Volunteers, tried by every means to improve the fighting quality of the Red Army, introduced in its ranks strict discipline and therefore insisted on the full submission to itself of Makhno's division, officially described by the Bolsheviks as a collection of drunken and cowardly robbers who served as a very bad example for the Red Army soldiers.

The quarrels between Makhno and the Bolsheviks led to the fact that on Voroshilov's insistence he was ready to hand over the commanding of the division to the Soviet Commissars and to remove himself from the leading role in the further struggle against the Denikins—but at that time Ekaterinoslav was already falling, Kharkov was staggering, Poltava was agitated; the Red Army began to retreat, and Makhno carried on partisan war on two fronts—against the Volunteers and also against the Bolsheviks.

Terrorising Invasions.

His partisan invasions were truly frightful for both of these because by means of an original selection these happened to enter his army very bold men who had fear of nothing, had aversion for nothing and had no faith in anything. The Makhnos beat, killed and robbed Volunteer officers and Communists, priests and Jews, officials and Commissars, bourgeois and intelligents, sisters of charity, well-off peasants and German colonists.

When the Bolsheviks finally went away from the Ukraine and their place was occupied by the Volunteers, they did not manage to liquidate the Makhnovtschina. As is known, this movement was feeding itself with the sympathy of the peasants who were discontented with the "Pantschina" and the towns of Aleksandrovsk, Pavlograd and Ekaterinoslav were undergoing nightmare weeks and months under the authority of the Makhnos who robbed and killed. By this time Makhno adhered against to Petlura, having passed from anarchism to nationalism but nobody can say whether this transition is steady nor can one say whether he has changed his ways of action or not.

According to the latest news, Makhno no more acts quite independently but works according to the direction of the riotous revolutionary committee in the Ukraine. Perhaps, thanks to this, the methods of cruel Makhno will be somewhat "smoothed" and his name in the Ukraine will cease to threaten by the horrors of nightmare many politicians of the country.