

RED EUROPE

BY

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“ Since governments assume the right of death over peoples it is not astonishing that sometimes peoples assume the right of death over governments.”

Guy Maupassant.

VANCOUVER, B.C.
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EXPLANATORY

MY Publishers are insistent that I shall add a personal note. Very good. In the early part of 1918 I went to the United States. In Washington it was my good fortune to fall across the path of John Murray, of the Pan-American section of the American Federation of Labor. Murray did for me all that one man could do for another, and through him—directly or indirectly—I met many interesting characters in the Spanish-American and United States Labor world. In New York I met the leading men and women of the Rand School of Science, and their kindness and helpfulness I shall never forget. From some of them I got letters of introduction to people in various European cities, that helped to make the after-path easy. I was in New York when Tomas Masaryk, the Czecho-Slovak leader, arrived from Vladivostok, when he announced the arrival of the first contingents on the Pacific, and the non-arrival of ship to take them away. It was in New York I met Santeri Nuerteva, one of the Socialist Deputies of Finland, who escaped the knife of Mannerheim, the "White Butcher." From Nuerteva I carried despatches detailing the Finnish massacre to Maxim Litvinoff, the representative in London of Soviet Russia. In London, I met Alexandere Kerenski, who was slowly undergoing a process of disillusionment about the real objects of the intervention of Imperial Capitalism in Russia.

In June, 1918, I received a cable from Mr. William Watt, acting Prime Minister of Australia, asking me if I would accept a place on the Australian Press Mission then about to leave Australia for a visit to the Western front. I accepted; and it was lucky I did so.

A person who gave his name as J. Blackmore Beer, who said he was the president of "The National Discharged Soldiers' Federation of Australia," and also "an officer of the Australian Commonwealth Service," reported to the British War Office that I was "a well-

known Australian anarchist," that I was refused permission to leave Australia, that I got away as a sailor on a steamer and that I "intended to stir up trouble with the Australian troops in England." The purport of that communication was forwarded to the Australian Assistant Provost Marshal (Lawrence), Warwick Square. At once, without inquiry as to the truth of the accusations, without inquiry as to whether such a person as Blackmore Beer really existed, without asking the accused if he had any explanation or defence, Assistant Provost Marshal Lawrence recommended that arrangements be made for my immediate internment in England or my deportation to Australia.

After that followed detectives and Scotland Yard interrogations, to the scare of my dear old mother and the worry of my brother and sister, who waited on the Thames Embankment, ready to report to the High Commissioner, Andrew Fisher, if Scotland Yard attempted to carry out the recommendations of the Australian Provost Marshal. But it ended happily. The Scotland Yard chief and the military officers were handsome in the apologies, and afterwards I got the name of the phizgig who caused the trouble. If he has any existence I should be pleased to talk to him.

In September, 1918, I went with the mission to France. We visited "the Front," when the Germans retreated as we advanced. We watched the fighting for Lens from the safety of Vimy Ridge, and further south we watched from the banks of the Somme the struggle for Peronne. We interviewed General Haig, who wanted the re-imposition of the death penalty upon Australian soldiers. I modestly informed him that any Government in Australia that dared to do so would be a Government no more. We interviewed the French Premier, "Tiger" Clemenceau, who addressed us most charmingly, and was himself charmed by the rapt attention with which we listened to him.

I was twelve months in Europe, and during that time

I visited various parts of the British Isles, the neutral countries of Switzerland and Scandinavia, paid three visits to France, met all classes, all opinions, all manner of men. My position as a member of the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia gave me an entrance to places and functions where politicians and statesmen foregathered. My connection with the Australian Press Mission brought me, in common with the others, honorary membership of the clubs and institutes where meet together the pressmen and international correspondents of the great newspapers of the world. To me, more than to the others, the membership was valuable, because I stayed on in Europe long after the other members of the mission had returned to Australia, and as my only business was to gather information, I availed myself fully of the facilities which such right of entry afforded.

The Australian Press Mission was only one of hundreds. They were of every nationality and color, exchanging visits at the expense of one or other of the belligerent nations, and in return were expected to carry the message of "War to End War," and of Paradise after the war. These missions, no matter what their names, were mainly composed of capitalist advocates, and renegade Labor men. Thus my inclusion in the Mission, while it opened to me the doors of useful information, made me a suspect in the revolutionary quarters of European cities. I mention the fact to show that if my European environment had anything to do with my opinions or my conclusions, it was certainly not associations with the "Red Rag" elements; it was quite the opposite.

In the early part of 1919, cables appeared in the British press that the Australian Labor Party had appointed me as a delegate to the International Socialist Conference at Berne. The European Labor Movement was broken into three factions—the Bolsheviki, the Pacifists, and those others who had become mere "stool

pigeons," "decoy ducks," and "hired hacks" of the Capitalist States. The men who composed the Berne Conference were mainly "Pacifists," standing in the middle of the road, and despised alike by the Reds on one side, and by the tools of reaction on the other.

I did not go to Berne. I went to Paris; and Paris in February, 1919, was full of Patriot Missionaries of all nationals—French, Italian, Yankee, British, Swiss, Belgian, Dutch—returned to Paris from all the corners of the earth, waiting for their last orders and their last dividends.

I went to "Old Man Gompers," and told him my tale. I told him that the Australian Labor Party had appointed me to the Berne Conference, but that I did not think they understood the position, and that I did not desire to be connected with anything wrong. I asked him if out of the well of his vast experience he would give me the benefit of his advice. He took me to his bosom, and told me stories of bribe-takers and fakirs and crooks, and asked me to look on his associates, Duncan, McAlpine, Duffy, and Green, and himself as samples of truly honest men. I did. I was impressed. I sat down to dinner with Charles Edward Russel, the one-time shining light of Yankee Socialism. He told me the same tale of bribe-takers and fakirs, and I told him I was told the same about him. So he spoke no more. The American Social patriot, Walling, became a friend to me. I do not think it was long before he discovered my outlook, but I think he liked me personally, and stood my heresy for the sake of my companionship. So if ever I meet him again I will be not less good to him. Walling had been in Russia for years, had swallowed half-a-dozen languages, and was the right man for a show round. Through him I met Compere Morel, of the "France Libre;" Cornilison, the Dutchman; and a crowd of others plucked from the burning by the saving grace of capitalist patriotism. Through Walling I met D'Ambrise, one of the M.P.'s

for Milan, just returned from a patriotic mission in other lands. After I had talked a while and told him all he asked, I said: "Now talk to me." Instead of that, he turned to Walling and said, in Italian: "I suspect this man, I think he is Bolshevik." Walling said: "No, no, no. He is good Gouvernement Socialiste; he is Australian Gouvernement Mission." And to me he said: "Show your papers;" and my papers said: "**Vise Diplomatic**"—"to stay in Paris until recalled by the Foreign Office." After that D'Ambrise talked, and I got information.

I lived in a little back room on the Rue Cambon, and one morning a dainty lady came to my door with a message. It said: "My dear Anstey,—I am delighted to hear you are once more in Paris. Take the train for Notre Dame de Champs. I live on the Montparnasse. The wife and kiddies are here. We will all be pleased to see you. Have lunch with us." That was from Dr. Adam Gibbons, of the New York "Century," and his wife, Helen Davenport, of the "Red Rugs of Tarsus," and the little dear "Esperance" who chided me because my French pronunciation was not correct. That was one of my joy days, one of the memories that linger, one of the temporary "get-outs" of the sordidness of the lives we live.

I returned to London. I walked into the office of that Government agency, the "National Socialist Party, and there heard the same old story of corruption and bribery in others. It was the one thing on the lips of the stool pigeons of the Governments. They hid themselves behind the counter-accusation.

One night in London I had a dine out with Robert Williams, of the Transport Workers. Tom Mann came up from his chicken farm in Kent, and at the same table sat Robert Smillie of the Miners' Federation. Later on, in the shadows of "The Temple," Mann asked me to convey his remembrances to all old comrades in Aus-

EXPLANATORY.

tralia, and to each other we said, "Good-night" and—"Good-bye."

I returned to Australia and started this book on the material I had collected. Of its merits I have nothing to say. The facts are unimpeachable. They speak for themselves, and if facts teach nothing, then facts are valueless.

FRANK ANSTEY.

Melbourne, Australia, September, 1919.

RED EUROPE

CHAPTER I.

WAR TO REVOLUTION

PREPARE.

It is the year 1909.

"There is a hush in Europe, a hush in which one might almost hear a leaf fall to the ground. There are all the outward signs of the most profound peace, yet there never was, in the history of the world, so threatening and overpowering a preparation for war."

So said Lord Rosebery to the Overseas Delegates to the Conference of British Journalists.

Three years later, Peter Kropotkin marshalled and presented facts to prove that the Capitalist Governments of Western Europe were feverishly piling up prepared ness for war.

Partners, side-partners and opponents were ready. The War gods were anxious for the fray. The army machinery of one nation and the naval machinery of another were touching the top points of perfection. If things were to be permitted to function for the purpose for which they were created, they would rot and lose capacity to function.

Go to war? Yes. But what about? Anything. Good. But there must be a pretext. Public opinion is a vital factor in war. People must imagine war a noble purpose. Pretexts are essential.

In 1914 the pretext came. Somebody murdered a man—an Archduke. Austria was horrified. Austria sent a punitive expedition. Every Imperialism does the same. It shells villages, tramples cultivation, destroys homes, kills the innocent, because some official or missionary is done to death. How much more for an Archduke. But this was different. There must be a protest against punitive practices—a protest in the name of Hungary.

Thus it came about that the master class in Russia, the men of reaction, corruption and oppression, the men whose hands were stained with the blood of innumerable Russian citizens, suddenly developed a crocodile sympathy for tribes and races trodden upon by others. Have a bloody war over it. Over the corpse of a murdered Archduke pile millions of dead of all nations. What nobler struggle? What grander pretext.

On July 25th, 1914, Russia commenced secret mobilisation. On the 29th Sazanoff, Sukhomlinoff and Yanushkevitch signed up general mobilisation along all the frontiers. At 11 o'clock that night the Tsar rang up Yanushkevitch and told him to stop it. He rang up Sukhomlinoff and told him to desist at once, to proceed only with partial mobilisation, that against Austria on the southwest frontier. Yanushkevitch rang up Sukhomlinoff. They agreed over the telephone to ignore the Tsar, to go right on. Next day Sukhomlinoff told the Tsar his orders had been followed. "Then you lied to the Tsar?" "I did."*

On the 1st of August, 1914, the German Overlords jumped in with the first blow and one by one the International Slaughterers took up their allotted places.

Each side was confident. Each had got its pre-arranged tactics. This side would jump in, smash that, then that, and finally finish the third. The other would get a double strangle hold, blockade by sea and by land, conquest by starvation in food and munitions. Victory or defeat would be speedy. Both were mistaken. Both found their calculations upset by undreamed-of enemy resourcefulness. Both found the war productive of consequences of which they little reckoned. The dreary horror dragged on for years, and the blood they shed, the realms they wasted, the wealth they squandered, and the hearts they broke

*Evidence at the trial of Sukhomlinoff, August, 1917.

were transformed into a glory by the howling priests of the Gods of Gold.

Speaking of the internal situation when Russia entered the war, Baron Gravenitz said:—

“When the mobilisation of the forces was ordered, strikes and revolutionary demonstrations had been taking place on a large scale in Russia. The mobilisation put an end to the trouble. Internal strife was swamped by the tidal wave of patriotism.” ,

The “Manchester Guardian,” in its “History of the War,” said:—

“The revolution (Russia) of 1905 had been suppressed, but Russia emerged from it with an entirely new mentality. Brute force could for a moment triumph, but it could not suppress the march of history. In 1912 the first political strikes broke out in Petrograd. In the next couple of years they assumed formidable dimensions—as in commemoration of Bloody Sunday, the shooting of the Lena Goldfield strikers, the arrest of the Second Duma Deputies, and so on, until on the very day when war was declared, Petrograd awoke to see barricades thrown up on the streets.” (Vol. 6, page 309).

This process of Revolution the war interrupted and postponed.

War is a glory. In the box seats of the Safety Zone the podgy pillars of the Temple cheer on the proletarian armies to “Victory or Death.” Blood and slaughter are a “glory.”

Then comes Revolution. Blood and slaughter are no more a glory, no more a subject for the priests’ hosannas or the thieves’ delight. Kings and Kaisers no longer proudly prance to do homage to the bloody carnival. Tender and loving they become when their temples and thrones go toppling.

FIGHT.

The moment war was declared, the Russian Tsar became in all Allied countries the paragon of all the virtues, the angel with the flaming sword guarding the world’s democracy against the autocracy of Darkest

Germany. "Darkest Russia" was no longer permitted to be printed or circulated in England, and a British Ministry stamped out of England the Russian Seamen's Union.

The Germans jumped into Belgium and the Russians into Eastern Prussia, and both armies raped and ravished as they went. The Germans pushed into Northern France, the Russians into Galicia. They were two autocracies, and both fed the flame of their armies with the lust of the flesh and the horrors of the beast. They ravished by night and by day, in mansion or cellar, in seclusion or street, the maid and the matron, the tottering grandmother and the toddling child. The horrors of the Germans we know—the horrors of the Russians were transmuted into terms of chivalry and honor. The "Society of Journalists" in Petrograd gathered the facts for the press of England and France, and begged them to make a protest. In vain. By their own volition or the Censor's will, they remained silent. Scores of them continued to sing sweet songs of Russian chivalry, and deemed every rumor to the contrary as the slander of the beast pro-German. Not until after the Revolution were the kidnapped populations returned to their country. On the 3rd of April, 1917, the First Provisional Government of Russia ordered their release and began to make enquiries into their needs "with a view to their assistance and repatriation."

But the Russian horrors in Prussia and Galicia performed their destined task. They compelled the recall of German armies from the West, and saved the retreating armies of France and England from complete annihilation. The "Daily Mail" correspondent (MacKenzie) said:—

"200,000 German troops were withdrawn from the West, while armies bound westward were turned right about to rescue Prussia from the Russians."

The same man said that the ground over which the Russians advanced was too soft for artillery. They

therefore had to do without it. Over the great open spaces infantry could not be used—they were too slow. Therefore:—

“Russian horsemen dashed across this country (East Prussia) and rode down the German guns in the swiftest, mightiest movement known in war’s history.”

But the Germans came back, and Russian armies disappeared for ever in the bogs and swamps around Masuria.*

But the Russian armies were on the move. They were smashing the armies of Austria and Germany when Antwerp was falling and the Anglo-French retreating to the Aisne. John Buchan, in his “Nelson History of the War,” has put it on record that the Russians fought for the relief of the Western Armies when their own armies were “terribly weak in equipment.” They fought all through the winter. On the 24th, 25th and 26th, and February, 1915, they fought victorious battles against Austro-Germans, and in “Nelson’s History of the War” this is how the struggles are described:—

“This battle was fought under conditions which are scarcely to be paralleled. Russia was hard put to it for munitions and arms. She was unable to equip masses of the trained men, and it was the custom to have unarmed troops in the rear, who could be used to fill gaps and take up the weapons of the dead. **Men were flung into the firing line without rifles**, armed only with a bayonet in one hand and two bombs in the other. They had to get within close range before they could use their bombs or steel.” Vol. 6, page 38).

Yet under those conditions, without munitions for big guns, small guns, machine-guns or rifles, by sheer weight of numbers, the Russian armies won battle after battle.

But there had to come an end to it. In May came

““The defeat at the Masurian lakes was the penalty of Russia’s loyalty to her western Allies. She deliberately ran risks as part of her duty to them” (“Manchester Guardian” “History of the War,” vol. 2, 219.)

the turn of the tide. Then came the Russian retreat through Poland lasting through the months of June, July and August. It has been designated "the Greatest Retreat in All History." It was fought on the part of the Russians "with clubs, fists, sticks and sword bayonets," a weaponless army pitted against high-power explosives, and the best-equipped armies in the world.

Years afterwards (October 14th, 1918), this is how the London "Daily Chronicle" described the 1915 campaign of the Russian armies:—

"While we were organising an army a great Russian army was engaging the Germans and the Austrians in Poland and Galicia, and Russia fought under impossible conditions. . . . The Russian Army, betrayed by its rulers, its munitions exhausted, refused to accept defeat, and slowly throughout the summer of 1915 executed a retreat which, in its wonderful exhibition of courage, tenacity and skill, provoked the admiration of Mackensen himself."

In early September, Brussiloff, Ivanoff and Lechitski scraped together a stock of munitions, counter-attacked, and defeated the Austro-German armies at Dubno and Ternopol. Then once more lack of supplies compelled them to come to a standstill.

Not until the 25th of September, 1915, did the armies of France and England make their "**LONG EXPECTED OFFENSIVE.**"

"Munitions and ever more munitions." That was the cry on the Western front, and the Western front had all the world to call upon, and not until they were stacked up high enough did they sally forth to the "Offensive." Before the started General Joffre issued his memorable order commencing—

"Soldiers of the Republic. After months of waiting have enabled us to increase our strength and our resources. . . ."

Yet while the Western armies had been "waiting," increasing strength and resources, the Russian armies without "waiting," without resources, without muni-

tions, had not only conducted "the greatest retreat in all history," but munitionless, had won victories that rank amongst the marvels in the annals of war. Robert Wilton, the "Times" war correspondent, in his "Behind the Scenes in Russia," declares that only "lack of munitions compelled the Russian armies to fall back before Mackensen." So ended 1915.

FINISH

England had 150 factories to every one in Russia, yet England could not turn out munitions faster than the Slaughter God could deliver them. Munitions and ever more munitions,—that was the cry along the Western front. The plight of Russia was therefore self-evident. The Western front was 400 miles, the Eastern 1000. The Russian needs were double and its supplies one-fourth. England had all her ports open—Russia all but two closed. England had all the world to call upon—Russia only two doors through which to get anything. One was in the White Sea, ice-sealed half the year, the other in Manchuria, 8000 miles from the battle front. Not until "too late"—the end of 1916—was the railway got through to the open sea at Alexandrosk.

To get munitions for the 1916 campaign, and to enable it to keep armies in the field, the Government of Russia decided upon a desperate expedient. Every factory was turned from the production of the requisites of civil life to the production of war material. Even the factories producing boots and clothes for the soldiers were turned to the production of munitions. "Everything for the war" was the patriot's cry, and whosoever raised a warning of possible disaster carried a traitor's brand. Millions of men were torn from the fields to make new armies to replace the dead and incapacitated millions of 1915. Even the very horses were taken from the fields for transport work. No horses were left to drag the implements of primary production. There were no fertilizers for the soil. Land went out of cultivation and the land cultivated pro-

duced less. If the women managed the ploughing, sowing and harvesting, they found themselves with new problems. Either the products could not be got to market, or if they could, little could be bought in exchange, and that only at exorbitant prices. Boots, if obtainable, cost 150 roubles instead of 10; nails, woollens, domestic utensils, increased in price tenfold; agricultural implements were unobtainable. Nothing but munitions were manufactured in all the land, and nothing else imported. Even then, importation and internal production combined were inadequate for the enormous consumption of the battlefield. Only by the supply of 1,000,000 rifles from Japan was Russia able once more to take the field.

The government of Russia had taken a desperate chance. Only by taking it could it provide munitions for 1916 and keep armies in the field. If that hazard did not bring decisive victory and **an end to the war**, it was evident it would bring economic collapse—a nation prostrate, foodless, bootless, clothesless, munitionless, destitute of all the requirements of war or peace or even of mere existence. The Government speculated on the chance, and lost. This chance was taken by a Tsar, by Archdukes, Grand Dukes, Generals and Statesmen, who speculated their fortunes on a speedy victory, and when they lost, were accused by the Allied capitalist press of being the dupes and tools of Germany.

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Early in 1916 Russia sallied forth once more, and from the standpoint of slaughter, her 1916 campaigns were not less "glorious" than those of 1914-1915. She pushed her armies into Asia Minor, smashed the Turks at Erzerum, pushed on into Persia, and achieved victories while British Generals were suffering defeats at Kut and Sanna Yat. In May, when the Austrians were invading Italy, she jumped into Austrian territory, smashed army after army, captured 400,000 of the enemy, and compelled an Eastern concentration of

the Austro-Germans, to the intense relief of the Western Allies. She fought two great campaigns and conquered thousands of square miles of enemy territory before the Western armies on the Somme started in July their 1916 "offensive."

Russia pushed on, until by the middle of August the battle front of her armies ran along the summit of the Carpathians from Jablonitz to the Roumanian frontier. The valleys of her foemen stretched beneath her, but further she could not go because once more requisites of war had come to an end. But this time to shorage of munitions there was added shortage of food—starvation. Then came the ultimatum of the Russian Premier Sturmer to Roumania: "Now or never—with us or against us—make your choice." In came Roumania, to the accompaniment of Allied songs of joy. This incoming, as the "Manchester Guardian's" History puts it, "was hailed in Allied countres as the decisive factor in the war." Yet Sturmer, we are told, was the tool of Rasputin, the tool of Germany.

Then came the day when the reorganised Austro-German armies, augmented by armies withdrawn from the Western front, rose up against Russia, drove its foodless and munitionless armies from the Carpathians into the valleys, and there slaughtered them like helpless sheep.

From that hour (October, 1916) Russia was out of the international fight, out of it not by treason, but by physical incapacity to proceed. To starvation add cruelty, corruption, allegations of treason, destruction of faith, and you get the conditions under which no nation can fight, and that was the Russian situation in the autumn of 1916.

Starvation stalked through the land. The soldiers began to desert. The underfed factory hands went on strike. Everything broke down. An economic crisis confronted the Government.

John Buchan, in his "History of the War," said:—
"By all the rules of the text-books Russia should long ago have been in economic dissolution. There was mismanagement, corruption and scandalous profiteering."

The Anglo-Russian trade journal, "Russia," published in London, said:—

"Could any people be expected to preserve their morale and their will to victory under such intolerable conditions? To tell such people that they should persevere with the war, when they are only too painfully conscious of their inability to do so, is to mock at their unimaginable privations."

Yet this nation that suffered these 'unimaginable privations,' this nation which to the end of October, 1916, had more dead men upon the battlefield than the combined living armies of France and England upon the Western front, this nation was subsequently howled at from hundreds of British platforms as a "traitor to the Allied cause."

And while all this was going on, even while the Russian armies—starved of food, boots, clothes, munitions—were being slaughtered like sheep in a pen, the capitalist papers in England and France and associated territories suppressed the facts and told their populations that the Russian Steam Roller was moving victoriously to Berlin.

RASPUTIN

There was at the Court of Russia a monk by the name of Rasputin, and from the commencement of the war until the end of 1916, whosoever, in any Allied country, made reflections upon the character of Rasputin, the Tsar, the Tsarina, their children, or their intimates, was "guilty of conduct offensive to an ally," and suffered the penalty.

But when the Tsar's throne began to crumble, the tune was changed. Financial capitalism has no use for either potentates or people when they cease to serve the ends of the Power behind the Throne. So from Oc-

tober, 1916, the Songs of Tsarist Praise changed to virtuous horror of Tsarist infamies.

The Tsarina was said to be a traitress who had given the Russian armies over to slaughter by means of the information which she caused to be conveyed to the enemy. She was alleged to have conveyed to Germany the date of Kitchener's departure from England for Russia. She was said to be a woman who incited and connived at murder. She was said to be a sexual pervert who kept Rasputin as her prize pig, permitting him to seek a variety of lust in her own daughters. The Tsar was said to be a drunken, sodden, degenerate, acquiescent spectator. One well-known English writer described him as "unscrupulous, ignorant, insincere, weak, cunning, licentious and untrustworthy."

The monk Rasputin was said to be a filthy, lousy, slovenly, senuous, illiterate beast who conducted a cult known as the "Naked Believers"; that to this belonged some of the most distinguished women of Russia; that the Tsarina was the patron saint; that each new adherent had to spend a naked half-hour before the altar; that there were nights of naked communal bestialities; that Anna Viruboba, the Tsarina's chief lady in waiting, was Rasputin's chief assistant, and that he had a ritual after this style:—

"I am an incarnation of God. Only through me can you be saved. You must be united with me in body as in soul. The virtue that goes out from me is the source of light."

Another testified—

"He talked about God—the salvation of the soul and the resurrection of the dead. Then he fell upon me, kissed me, and after that—he cleansed me of my sin."

This man was said to be the real master of Russia. It was alleged that the Germans, through their spy system, gathered the fullest information of the obscenity and corruption of the Court, and under threat of exposure, turned Rasputin, the Tsarina, titled leaders of the Court, statesmen of Russia, and Generals of its

armies, into corrupted tools of Germany.

But the money hogs of the world, their Governments and newspapers, did not permit the circulation of these stories until the Tsar and Tsarina ceased to be a buttress and a strength. Their crimes were only "discovered" when they ceased to be useful.

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After the murder of Rasputin (December, 1916), correspondence was alleged to have been discovered in his house, and it was endorsed as correct and circulated as anti-German propaganda by the capitalist Governments and capitalist press of all Allied countries.

According to this alleged correspondence the slaughter of the Russian armies at the Masurian lakes was secured, not so much by the strategy of Hindenburg as by the treason of General Rennenkampf.

It was alleged that the ex-Minister of War, Sukhomlinoff, was a German agent, that he held back supplies of equipment, that he only gave contracts to those who bribed him.

It was alleged that the retirement of the Russian armies from Poland in 1915, and the evacuation of its fortress were due to the treachery of Russian Generals.

It was alleged that Protopopoff (Minister of Foreign Affairs), in the middle of 1916, visited England, was made a confidant of the British Government, was informed of its strength, resources and weaknesses, and that on his return passage he sold his information for cash to the Chief of the German Secret Service at Stockholm.

It was alleged that Sturmer and other corrupted statesmen held a consultation and agreed that Rasputin should go to Berlin via Sweden, and explain that Brussiloff was working an available supplies, but that transport would be disorganized and a shortage of supplies created.

It was alleged that Rasputin on the 16th October, 1916, conveyed to Berlin an offer from the Russian Government to make peace, but that Germany imposed conditions so odious that the Tsar's Government could not accept.

These stories of corruption and treason, of deliberately starved people and of armies sold to slaughter, had their inevitable effect upon the Russian masses and upon the Russian armies. The people organized for revolt and the armies melted away.

On 14th November, 1916, Miliukoff appeared in the Duma and made his allegations of treason and corruption against men in high places. He alleged that armies were frequently betrayed by generals and statesmen for German gold. If what he alleged was true, it furnished ample justification for armies to march out of the field. If false, those who spread the falsehoods destroyed the armies' and the people's "will to victory." True or false, they could only have one result—disgust, discontent, disaster, dissolution.

The members of the Duma were good talkers, but the majority would risk neither life, limb, nor liberty on remedial action. Milukoff was asked by a reactionary member if he wanted a revolution, and he answered: "Rather than help the organization of revolutionary forces, he would leave Russia as she was." He preferred the German conqueror to a revolutionary victory. That was where he stood. And in the midst of the greatest crisis Russia ever faced—economic smash, military annihilation, widespread starvation, universal discontent—this Duma permitted itself to be dissolved, dismissed, sent home like frightened children, until February 27th, 1917.

By Christmas, 1916, deserters from the Russian army numbered 2,000,000, and the Tsarist Government kept an army of "Strazniki" to track and trap them. That Christmas in Russia settled down upon ruined armies and ruined industries, upon destitute millions, corrupt

statesmen, corrupt ministers of God, upon drunken Tsar, whorish Tsarina, and chattering, vacillating politicians

REVOLT.

On 18th January, 1917, the "Politiken," of Copenhagen, conveyed this information to the world:—

"Travellers arriving from Russia to-day state that the inner political situation now is more critical than it was in the summer of 1915. Following upon the latest changes in the Cabinet, the feeling in the country is that an outbreak of the general dissatisfaction can be expected at any moment. The Grand Duke Nikolai, or the Grand Duke Michael, are each indicated as the probable Tsar. The opinion in Russia is that an eventual revolution would be carried out quickly and easily, as it has the sympathy of all classes."

That was it. The Revolution is coming. Head it off with Grand Dukes, if possible; if not, try the political drum-beaters of Capitalism

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As in 1905, it was the industrial proletariat of Petrograd that took the lead. Shop stewards hurried from factory to factory preaching general strike. Meetings and demonstrations took place in all cities. The cry for "Bread and Liberty" went up louder and louder. The workers of the Putiloff Works marched down the streets with banners red, and on those banners were inscribed, "Down with the Government"; "Long Live the Republic."

On January 27th, 1917, the Tsarist Government asked Germany for terms of peace acceptable to Russia, but without success. Germany would accept nothing less than the harsh terms which it had previously offered.

The British Government became anxious. It sent a Commission, under the leadership of Lord Milner, to make enquiries.

On February 27th, the Duma, with the Tsar's consent, resumed its conversazione, and on that day the crowds went through the streets singing revolutionary songs.

On February 29th, while Milner was in Petrograd,

Alexandre Kerenski made a speech in the Duma. He assailed the Tsarist Government, and specializing Protopopoff and Shakovski, said:—

"They destroyed the economic organization of the country, brought about the disorganization of transport, the annihilation of fuel, and the ruin of the leaders of commerce, industry, and transport."

And then Kerenski made the memorable statement of policy, from which he afterwards departed. He said:

"We recognize at the present moment, after three years of war, when the reserves of men and material are exhausted, the moment has come for a general settlement of the European conflict, and we lay it down that this conflict should be settled."

Yet Milner returned to England and informed the press that he "could find in Russia no diversity of opinion." All Russia was united, and determined to push on with the war. He heard nothing of starving people, of discontented armies or wholesale desertion. He heard no cries of "Bread and Liberty." He saw nothing, heard nothing, but the exuberances of triumphant Imperialism. This species of lying is designated "preserving the public morale."

On March 6th, the Tsar's Government made a last appeal to the Central Powers, and in the course of its communication it said:—

"We will not assume that Governments, however hostile they may be towards each other for the time being, are prepared to let a red chaos arise in Russia, the consequences of which in all probability recoil upon themselves."

It was then too late—the Revolution was moving.

March 8th was "Women's Day" in Russia. The factories closed, the trams stopped, the women broke into the food shops and plundered them. The Duma went on talking.

On March 9th, vast crowds gathered on the Nevski. Blood began to flow—the Duma talked.

On March 10th the police fired on the crowds. Then for the first time in the history of Russia the Cossacks took the side of the people. They turned and fired upon the police—the Duma talked.

*For details of the various overtures for peace made by the Tsar's Government, see "Manchester Guardian," March 31st, 1919.

On March 11th (Sunday) enormous crowds, red banners, revolutionary inscriptions, revolutionary songs, revolutionary gatherings. The police turned on the machine-guns, pitched battles took place in the streets—the Duma talked.

On March 12th the Volhinian, the Lithuanian and other regiments went over to the Revolution. By mid-day the Peter and Paul Fortress, the Arsenal and the Castle were captured. The revolutionary leaders met.

They appointed Cheidze chairman, and made vice-chairmen of Skobeloff and Kerenski. They decided to revive the "Council of Workers' Delegates," the governing hand of the Revolution of 1905. This time they added delegates from the soldiery—one delegate per 1000 members in the factories and battalions. The Bolshevik section wished the immediate arrest of the Government and the assumption of power by the Soviet. they were in a minority and were defeated.

The Duma talked helplessly on. In the midst of its talk it got a wire from the Tsar telling the useless thing to dissolve and get away home. Its members knew not what to do. They were undecided. Then the soldiers came and propped them up, kept them on their feet, and under the wing of the Soviet they continued to exist. At midnight they appointed from among themselves a "committee," and then they went home to bed.

On March 13th the Bolsheviks issued a manifesto urging the workers and soldiers to at once seize the Government and appoint "a Revolutionary Government under the protection of the revolutionary army and people who have risen against the old order." Under their impulse the Soviet arrested all members of the Government it could put its hands on. Galitzin, the Prime Minister, at once wired to the Tsar his resignation and those of all his arrested and unarrested colleagues. Russia at that moment had no Government

outside the Soviet, but the Soviet permitted the Duma Committee to assume control of the Departments.

On March 14th, a "Provisional Government" was formed. It consisted entirely of Duma members. Of twelve Ministers, only one, Kerenski, was associated with the Soviet. The Ministry was mainly millionaire and monarchist and moderate. It wanted to live under the reigning Tsar or a new one. The Soviet would have neither new nor old. As the Government could not exist without Soviet support, it sacrificed the Tsar

On March 15th Gutchkoff, on behalf of the Government, informed the Tsar "with eyes cast down to the ground," that Russia would have no more of him, and so it was.

CHAPTER II.

THE DAYS OF KERENSKI.

FIRST PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(March 16th to May 18th.)

The First Provisional Government of Russia, taken collectively, was pro-Tsar, pro-Capitalist, professedly Liberal, secretly anti-Labor, and anxious to head off the Revolution into innocuous channels. It made legal enactments of those liberties which the Revolution had already made a fact, and it promised large measures of political and economic reform in the sweet bye and bye. Beyond that it would not go.

On March 17th, Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador, announced that his Government had been graciously pleased to recognize the new Government of

Russia, but that it did so "because my Government wishes to believe that Russia will not lay down her arms without the consent of her allies."

On April 6th the United States Government went into the war, and shortly afterwards sent Elihu Root to the Russian Government with a proposition and a threat.

The proposition was that Russia should put up one more fight and keep the battle fronts alive until the United States was ready. For that service the United States would help the Russian Government in the work of economic recovery, would supply it with new machinery for the factories, new implements for its fields, new rails and rolling stock for its lines. If Russia went out of the war, economic assistance would not be rendered. On the contrary, all credits would stop, exports to Russia be prohibited, and an economic blockade imposed.

Behind the United States was the driving power of the Allied Governments of England and France, and the supplications of those Socialists whom those Governments kept in their list of converted.

Morganthau, United States Ambassador in Turkey during America's three years of neutrality, has put it on record that—

"The closing of the Black Sea by Turkey's entrance into the war kept out the munitions and war supplies, the lack of which caused the Russian defeats in the field, and led up to her disappearance as a military power"

That was so in 1917, when Elihu Root made his demand upon a nation that had already disappeared as a military power. Yet there were no more munitions of war or supplies in Russia in 1917 than there were in 1916, or in 1915, when the Russian armies fought with clubs and sticks and stones.

Neither Governemnt nor Soviet could obscure those facts. The Government could talk of going on. The Soviet could talk of a general peace, but the soldiers

were the dominant factor and brought them all back from beautiful declamations to the actual facts. A soldier delegate, speaking in the Soviet, said:—

“We are asked to stay in. We have nothing with which to stay in. Our armies are so much chopping meat for the Germans, and we soldiers are sick of being slaughtered without hope of effective retaliation.”

On April 13th, 1917, the first meeting of the “All Russian Congress of Soviets” requested the Allies to make a united declaration of their war objectives. The Allies ignored the request.

On April 15th, 1917, Austria offered to make peace with Russia, and the Russian Government refused.

Then in the early days of May, 1917, Miliukoff, in a communication to the Allied Governments, pledged Russia to fight for ever and ever without end, until victory was won, justice done, etc., etc. That was the end of Miliukoff. The soldiers marched up against him. The cry went up in the land “Down with Miliukoff,” and down he went.

SECOND PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(May 18th to August 4th)

The First and Second Provisional Governments had a Prince for Prime Minister—Prince Lvoff. He was a figure-head. The dominant character in the first was Miliukoff, and in the second Kerenski.

The Second Provisional Government consisted of fifteen members, of whom four were members of the Soviet Executive, and in this Ministry was “Suck the Rag” Shakovski, whom Kerenski had scathingly assailed in the previous February as a national traitor.

This Government was designated a “Coalition,” but the Soviet members were in such a hopeless minority that they were mere smoke-screeners for the Kadet majority. They carried responsibility for decisions upon which they had an insignificant voice and a hopeless vote.

The coalition was based on three main points. They were:—

1st **General** peace without annexations or indemnities.

2nd—Decisive measures to strengthen the front.

3rd—Social, economic and financial reforms.

The Soviet was very moderate. It was prepared to support any sort of Government that would promise it something of the much-needed internal reforms.

The appointment of Kerenski to the War Ministry was welcomed by the capitalist press generally. The Russian newspaper, "Novoe Vremya," referred to him as—

"A man whose ardent patriotism has endeared him to the better classes, while his democratic activity has made him popular with the masses."

Kerenski, by the fact that he was "the idol of the masses," was expected, by some strange alchemy or charm, to be able to induce those masses to be once more chopping meat on the battlefield, and to once more, as on February, 1915, overwhelm the enemy by mere force of numbers.

And he began to think, or at least to say, that he could do it.

Thus Kerenski, who twelve weeks previously had said that fighting was impossible, that "materials are exhausted," that "we lay it down that this conflict must be settled," now said it must not. This remarkable man, who had formed a coalition on the basis of "general peace without annexations and without indemnities," went a couple of weeks later to Helsingfors, and in a speech to soldiers and sailors, said: "It was absurd to ask for peace without annexations." He was destroying himself, undermining his prestige with the masses, and nobody was better pleased than the capitalist clique whom, in the name of national unity, he was seeking to placate.

Kerenski personally dominated the Soviet. He in-

fluenced many of its members to go to the military camps and preach "a new offensive" — they were roughly handled. Kerenski went through the camps, and only his popularity saved him. The soldiers regarded the idea of a new offensive as utterly preposterous, as a demand that they should make a rampart of human bodies hacked to pieces in the interests of Allied Imperialism. The "Manchester Guardian," in its History, said:—

"They could not reconcile the professed aspirations towards peace with renewed preparations for an offensive, at a time when the Allies would neither adopt the Russian formula of peace, or state their own objectives." (Vol. 8, page 90.)

The Bolshevik section of the Soviets issued a manifesto on the situation. It said—

"Whilst the peasants gasp their life out in the trenches, women and weaklings must follow the plough, yet the factories give them no agricultural implements to replace the labor of the absent men. They only manufacture implements of murder. The country is not in a condition to produce enough of the necessities of life. Even what it can produce is rotting at the railway sidings waiting for trucks that are not forthcoming. Meanwhile people go hungry in the towns, and the army is suffering. So Russia, the world's granary, stands on the threshold of famine, and no outcry against Anarchy can scare away the spectre."

On June 5th, 1917, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, Commander-in-Chief on the Eastern front, wrote, not to the Russian Government, but to the Russian Soviet Executive, offering peace.

On June 8th the Soviet Executive replied thus:—

"The crushing of the Allies would be the beginning of the crushing of the revolutionary armies of Russia and the death of Free Russia. The revolutionary democracy of Russia walks past the provocative traps of the German General Staff towards its object, which is universal peace."

The proposed "offensive" was bitterly opposed in the Soviet Congress by the soldier delegates. One said:—

"The people at the head of things are always appealing to us to sacrifice more. Those at home are left unmolested. Show me what I am fighting for. Is it the Dardanelles or is it free Russia. We are told it is for Democracy, yet we leave power in the hands of the capitalists. When the land is to the peasants, and the mills to the workers, and the power to the Soviets, we'll know that we have something to fight for and for it we'll fight."

Another said:—

"Talk sense! You are in a worse position than last year, and can

only reach the same ignominious conclusion. Where are your aircraft. You are blinded for a start. Where are the munitions for your big guns—in the Moon, or Manchuria?"

Another soldiers' delegate said:—

"To have a strong front we must have equipment and food. Hungry soldiers dressed in rags cannot fight. There is no bread, no equipment, no boots."

Yet the Soviet Congress supported Kerenski, and both shared the responsibility. The Allies pushed Kerenski—the Soviets in their loyalty followed.

And in that very hour when Kerenski was risking reputation, everything, perhaps life itself, to build up support for the Allied cause, the Allied Governments were conspiring to destroy his Government. The Tsarist Generals, Horvat and Semoniff, had fled to Manchuria, and were there supplied by the Japanese Government with arms and money to organize the reaction. At the same time Kerenski had to send two of his Ministers to deal with a British-paid counter-plot in Ukrania. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs (Tereshchenko) forwarded strong protests to the Allied camps.

Maxim Gorki, in his "Novaya Jizn" ("New Life", June 19th, said:—

"Russia has a choice of two ways. The first is to give up her revolutionary aims, capitulate to the Allied Imperialists, and continue the war. The second is to break definitely with Allied Imperialism, accept the real isolation of the Russian Government amongst the 'real powers' stand fast to her aims, and to realise these in deeds."

The Provisional Government and the Soviets were afraid to take the second. They tried the first—they stood for the "offensive."

The offensive was to start on July 1st, 1917, and to celebrate the day the Soviet decided to have a great "Win-the-War" demonstration. The shops closed and factories stopped work, enormous crowds turned out. The processions were immense, but they furnished a staggering revelation. There was no "Win-the-War" about it. The banners bore the signs, "Down with the Imperialist War," "Down with the Coalition Government."

In the midst of the offensive the Reactionaries struck Kerenski back and front. On the 14th July, while the Russian armies, with supplies of munitions gathered during the long period of inaction, were still sweeping over the enemy, a number of Kadet members of the Ministry suddenly resigned and deserted the Government of Russia.

The reason, the justification, does not matter. It has been said that they smashed the Government to prevent Kerenski fulfilling the promises made to soldiers on the battle front. Be that as it may, the act of the Kadet faction created a Ministerial "crisis." It would do so in any country at any time. Much more so in Russia at such a time. It was desertion in the face of the enemy. Crowds lined the streets. Fights developed between Kadets and revolutionary supporters. They lasted through the 16th, 17th and 18th.

The treachery of the Kadets, their violation of the Coalition compact, their desertion from the Government of Russia in the middle of an "offensive," met no word of condemnation in any Allied country. It was not even mentioned, but its sequence, the struggle was under such conditions that the offensive started.

It was evident that at that stage not even the Soviets accurately gauged the passions of the masses. It in the streets, was trumpeted as the act of original sin and the reason for the collapse of the "offensive."

The Kadet break-up of the Russian Government occurred on July the 14th, the bloody sequence on the 16th, 17th and 18th. Not until the 19th did the Russian "Offensive" begin to fizzle into failure. It was not the first "offensive"—Russian, Italian, Austrian, German, French and English—that had broken down. Every disaster provides a scapegoat. This one was "Bolshevik."

The Kadet treachery that broke up the Government

as an institution, the bloody sequence in the streets, the collapse of the "offensive," ended in the cowardly resignation of the Premier, Prince Lvoff, leaving Russia without even the formal appearance of a Government.

This did the Second Provisional Government of Russia make its cowardly and treacherous exit.

In this hour, under such circumstances, did Alexandre Kerenski take up the discarded mantle of Prime Ministership and take upon himself the responsibilities from which others fled.

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Kerenski was Prime Minister without Ministers. The Kadets would take no part—they wanted anti-Soviet action. The Bolsheviks would take no part—they wanted "**All Power to the Soviets.**" The Soviets, dominated by moderates, would not take the Bolshevik cause, nor yet exclusive responsibility in the "Provisional Government." They wanted a coalition with social reform. The Kadets would have no coalition that meant reform. Through this troubled sea Kerenski tried to steer his way. His was really the Third Provisional Government, a Government of one man struggling for colleagues. But its life was so brief that it may be classed with the second. On the 4th August, 1917, Kerenski resigned.

THIRD PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(August 5th to September 28th).

No sooner did Kerenski resign than he was urged from all sides except that of the Bolsheviks to try once more. He did so. Of his old colleagues there stood to him Tereshchenko, the Sugar King, and Nekrasoff, who left the Kadets to be loyal to Kerenski.

He had also the Soviet members Tchernoff and Skobelloff, the latter having already badly compromised himself by an effort to break up the Shop Steward Movement.

Kerenski needed ten new Ministers. He gathered up a gang of nondescripts and started on his way.

To secure "national unity" Kerenski called a great "National Conference" of everybody to meet at Moscow on **August 25th**. They came, and under its wing gathered the reactionaries from all parts of Russia, and hatched a plot for the destruction of the Soviets.

Some say Kerenski was a party to it. Some deny it. In any case it was timed to start on **September 8th**, under General Korniloff. On that day he moved forward with his troops. The Soviet proclaimed Korniloff a "traitor," but the Bolsheviki acted and organized the defence. It called upon the soldiers of Korniloff to treat him as a public enemy, and to ignore his orders. They did so. The attempted overthrow of the Soviets ended in miserable failure. It was a fiasco. The soldiers opposed it—that was its death-knell. Korniloff surrendered and General Krymoff committed suicide.

The Allied papers openly sympathized with the reactionary efforts to destroy the Soviets. They wet-nursed the allegation that Kerenski conspired with and then deserted Korniloff. True or false, it undermined the position of Kerenski, cut away his hold upon the faith and affection of the Russian masses, and correspondingly weakened the power of his supporters in the Soviets. At the elections for the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow and the country generally, the Bolsheviki came to power—they were in the majority.

...On the **15th September**, Kerenski proclaimed Russia a Republic, but a name does not change economic facts. It neither placated the Bolsheviki nor pleased the Kadets. The nondescript gang that composed his Min-

istry deserted him. They scented danger and ran for cover. With the aid of an Admiral, a General, Tereshchenko and Nikitin, Kerenski endeavored to carry on.

The triumph of the Bolsheviki meant, if it could be enforced.

"ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS."

If it could be enforced it meant an end to the "Provisional Government."

The "Provisional Government" was not an institution created by the votes of the people. It had no electoral machinery, no voters, no Parliament, and never had. It reflected the assumption of authority in the previous March by the Miliukoff cliques, of never had, any power to exist outside the acquiescence, which Kerenski had been the successor. It had not, it tolerance and good will of the Soviets. The Soviets were the only institutions that had any electoral basis, any body of voters. The Central Executive of the Soviets was the only institution that had in any way the character of a Parliament, and only in so far as the "Provisional" Government rested, through the Soviets, on the mass of Soviet electors, could it be said to have any popular sanction for its existence.

Therefore, when Bolsheviki principles triumphed, when the mass vote declared that the Soviet form of Government should be the dominant institution in the land, it declared that the "Provisional" Government had fulfilled its "provisional" pro tem. functions, and should pass away.

But Kerenski was not prepared to see the "Provisional" pass away, nor did he stand alone. The Bolsheviki had won control of the local parts of the Soviet machinery, but the higher command, the Central Executive, was still in the hands of the "Moderates." Its personnel could only be changed at the "All Russian Congress of Soviets." Bolshevik triumphs in the locals were demonstrations of what the new Executive would

be. The Executive was in the position of a defeated Ministry administering departments until the appointment of successors.

The "All Russian Congress of Soviets" was due for September, but the Executive did not call it. On the contrary, in conjunction with Kerenski, the Executive called together at Petrograd a "Great Democratic Conference," to be "representative of all sections of the Russian nation."

Such action was a direct attack upon the class foundations of the Soviet structure. So long as the "Moderates" held control they upheld it. When they lost control they organised to dynamite it.

Thus Kerenski and those associated with him pitted themselves against the accepted policy of the majority of the Soviets. Whoever lost, disappeared.

THE MOVING FINGER OF FATE.

A series of events, outside his own volition, worked for the doom of Kerenski, and they all ripened during the brief eight weeks of the Third Provisional. The allegations of Kerenski's "implicity" in the Korniloff conspiracy created doubts and distrusts, but the rest was beyond his control.

The Trial of ex-War Minister General Sukhomlinoff for treason and corruption opened on August 28th. It brought once more into the limelight the reply of the Tsarist Premier Sturmer to the charge of pro-Germanism. It was a declaration that the London Treaty, by which the Entente Powers renounced their rights to a separate peace, contained a clause freeing the Tsar from its operations in the event of a revolution, permitting the Tsar in such circumstances to negotiate a peace to smash the revolution in the rear. If that was so, it was evident the Allies would permit the Tsar to retire from the fight to kill a revolution, but would not permit the Revolution to retire from the fight to deal with the troubles that Tsardom had bequeathed.

The Fall of Riga (September 3rd) came in the midst of all the treasons exposed by the trial. At their Moscow Conference Rodzianko had said: "Better the Germans than the Bolsheviks," and Korniloff had said: "Must we lose Riga to teach a lesson?" and Riga had fallen. Officers called the men cowards, and men called the officers traitors. In the Soviet it was said:—

"After the withdrawal of the 186th Division across the Dvina the army received general orders to retreat. Not to any particular point, but simply to retreat. Then the General Staff disappeared. The army was left without orders. We were sold again."

Another said:—

"We had no anti-aircraft guns, no aeroplanes. The Twelfth Army was blind."

And here is an item from a war correspondent:—

"We could hear the far off thud-booming of the German cannon hammering on the thin, ill-clad, underfed Russian lines, torn by doubts, fears, distrust, dying and rotting out there in the rain because they were told that the Revolution would be saved thereby."

The Russian people linked up the allegations of treachery at Riga and the revelations at the Sukhomlinoff trial. What a futile and criminal thing, then, was the July "Offensive." It could at the best only have gone on a few more days to come to the same miserable end—no supplies. That was one more nail into the coffin of Kerenski.

The prohibited Conference of International Socialists at Stockholm provided another shock to Kerenski's prestige. A powerful faction in Russia upon whom Kerenski relied for support desired the Conference. Kerenski said: "We (the Government) cordially sympathise with the object of the Conference, and in our conversations with Allied Ambassadors we have always emphasised our views that no obstacles should be placed in the way of granting of passports to delegates."

But the Allied Governments would not help Kerenski. They permitted a gathering of International

Financiers in Switzerland, but they would not permit a gathering of International Socialists in Sweden. Lloyd George went further. . He intimated that he knew Kerenski did not sympathise. This was a deadly treacherous blow at Kerenski. The Soviets thought he was playing a double game, and asked for an explanation. Kerenski said (August 16th): "I have insisted again and again that any opposition to the Conference by the Allied Governments is simply playing into German hands."

The Conference was to be held in September. The Allied Governments refused passports. The "Avanti" (Milan), in its issue of September 5th, said:—

Mr. Lloyd George has made matters very awkward for Kerenski. The Russian Government's worst enemy could not have struck it a harder blow or put it in a more invidious situation."

In spite of all this, Colonel Thompson, a wealthy American banker, interviewed on his return to the States, expressed the opinion that Kerenski could have pulled through had not "the Kadets, Miliukoff's party, lied about him, done everything to destroy his influence, deserted and betrayed him."

The Menshevik journal, "Rabochaya," became hopeless of compromise. In its issue of 20th September it said:—

"The people were made to believe that it was necessary for the Democracy to work, with the capitalist classes. In actual practice the wealthy upper classes, under the flag of the Coalition, tried to arrest progress, and conspired to destroy everything for which the revolution stood."

The attitude of the Soviets to the war was described in the Manchester Guardian's "History of the War" in the following words:—

"The majority (of the Soviet Deputies) all through the summer had been fighting against heavy odds to keep the army in being and to keep Russia by the side of the Allies until she could attain her object of winding up the war." (Vol. 8, page 102).

Now all was gone. Reactionary treachery and Allied support to all the enemies of the Soviets had done its work. Revolutionary Russia was face to face with the fact that it could expect no mercy, no considerations,

not even when it appeared in the conciliatory efforts of Kerenski or the moderative and placatory attitude of the majority of Soviet Deputies.

Thus it came that the Russian masses swept away the old placatory members of the Soviets and gave control of Soviet machinery to the Bolsheviks. That was the answer of the Russian mass to the Korniloffs, the Kadets, the reactionaries and compromisers of every race and brand—that the answer to the World's Imperialism.

And under these circumstances events moved to the opening scenes of the "Great Democratic Conference" that was, in words, to unite all classes in brotherly love, and harmonise all interests.

FOURTH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

September 28th to November 7th).

The "Great Democratic Conference" opened in Petrograd on the 27th September. As in the "Great National Conference" in Moscow, where the Counter-Revolution developed, so here Kerenski opened the proceedings. Here he defended himself against complicity in the Korniloff conspiracy, and here he said, "Whosoever raises a knife to stab the Russian army in the back shall learn the whole weight of the authority of the Revolutionary Government." He was soon to learn where stood the Russian army, and which authority it regarded as truly revolutionary.

The Conference was a gathering of all the clans of reaction. Every kind of association, however anti-democratic, had representation, and even John Buchan, in his "Nelson's History," referred to it as "a so-called Democratic Conference."

The result of this Conference was that Kerenski started on his way with the Fourth Provisional Government of Russia. It was composed of Kadet conspirators and Moscow business men. Behind it as a

supporting column was a "Provisional Council" of 250 men, of whom one-half were selected by the Conference, and one-half by the Kadet Committees and Allied factors.

Thus Kerenski allied himself with the Kadet capitalists, the supporters of the Korniloff rebellion, the avowed enemies of the Soviets, and this was his answer to the Bolshevik triumph at the Soviet elections. He declared that the "Provisional Government" was the real expression of the people's will. He was soon to see.

The Soviets or the Provisional Government had to go—both sides recognised it.

Nicholas Lenin said:—

"Kerenski now stands in the path of the Revolution. He defies it. It must sweep him away or he will destroy it—that's the issue."

Kerenski regarded the "Provisional Government" as the true custodian of the Revolution, and he regarded the Bolsheviks as greater enemies of Russia than the Kadets. Thus he made his choice.

The Bolsheviks held mass meetings in all the great cities. The Moscow municipal elections came on and the Bolsheviks swept the polls. The Petrograd Soviet took the initiative in calling together the "All Russian Congress." The old executive appealed to branch Soviets to return anti-Bolsheviks—they returned Bolsheviks. The congress met. The new executive was triumphantly Bolshevik, and the Soviet organisation was Bolshevik top and bottom and throughout the land.

On October 20th, the Kadet-rigged "Provisional Council" that was to support Kerenski commenced its session. Into it strode Leon Trotsky with a number of supporters. He denounced the Government as a Government of Public Treason, and the Council as "a Council of Counter Revolutionary Complicity." He told its members to run away home and save their

skins, and then he and his Bolshevik following walked out.

And this "Provisional Council," this assembly of all the talents, this gathering of the wealth, industry, finance and brains of Russia did not move. It did nothing. It was afraid to act. It professed to be there in the name of the nation. It professed to represent the nation. Yet it feared to move lest the nation should rise and slay it. It meandered along in meaningless speeches that incurred no risk. Finally it slunk away into the darkness. The world knew it no more. Kerenski was left to his fate.

Such were the animals upon whom Kerenski relied for support; such the things for which he cut his relations with the Soviets. The Soviets would have fought with him, conquered with him, or perished with him. Kagmag Kadets took no risks—they deserted him before a shot was fired.

On the 23rd October, John Reed wrote to the New York "Liberator:"—

"At the time of this writing, October 23rd, Kerenski is alone, as perhaps never leader has been alone in all history. In the midst of the class-struggle, which deepens and grows bitterer day by day, his place becomes more and more precarious. Things are moving swiftly to a crisis, to the 'lutte finale' between bourgeoisie and proletariat—which Kerenski tried with all his strength to avoid—and the 'Moderates' disappear from the stormy scene. Kerenski alone remains, stubborn and solitary holding his way."

By October 29th Kerenski had ready for a march on Moscow and Petrograd, if need be, all the forces upon which he thought he could rely, and on that date he answered that he had sufficient troops at his disposal to suppress any attempted rising.

As late as the 5th November, Kerenski had absolute faith that the army would stand for him and those behind him. On that date he stated with every confidence that "the trouble, if there was any, could at any time be got under control."

On the 6th the Bolshevik Soviets struck and Kerenski's Kadet supporters crumbled to pieces. Within 24

hours Kerenski was in flight, and the "Provisional Government" had ceased to exist. Once more the armies and the masses demonstrated that they would not stand for any power that sought to destroy the Soviets. Thus the "Socialist Republic of Federated Soviets" came into existence.

THE FALL OF KERENSKI.

A revolution is a speculation. It may bring a crown of glory or a crucifixion. It may be a real eruption or only a fizzle. It may sweep over everything, or die at the first barrage. It may cover the earth, or may perish a laughing-stock to all the world. A revolution may sweep far beyond the anticipation of the promoters, may leave them plodding in the rear, or it may recede and leave them isolated and alone, poor objects of the world's ridicule. A revolution is a human lava stream, a state of flux. It takes time to harden into definite strata, needs sharp perception to know what heaven is working in the minds of the mass to be controlled. It is easy to criticise, to be wise after events, to see where a man took the wrong turning, and why he "missed the 'bus."

Kerenski had faced three factions, the Kadets, the Indefinites, and the Bolsheviki. The first was a barrier, the second shifting sand, the third a battering ram. The policy of the first was "postpone," the second a graveyard walk, and the third quick delivery and no bills on posterity. The Kadets could not rule without the Soviets, the Soviets had not the confidence to rule, the Bolsheviki had all the confidence but not the power. Through such conflicting elements, enemies all around, mutiny in the forecastle, treachery in the cabin, Kerenski tried to steer the ship of state into calmer waters. He tried the placatory act, to please all. He offended all, and failed.

John Reed said Kerenski was honest and Kerenski was great. His was the flaming sword. His was the

impassioned and inspiring oratory that lifted and inspired men, but there left them, because he had no fixity of purpose. But there were only two factions in Russia in the beginning that had any fixity—the Kadets and the Bolsheviks. It was not possible to govern exclusively with either of them. Kerenski thought the Kadets might be impregnated with some of the progress of the moderate Socialists. He was mistaken. He thought Bolshevism could be suppressed. He was mistaken. He found himself confronting a revolution the like of which the world had never seen.

One morning early in November, Kerenski said to John Reed (New York "Liberator") :—

"This is not a political revolution. It is not like the French Revolution. It is an economic revolution. And it is also a complicated process for the many different nationalities of Russia. The French Revolution took five years, and that country was inhabited by one people, and France is only the size of three of our provincial districts. The Russian Revolution is not over—it is just beginning."

It came too late for Kerenski. He was already compromised. He was pledged to a policy much less than the new demand. He was defeated. He disappeared.

And no sooner was Kerenski of no further use to the Allies than their journals covered his memory with the filth with which they had previously covered that of the Tsar and Tsarina. Their historians of the war embalmed him as a morphia fiend, a drunkard, a satyr, a man who turned the Winter Palace into a brothel and his life into a constant debauch. There was no slander too odious for circulation. When he went to England in June, 1918, the capitalist press met him with insults and bitter gibes, and the British Government had neither recognition nor honor for the man who to his own detriment had done his utmost for the Allied cause. When in June, 1918, he walked on to the platform at the Labor Conference in the Central Hall, Westminster, a snuffling Parliamentary whistler whispered to the writer: "Ah, a bad man, no character, no morals."

CHAPTER III.

BIRTH PANGS OF THE SOVIET.**“THE FANATIC.”**

NICHOLAS LENINE, chief of the Bolshevik Revolutionary Government of Russia, was described in the Allied press as a German agent, a taker of German money, a traveller in royal state through Germany, bound by his compact to deliver Russia to the enemy.

If that was so, the Kaiser got small change from his bargain. Had not the Allied world been told that Russia had been sold and her armies destroyed by the treachery of the Tsar, the Tsarina, Rasputin, Sturmer, Protopopoff, and scores of others? **What was there left in Russia for Lenin to sell?**

Both Lenin and Leon Trotsky were old-time revolutionaries, and had paid the penalty. Trotsky had been exiled to Siberia in 1902, escaped, took part in the Revolution of 1905, was captured, sent again to Siberia for life, and again escaped.

Nicholas Lenin, from 1895 to 1898, was a prisoner in Siberian gaols. In 1902 he originated the Soviet system in his “What To Do.” It was the machinery of the 1905 revolution. His brother was shot—he escaped.

In 1905 he wrote his “Two Tactics.” In that he said: “Decisive revolutionary victory over Tsarism and Capitalism rests upon a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers.” The parasitical elements, the existers upon unearned incomes, the idle rich, must be excluded from the franchise as the workers had been excluded, and should be kept excluded until they commenced to function as useful citizens, contributing to the work of society.

An effective economic revolution must have its own machinery and be ready to operate with it. The machinery of Capitalism must go with the overthrown system. Power must not be centralised. Power must

spring from the ground and rest upon local institutions federating into districts, provinces and states. Thus there will result variation, emulation, adaption of local organizations of local needs and local characteristics.

If anybody wants a condemnation of the Government machinery as it exists in most countries, he will find it in the "Round Table" for September, 1918. It says:—

"Institutions purporting to be free must be judged by something more than their fruits and flowers."

"The nation (England) from which the seeds of freedom have spread to all the world is itself a pot-bound tree, which must either burst the vessel in which it has grown or wither at the roots. Our needs have grown and changed. But our system has failed to give us a corresponding growth and change in our system of administration."

The Soviet machinery was new plant, and time had to decide its value. A district did not remain nebulous until some remote authority by Act of Parliament gave it corporate existence. It became an entity by its own volition, and functioned on its own behalf. It levied its means of existence by such methods as its inhabitants thought best attached itself to similar bodies, and developed the federated power. Thus, without waiting helplessly until the central machinery moved, Soviets sprang everywhere into existence and acted for the populations of the territory vacated by retreating enemy armies.

Lenin, soon after the war started, in conjunction with George Zinovyeff, issued a manifesto under the heading, "War and the Fundamental Principles of Democracy." In that appeared the following:....

"We have ever criticised war as a barbaric and beastly incident. But our attitude towards the war is fundamentally different from that of the Pacifists. We can appreciate and see the necessity for wars waged in the interests of the progress of mankind; we can distinguish between wars of oppressors and oppressed, masters and slaves, lords and serfs, capitalists and wage-workers, and wars not waged in the interests of progress."

The war was alleged to be to guarantee the self-government of small nationalities. Well, every one of the belligerents before the war denied that right to

communities within their own dominions, and at the end of the war the right of small nations to govern themselves was to be decided, not by the votes of the inhabitants, but by European capitalists, and their political agents at a so-called "Peace" Conference.

It was therefore not the business of the Socialists to shout for either side. The business of Socialists was to make use of the opportunity to end the capitalist system. Towards that end they must persistently preach that the war was but a war of rival robbers, a war to fasten on the workers an enormous debt, a war to keep the workers apart by the racial hatreds which wars renewed and intensified. The principles, therefore, of Lenin, Zinovyeff, Trotski, and others were well known long before the Revolution.

The First Provisional Government in Russia promised the Soviets to provide facilities for the return of exiled Russians. Lenin was in Switzerland. He was refused a passport through Allied territory. The Provisional Government of Russia, therefore, did what France and Germany and England and Germany did—arranged for an exchange of citizens. Russia agreed to deliver up a number of Germans interned in Russia on condition that a similar number of Russians in Switzerland could pass through Germany to Russia. It was agreed. Lenin was one of many. He travelled in a train loaded with Russians of all classes, creeds and shades of opinion. The British press knew the facts, but the British public were not told. It was necessary in the interests of "national unity" to represent him as a German tool.

Lenin arrived in Russia in April, 1917. In the Soviet he said to the majority:—

"You are obsessed with the idea of graduality. That is why at this hour in spite of all you profess, you are found phillandering with those who have ever been the enemies of democracy and would destroy you tomorrow if they thought they could safely do it. They wish to dilute the class struggle, water it down, untill it means nothing, and gets nothing but hope deferred. That is why the compromisers, Mensheviks and reactionaries, so far as we are concerned, are all in the one boat."

This was the man who in November, 1917, became the predominant figure in the Socialist Revolutionary Government of Russia.

THE CORRUPTERS.

The Soviet Republic was born amidst a storm of curses, not only from capitalist newspapers, but from all the decoy duck Labor leaders who served the purposes of their respective masters. "Rather the Kaiser than the Bolsheviki." That was the roar of English Labor leader Seddon and of all the bogus patriots.

Yes, War is a Glory; but Revolution is a Villainy. At once the phraseology of Capitalism performs a transformation. The pictured brutalities of the foreign foe are now applied to the revolutionaries. The soldier heroes of yesterday become the bloody monsters of today. Now must the paid stunts masquerading in the mantle of Democracy chant their re-arranged litany. "Revolution" and "Pro-Enemy" must be made to ring in the oratoriums as synonymous terms.

Thus the cries went up, "Ah, the cruel murdering wretches." "Ah, the hired tools of the enemy." Only the men who passed the pay cheques and those who got them could be staged as the true redeemers.

Thus from the very first hour of the November Revolution—before the Soviet Government had a chance to prove whether it was good or bad—all Allied Governments applied their "interventions." Intervention is a deed done as well as a declaration, and nothing was done after the formal declaration of intervention that was not done before. Blockade, boycott, isolation, fostered conspiracy, hostile blows and uppercuts designated "friendly"—such were the gifts presented to the infant Republic by the Allied Powers.

All exports into Russia were suspended by the Allied Governments. The United States notified that:—

"No further goods would be dispatched to Russia until the establishment of a strong power recognised by the U. S. A."

On November 27th the Soviet journal, "Isvestia," said:—

"The North American plutocracy is prepared to send us machinery only in exchange for the bodies of Russian soldiers."

If Soviet Russia would not take guns, she should not have ploughs. Russia had 134 million dollars of credit in American hands. It was at once stopped. Other Allied Governments acted in a similar manner.

The Soviet Government had no more power to make an "offensive" than the Tsar or Kerenski. The most it could do to defend its territories was by a process of guerilla warfare, and the Allied boycott intensified its military and economic disabilities. It therefore commenced to talk peace with the Central Powers.

On December 18th, the New York "Tribune" said:—

"It is a mistake to assail a Government whose policy is probably shared by the will of the Russian masses. We may regard them as wrong, but under our theory of Democracy they are entitled to shape their own policy."

On December 22nd the delegates of the Germanic Powers and Soviet Russia commenced to discuss peace terms.

* * * * *

A few days later in came a delegation from Southern Russia asking for representation on behalf of "Ukrania."

Ukrania was once, for a brief period, a distinct State. Its boundaries fluctuated with the fortunes of war. Its capital was once Kiev, then Halisch, in Galicia. It was once a part of Poland, then a portion became Austrian, and the rest linked up with Russia. Russia was as bad as Poland. A succession of Tsars suppressed the Ukrainian language, and suppression kept alive the flame it sought to extinguish. Thus there existed in Southern Russia a little band of students, an intelligentsia, keeping alive the traditions of, not so much a distinct nation, as a Slavic tribe. The inhabitants of Southern Russia wherein is "Ukraine" number twenty

millions, but how many of them are of Ukranian extraction none can say. Race mixture, absorption and assimilation defy exactitude.

When in March, 1917, the flood swept away the Tsar, the agents of the two Governments of France and England jumped in, fed with unlimited funds the Ukranian sentiment, and organised a "Separation" party, the object being to create a distinct State which should be a nesting-place for all the flying reactionaries, corrupted generals, and corrupted statesmen of the Tsarist regime. Within the shelter of this southern State they could concentrate, reorganise and conspire for the destruction of the new Government of Russia Proper.

Thus in the summer of 1917, Kerenski, while organising the new "offensive," found himself confronted with troubles in the south, organized, as he knew **afterwards**, by the very Allies whom he was sacrificing his reputation to serve. Only the influence of Tereshchenko, himself an Ukranian, saved the situation. It was agreed that Southern Russia should have all the advantages of "Home Rule," but should remain an integral part of Russia.

A "Provisional Government" was established, known as the **Rada**.

When the November Revolution came, Soviets sprang up all over Southern Russia, and at the time of the Brest negotiations the "Rada" had no authority except in Kiev and its vicinity.

But under the influence of Allied money this Rada on November 20th declared Ukrania a separate and distinct State, and the Allies at once gave it "recognition."

"The Allies recognized the independence of the Ukraine, in the idle expectation that any Government which was opposed to the Bolsheviks must be a friend of the Allies. Allied officers assisted the forces of the Ukraine Government in this struggle with the Bolsheviks of the Ukraine, and very large sums of money were spent upon the Rada Government. It is estimated that every Ukraine soldier of the Rada, and they were mostly boys of no military value, cost the Allies ten

thousand pounds. The net result of these activities in the Ukraine was to clear the road for the Treaty of Brest." ("Manchester Guardian" "History of the War," vol. 8, page 370).

This Rada claimed representation at the Peace Conference. Trotski objected. The Allies denounced him. The Germans over-ruled him. There were thus in the Conference two Russias, the North and the South—the Socialist and the Capitalist.

The attitude of the Anglo-French press was reflected in views expressed by the "Echo de Paris" of January 13th, 1918. It said:—

"In view of the treachery, the folly and the inveterate Germanism of the Bolsheviks, the Ukraine means to intervene. That is to say, all the clever moves by which Kuhlmann intends to inveigle Trotski and Co. into a German peace will now be disputed and scrutinized by witnesses who are men of good faith, conscience and loyalty."

These men of "good faith," whom the Allies had bribed with money, supplied with arms, and promised to recognize as a distinct Government if they broke away from Russia, were in a few days to betray the Allies and sell out to Germany.

In a few days Germany had them bought, bribed and bagged. Peace with Southern Russia meant peace along the southern frontier, relief of Austria, an opening to Ukrainian wheat areas. At once Germany hardened her terms to the Soviet Republic. Those terms were promptly rejected, and negotiations, so far as Soviet Russia was concerned, came to an abrupt adjournment.*

THE TRAITORS.

On January 8th President Wilson promised "to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty," and he went on to say:—

"There is a voice more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. . . . Their soul is not subservient; they will not yield either in principle or in action. Their concep-

*"Germany's terms were stiffening as she felt surer of her ground. She saw a certainty of peace with Ukraina. Let that be gained and she could deal with the Bolsheviks at her leisure." (Nelson's "History of the War," vol. 21, page 193. Edited by John Buchan.)

tion of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind."

The Soviet Republic tried on Austria and Germany the policy of internal combustion. It presented its case to the organized workers of Austria and Germany, and in England a howl of derision and scorn went up. The idea of appealing to the workers of Germany, those abject slaves of Kaiserism! Only the men of England knew true freedom, only those tolerated no overlords of the means of life, only those knew no slavery, slums or sweating—oh,, Paradise!

But peace demonstrations, protests against the harsh demands of the Germanic powers, and symuathetic strikes with Russia, took place in both Austria and Germany. The facts were carefully suppressed in Allied territories, and the Labor instruments of Allied Governments were kept busy howling on platforms about Bolshevik treachery and "German gold."

In both Austria and Germany the strikes and demonstrations were spontaneous outbursts, and in Austria the Labor-leading tools of the Government rushed in to render them null and void. An orgy of promises followed—better food, better wages, political reforms, everything. They were urged to return to work. Everyone who urged the contrary was assailed as a pro-enemy, bought with "English gold." They were "stabbing the soldiers in the back," "deserting the boys in the trenches," "opening the frontiers to the foe"—all the magpie cries uttered in Entente countries could be heard in Austria.

In Germany, as in Austria, great peace strikes took place, to be greeted with the same old cries—"English intrigues and English gold." Trade union leaders patriotically severed their connection with rebellious unions and took up Government jobs, or went back when members became penitent. The officials of the German Trade Union Federation issued a manifesto

against the men, and Labor Parliamentarians rushed around to direct the strikes into a dead end. The munition workers come out, and von Kessel on February 1st, declared the factories under military control, and ordered the workers to return to work or be treated as deserters. Assailed as radical traitors, as enemies of the country and "tools of English intrigue," threatened with military extermination, denounced by their old-time "Labor leaders," the strikers collapsed beneath the load.*

Thus the hope of Trotski that popular protests in Austria and Germany would secure favorable terms for Russia was destroyed, not by indifference of the Austro-German working classes, nor by the power of the military, but by the disintegrating action of the majority of working-class leaders, who, in Austria and in Germany, as in England, were in the patriotic bag.

* * * *

In the meantime, the Soviets had swept over Ukrania, and Trotski challenged the power of the Rada delegates to make peace, as their Government had passed away. The Rada delegates assailed Trotski with delaying peace and charged him with **seeking to embark on a new war.**

"The Ukraine Rada were betraying both Russia and the Allies, for they were ready to surrender the principles for which the Bolsheviks were still contending. They were the people whom, because they were openly anti-Bolshevik, the Western Allies supported with loans and military missions, and who rewarded the support by hastening to enter into transactions with the enemy." ("Manchester Guardian" History, vol. 8, page 154.)

On the 9th February the Rada delegates signed a peace treaty with Germany on behalf of Ukrania. Thus the first Government to make peace with Germany

*"The German Majority Socialist leaders deliberately subdued such revolutionary activity which, in spite of all, actually existed among the German masses, as the general strike in February clearly shows." (Santeri Nuorteva, in "The Class Struggle.") (Senator Nuorteva was one of those who escaped from the combined capitalist onslaught on Finland in the early part of 1918.)

was not the Bolsheviki Government of Russia, but a Government created by the Allies, and sustained by Allied gold. Hired by the Allies to betray Soviet Russia, they sold the bribers and corrupters. In reply to a statement of Trotski's that the treaty was being signed on behalf of a non-existent Government, the German delegates replied that the Rada would be restored and maintained if need be, by the power of German arms, and it was so.

Thus, during the months of February, March and April, 1918, the Soviets of Ukrania were kept under, and the despicable Rada maintained by the two warring Imperialisms—British gold and German bayonets. It was not until June that Mr. Balfour admitted in the House of Commons that the gold subsidy to Ukrania had come to an end.

The Socialist Republic of Russia refused to make peace with the Germans.

Yet all the Allied curses were concentrated on the Republic—not one word of condemnation for the Rada that had made peace!

And from that date to the end of the war the tame Socialists and roped-in Labor leaders, in all their denunciations of the "treacherous Bolsheviks," uttered no condemnation, made no reference to the German-British Rada that had made peace with the enemy. That was not in the order book.

On the 10th of February, 1918 (the day after the Rada made peace), the Soviet Government of Russia issued a declaration, in which it said:—

"The peace negotiations are at an end. German capitalists, supported by the silent co-operation of English and French bourgeoisie, submitted conditions such as could not be subscribed to by the Russian Revolution. We are not signing the peace of landlords and capitalists. The German and Austrian soldiers know who are putting them in the field."

The Germans at once put their armies in motion, and overran the Baltic provinces. The Germans trampled populations beneath their feet, and gave no cessa-

tion until the Soviet Republic had agreed to sign a deed of ignominious submission.

But before doing so the Soviet Government made one more effort to come to terms with the Allied Governments. It asked for the removal of the economic blockade. It asked for rails, rolling stock and agricultural implements as aids to essential economic reconstruction. In return it would refuse to make peace with the Germans and would fight them from place to place by such guerilla methods as the military means at their disposal would permit.*

This offer was given in writing to Colonel Raymond Robins, of the American Red Cross Mission. The Colonel gave a certified copy to Dr. Harold Williams, of the London "Chronicle," and to Bruce Lockhart, the British Commissioner, for transmission to his Government. Colonel Robins also cabled the contents of the document to President Wilson, but no replies were received. Later, when Colonel Robins returned to America, he discovered that his cable had "gone astray." He asked to see the President—he was forbidden. He was instructed to remain silent. Not until August, not until after Wilson had agreed to intervene in Russia, did Wilson become acquainted with Lenin's offer, and not until 1919, before the Senate Investigation Committee, was Colonel Robins permitted to make a public statement of his knowledge.*

In short, the Allied Capitalist Powers preferred the triumph of German Imperialism to the recognition and sympathetic alliance with a Revolutionary Working-class Government in Russia.

So on March 3rd, the Soviet Government, jammed between the German military pressure and the Allied economic blockade, accepted the German treaty. Its

*"The Bolsheviks had no disciplined military force behind them. The railways were in chaos, the rich coal and iron basin of the Donetz was in unfriendly hands, and the treasury was empty." (Nelson's "History of the War," vol. 21, page 169.)

delegates refused to read it. It was useless—they signed it. On March 14th, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets ratified the deed.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

When the Russians made peace with the Germans, the Bolshevik Government had already been longer in existence than any of the four "Provisional" Governments that filled the gap between Tsardom and the Social Revolution.

Colonel W. B. Thompson, of the American army, told the New York "World" that he saw more good order under the Soviets than at any time from the fall of Tsardom.

Professor Edward Ross, who went to Russia on behalf of the United States Institute of Social Service, said on his return that:—

"The Bolshevik movement is a sincere movement springing from the heart of Russia itself. It is based on sound doctrines and has a chance of success."

That is if the Imperialistic Powers would permit it.

Dr. John Mott, of the United States Diplomatic Mission to Russia, said:—

"The second ground of my confidence is the number and strength of the leaders in Russia! I found more leaders of outstanding ability in Russia than in any of the other nations now at war." (Boston "Monitor," March 6th.)

The "Round Table" (England) said:—

"Bolsheviks. Their aim was clear, their purpose definite. They knew from the beginning what they wanted, the other Socialists were in a state of mental confusion." (September, 1918.)

Viscount Uchida, Japanese Ambassador in Russia said:—

"I went to R. H. Bruce Lockhart, the British Commissioner, who sent a cable advising what I did. I then saw Harold Williams, who had been with the 7 per cent and against the Bolsheviks at all points. He sent a cable to his paper in London and the British Foreign Office. I also saw Ambassador Francis. All sent similar messages. Lenin changed the date of the Congress, giving more time for answer, but none came, and the treaty was ratified."—Colonel Raymond Robins before the U.S. Senate Committee.

"It had to be admitted that the Bolshevik Government was gradually gaining strength, and that in the absence of any powerful force to supersede it would continue to retain power. Even granting that Germany succeeded in exterminating the Bolsheviks, their principles would survive and go on affecting the whole world. The effect would probably be first felt in Austria, which would collapse in consequence. Germany would next be affected, and would also go to pieces by degrees." ('Japanese Chronicle,' March 28th, 1918.)

On April 4th, 1918, Admiral Kato steamed into Vladivostok. His arrival synchronised with that of the first contingents of Czecho-Slovaks. He was reported thus:—

"Admiral Kato deplotes the circulation of baseless rumors concerning the state of things prevailing in Russia and Siberia. He confessed that when he went he was under the impression that the Bolsheviks were a band of lawless and irresponsible persons, and that he had been completely undeceived." ('Japanese Chronicle,' May 30th.)

In its March issue, "Russia," the journal of the Anglo-Russian traders, admitted that "The internal situation in Russia is undoubtedly improving," while Professor Lomonsoff, of the Railway Mission, told the New York "Times" (June 11th): "Russia is far better off than she ever was before."

Similar opinions were expressed by other Allied publicists.

Early in 1918 a number of Allied newspapers said it was becoming evident that if the Bolshevik Government was permitted to get firmly rooted it would never be shifted. The cry went up, "Now or Never." "Is this to be another Too Late?" "If Russia can get a harvest to live on, the Bolsheviks will defy the civilized world." In May it was reported that there was more land under cultivation than at any period in the history of Russia. In June it was stated that owing to the enormous area under cultivation even without fertilizers, the crop had every prospect of being the largest Russia had ever seen. The Anglo-Russian trade journal, "Russia," announced, "every promise of bountiful harvest." In July Kerenski told the assembled reporters in Paris that "unless Bolshevism was killed quickly it would never be killed."

There is no need to defend the Soviet Government. Its enemies provide its best defence. Russia, without outside assistance, destroyed the power of the Tsar, Rasputin, Sturmer, the Black Hundred, Miliukoff, Korniloff, Kerenski. Why was there no power in Russia to destroy the Soviet? Why could not Russia rally behind Brussiloff, Kaledin, Korniloff, Krasnoff, and Alexieff, all the great military Generals, and smash the Soviets? Is not the answer plain? Is it not that the Soviet system was rooted in the hearts and brains of the Russian masses? **What other weapon had it that its enemies did not possess?**

There is no need to explain Soviet work in order to justify it. No need to explain its operations in mines, mills, fields, factories, workshops, finance, education, and administration. The evidence from anti-Bolshevik sources of the general state of Russia after a few months of Soviet rule, its order, its rapid economic recovery, its widened area of cultivation and splendid prospects constitute its justification, its proof that **it was at least as good as any Government that preceded it.**

Why were the Allied Governments, that had never moved a finger, spent a penny, or shed a drop of blood to destroy the monstrosities of Tsardom, so anxious to destroy the Soviets?

The Allied capitalists were determined that the Soviets should not live. From the first hour that the Soviets drew breath the Allied Capitalist Governments conspired against them and organized to destroy them. The Soviets were Socialist. They menaced Capitalism and the capitalist system. They must die, and they had to die, even if the Allied Capitalist Governments

in the process had to lay waste Russian fields, destroy harvests, hire assassins, bomb bridges, leave foodless the Russian masses, and condemn them, by organized starvation, to horrible lingering deaths.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF 1918.

THE NORTHLAND BUTCHERY

FINLAND was for centuries a vassal to the Swedes, and the lands of the conquered were given to the powerful and faithful of the conquering baronage.

In 1809 the Russians seized Finland, and by possession of the Gulf, made safe the channels of St. Petersburg. Apart from this purpose Russian Governments left the economic and political dominance of Finland to the Swedish barons, or came in only to buttress their oppressions.

The Swedish overlords had nothing but contempt for the conquered race. Its language was ostracised, its literature suppressed. Official positions were the perquisites of the Swedo-Finnish upper-class. The holders were unimpeachable. The language, even of the courts of law, was Swedish, and into those courts the Finnish people had to take their interpreters or learn the language of the master-class.

The Government was Parliamentary. Parliament consisted of four Houses—it was a delusive democracy.

1st—The House of Nobility, in which sat the Swedo-Finnish feudality — hereditary, self-appointed, non-elective.

2nd—The House of Clergy—elected by the clergy.

3rd—The House of Burghers—elected by property-holders within the cities.

4th—The House of Peasants—elected by property-holders outside the cities.

The nobility and clergy were, as usual, the two arms of tyranny. They exercised the veto against even the few upon whom the pretence of government had been conferred. The laboring, wage-earning mass had no vote.

In 1906 the Finnish workers revolted. The Four-house Parliament was swept out of existence, and the first reformed Parliament of Finland contained 80 Socialists out of a total membership of 200.

At the 1916 elections the Socialists won a majority of seats (103 to 97), and from their membership formed the first Socialist Government of Finland.

In July, 1917, the Finnish Parliament carried an "Independence Bill." The Russian Government (the Second Provisional) vetoed the Bill and dissolved the Parliament.

No sooner did the November Revolution take place in Russia than the reactionaries in Finland jumped to arms, overthrew the Finnish Government elected by the votes of the people, set up an arbitrary Government, in which there was not one Socialist, and this Government undertook to suppress Soviet principles in Finland. But, in a few weeks, the Finnish militia and Labor organizations consolidated their forces, rose up, smashed the reactionaries, and restored to power the men elected in 1916.

Parliament re-assembled. It declared for a Finnish

Republic as part of the Federated Republics of Russia. Karl Manner, the Speaker of the 1916 Parliament, was made first President, and Oskar Tokoi first Prime Minister.

This Government the Allied Governments would not recognise, but they did recognise and subsidise every conspiracy for its overthrow.

The Baltic Sea being controlled by Germany, and the Arctic ports icebound, the Allies could not send troops. The Swedish Government would have put in troops, but the Swedish Labor organisations threatened a general strike. The reactionary factions of Finland appealed to Germany.

In March, 1918, German warships and transports appeared off Helsingfors, and German troops were landed.

In April, the Republic was overthrown and a capitalist dictatorship set up under the protection of German bayonets.

Thus once more was it demonstrated that the capitalist and landed classes, the master-class in every form, prefer the occupation of their country by a foreign foe to the government of their country by a working-class that in any way threatens their predatory powers.

In this same month (April, 1918), Mr. Haines, the United States Consul in Finland, made a report to the American Government. He reported that the land-owners and money classes of Finland had asked the Swedish Government for assistance, but that the Swedish Labor organizations threatened a general strike if Swedish troops were sent to Finland. He stated that the help of the Allied Powers had been sought, but for various reasons was not available, and then he added:—

“Therefore there was no alternative but to fall back upon Germany.”

No sooner was the German-sustained capitalist Government established in Finland than the British Government intimated its readiness to recognise it and to enter into diplomatic relations with it.

On June 1st and 2nd, 1918, the newspapers of Great Britain expressed indignation that the overtures of the British Government had been treated in a most cavalier manner, amounting, so they averred, to a deliberate snub.

The united action of the reactionary White Guards and of the German army of occupation in Finland was secured by a unified command similar to that of the West front. The supreme command was held by the German General, Von der Goltz, and command of the Finnish reactionary regiments by the Swedo-Finn, General Mannerheim. This Mannerheim was in the same military relationship to Von der Goltz as General Haig to the Generalissimo Foch.

Mannerheim used the German-trained Jaegers and men of the land-owning class, with such of their servitors as they could certify as safe. These made a force of about 50,000, and these, supported by the Germans under Von der Goltz, put the rebellious population to the sword. David Soskice told the "Manchester Guardian" that there was "terrible slaughter,"* and the London "Times," referring to the splendid work of Mannerheim, says that he broke the back of the rebellion, and that "the Germans quickly finished the job." The "Times" casually mentions that **out of about 80,000 prisoners 30,000 are dead.***** "Dead" is the sweet and luscious word for wholesale slaughter of rounded-up human sheep. Out of a population of 3,000,000 over one hundred thousand perished.

The glory of this noble task was not the exclusive property of Von der Goltz and Mannerheim.. They

*"Manchester Guardian," July 5th, 1918.

**London "Times," February 11th, 1919.

were ably supported by Allied commanders and Allied forces.

In November, 1917, the British Rear-Admiral Kemp was at Archangel. As soon as the Bolsheviki triumph was announced, he cleared to the open port of Alexandrosk, leaving the British Consul, Douglas Young, in sole charge and unprotected at Archangel.

In February, 1918, Kemp, reinforced by the arrival of a French and American cruiser, made a naval landing. He said his object was to defend Russian territory against the Germans and he has himself put it on record that Lenin instructed the Provincial Council, in all actions against the Germans, to co-operate with him.

On June 3rd, 1918, the Allied War Council at Versailles appointed Major-General Poole to take charge of Allied operations in Northern Russia. Now was the sweet summer time, when they could do things.

On July 6th, Admiral Kemp re-visited Archangel. He had been away seven months, and during that period of Bolshevik rule English men, women and children had lived unharmed. Such was the British Consul's testimony. Kemp walked into the Archangel Soviet and told its members that he came in friendship, and that the presence of Allied forces was not aimed against the Soviet Government, but to prevent the White Sea being used by the Germans.

A few days later the Allied forces landed at Kem, on the western side of the White Sea, seized members of the local Soviet and shot them. The terrorised inhabitants either fled into the interior or took to the sea in open boats and perished. Others were picked up by a passing steamer and carried to Archangel.

Now why did the British go into Kem? There were two lines of railway running north into Finland—one to Kajana, the other to Wurmies. From 150 to 200 miles to the east is the White Sea, upon which Kem is

situated. When the Finnish Red Guards (who were as much the rightful Government of Finland as the Belgians of Belgium) retired from the railway lines before the combined forces of Von der Goltz and Mannerheim, they retired towards the White Sea towns, from which they drew fresh supplies. The British caught them in the rear, and between the fires of British and German Imperialism they were slaughtered.

For months the armies of Germany and Britain occupied the territory between the White Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. They occupied as if by secret agreement specified areas, and those areas were their respective "spheres of influence." Within those areas they stamped out Soviet organizations, spread misery and death among the inhabitants, but **at no time did they march out to meet, fight, hurt or kill each other.**

Within their "spheres of influence" the occupying forces of Germany and England pursued similar methods. They seized the properties and institutions of working-class organisations, trade unions and co-operative societies and took control of municipal properties where councillors were Bolsheviks. Every Soviet supporter was regarded as a potential criminal and military courts decided the penalty. Even these methods were not quick enough. The Germans smoke-screened behind a so-called "Finnish Government," rounded up and wiped out in cold-blooded "law and order" slaughter, thousands of men, women and children. They arrested and imprisoned 80 members of the 1916 Finnish Parliament. Only one got out alive. Some were executed and others were reported "dead." The British, working on a smaller population, achieved similar results. They shot, amongst others, the Soviet Deputies Massorin, Kamenoff and Evoff. The only excuse for their killing was that these Russians, in Russia, refused to accept orders from the foreigner.

All Allied troops in this region were under the supreme command of the British General Poole. During the night of September 3rd, 1918, members of the local Government of Archangel were seized and conveyed to an island in the White Sea. The workers of Archangel went on strike as a protest. The newly-landed American troops were at once set to work smashing the strikers and the strike in the well-known capitalist fashion.

Douglas Young, an attache for many years to the British Foreign Office, and British Consul for three years in Archangel, stated:—

"I have seen in Archangel a British General acting towards the Russian population in their own country as despotically as any Tsar, and conducting himself as scandalously as any of the Russian Generals of the old regime."

This was the way of British "liberty" in the Russian Northland, and in this way did the American carry out the dictum of Wilson—"No nation shall tread with impunity the soil of another."

The forces of the Allied Tsarists occupied the coastal territory from Archangel to Alexandrosk. From their headquarters was issued a paper currency decorated with signs and symbols of Russian Tsardom, and guaranteed good by the British Government. By the end of August, 1918, in all the regions between the Finnish Gulf and the Arctic Sea the populations staggered beneath the blows of Imperial Germany or Imperial Britain, and if any dared to speak of "self-determination" or the "rights of small nations," they got the bullet, the bayonet, and the death rattle.

THE MERCENARIES.

The Czecho-Slovaks were soldiers of the Austrian Empire. From the first hour of war they began to dribble across to the Russian lines, and turn their weapons upon their old associates.

So long as the Tsar ruled in Russia these Czech-Slovak deserters wore the Russian uniform, were absorbed in the Russian armies, and for the most part

were attached to the Third Russian Army, under Radko Dmitriev. Their lot was not a happy one. If they fell into the hands of the soldiers in front or of the prisoners in the rear they died the death of the despised.

So long as the Tsar ruled, the Anglo-French Government took no notice of the Czecho-Slovaks, but as soon as the Revolution came, they saw in the Czecho-Slovaks a useful reactionary instrument. Arrangements were at once made in England to send to Russia the Slovak, T. G. Masaryk.

Masaryk arrived in Russia in May, 1917, amply supplied with funds, and he at once commenced to organise a Czecho-Slovak unit with a distinctive badge and uniform. The War Minister, Kerenski, objected. Racial uniforms accentuated racial differences and perpetuated racial hatreds. No favor could be granted to the Czecho-Slovaks that was not granted to other races. Later on, just a few days before his defeat, Kerenski, for some unknown reason, gave his consent.

In December, 1917, a few weeks after the establishment of the Soviet Republic, the French Government declared all Czecho-Slovak units in Russia to be a part of the French army, and put them on the French pay roll. Thus, with new uniforms and plenty of money, they became an object lesson on the advantage of belonging to the army of La Belle France; so from the prison camps many more were recruited.

As part of the French army, the Czecho-Slovaks had to obey French orders. The orders were to apply to the Soviet authorities for transfer to Vladivostok, 6000 miles away, and at Vladivostok the Allied Powers would have ships to take them to the Western front.

Application was made in the early days of January, and granted on the 16th February, 1918, by the Bolshevik General, Muravieff, and endorsed by the Soviet Government.

The first contingents left Russia on the 18th March,

and arrived in Vladivostok on the 4th April (cables) and on that day there arrived in Vladivostok, not a fleet of transports to take them away, but a fleet of Japanese warships under Admiral Kato.

With these first contingents was Tomas Masaryk, who immediately left for New York, where (2nd May) he spoke in the highest terms of the assistance given by the Soviet Government and its agencies.

On the 11th April the cables announced that the Japanese warships in Vladivostok would exercise no other function than that of maintaining peace between Bolsheviks and **Czecho-Slovaks**.... That was another evidence of arrival.

Japanese warships were in the harbor, and their guns dominated the harbor and city of Vladivostok.

There was therefore no power in the vicinity of Vladivostok, either on land or sea, outside of the Allied Powers, that could at any time prevent the departure of the Czecho-Slovaks.

Yet Four Months Later, on the 7th August, Lloyd George, in the House of Commons, said:—

"I wish to make it clear that we are not exploiting the Czecho-Slovaks in order to interfere with Russian internal affairs. We took ships away from important work elsewhere in order to send them to Vladivostok. Acting under German duress the Bolshevik Government refused to allow the Czecho-Slovaks to get to Vladivostok."

On the very day that Lloyd George made his lying statement, Sir Joseph Maclay, the British Shipping Controller, informed the press that since March, so great had been the demand for transports to rush American troops across the Atlantic, that ships had to be pulled off all other routes. Yet Lloyd George said he sent them round the world to Vladivostok.

On the 16th April, Charles M. Schwab, of the Steel Trust, was appointed Controller of American Shipping, and by the 23rd of April he completed arrangements with the Japanese Government for the transfer to the Atlantic of 66 steamboats aggregating 514,000 tons.

Every one of those ships left Eastern Asiatic water many of them from the port of Vladivostok itself, without taking out of Siberia a single Czecho-Slovak company. Yet Lloyd George told the world that the Bolsheviks would not let the Czecho-Slovaks get into place where they had been for months.

* * * * *

The organisation of the Czecho-Slovaks, the request for transit across Siberia, was from beginning to end an Anglo-French conspiracy to destroy the Soviets. It was developed under the mask of friendship, and when the scheme was complete, when the Czecho-Slovak forces were spread over the Siberian lines, when they dominated the food routes of the Russian peoples, then the mask was thrown off. It was then seen for what it was, an Anglo-French army of occupation stretching from Vladivostok to the Volga. It was designated Czecho-Slovak, but it was headed by Tsarist Generals, embraced Russian reactionaries of every brand and breed, Asiatic tribesmen, and was ably supported by English Labor M. P. John Ward, winning honor and renown as a smasher of the Siberian railway workers in their strikes against the conditions imposed upon them.

* * * * *

By the middle of May the Anglo-French armies of mercenaries had grown very numerous. They embraced not only Czecho-Slovaks, but every Russian mercenary and Asiatic hireling for whose hands they had a gun. The Allied Powers passed along guns and munitions, but not food, so that these mercenary hordes had no alternative but to live upon the country and its inhabitants.

On May 26th, Chitcherin, Foreign Minister of the Soviets, complained to the Western Powers that ships were not being supplied to take the Czecho-Slovaks out of the country. There was no reply.

If anybody wants to read a cold-blooded, unashamed exposition of planned treachery, let them read Nosek's article in "New Europe" for July, 1918. "We seized" this; "we occupied" that; "we attempted to seize" the other, and until attempts were made to prevent us "seizing," "taking" and "occupying" we were perfectly loyal.' Such was the Czecho-Slovak's conception of "perfect loyalty."

On 30th May the Soviet Government informed the Czecho-Slovak brigades that they were hindering food transports, that they would have to disarm, that those who refused would be shot. The Czecho-Slovak Council in Moscow was arrested on a charge of conspiring to hold up food supplies.

On the 3rd June representatives of the Allied Governments met at Versailles and from there notified the Soviet Government that the Czecho-Slovaks were Allied soldiers and must not be disarmed. To this the Soviet Government replied:—

"Russia can not tolerate in her territory armed bands which do not belong to the army of the Soviet Republic. The Czecho-Slovaks have disorganised the whole economic and social life of Siberia. The behaviour of the Czecho-Slovaks is an open and definite interference in the internal life of Russia, and the Allied Powers must either take them out of the country or they must be disarmed."

At the same time the Soviet Government cabled to Masaryk in New York, asking him if he stood for Czecho-Slovak interference in Russian affairs. He replied that he did not.

On the 7th June Masaryk permitted himself to be interviewed. He warned the Allied Governments against antagonising the Soviet Power, and repudiated as absurd the allegations that the Bolsheviks were "Pro-Germans." The very next day the cables carried the news that Czecho-Slovaks, under the ex-Tsarist General Ivanoff, had succeeded in destroying the Soviet Government of Omsk, in Western Siberia. Commenting on the situation, the Russian Foreign Minister, Chitcherin, said:—

"The Russian working-class menace no nation, and from their side no danger menaces Great Britain; but Great Britain is determined to destroy us, and already her troops have landed on the Murman coast."

Masaryk, after twelve months' agitation in Russia and Siberia for a bona-fide Czecho-Slovak pilgrimage to France, had gathered together 50,000,* but within ten weeks of his departure it jumped to nearly 300,000. It became an ambush behind which rallied every reactionary in Russia. It became in reality an army of every race, clan and tribe rallying around the rattled cash-box of the Allied Powers.** The Soviet Government, when it came into power, had laid its hands upon a large number of Tsarist Generals. It set them free. It accepted their word of honor that they would not war against Soviet Russia. Without exception they violated their oath. Every one of them lined up with either the Germans or the British—some of them with both. They were servants of both Powers because both were anti-Soviet.

On June 18th, 1918, the British Foreign Office, in a document "confidential" to members of the House of Commons, used these words:—

"It is a part of the German object to surround Russia on the south and southeast with a number of reactionary Governments, gradually cutting Russia off from her richest districts and from her chief resources, viz., corn, coal, iron and cotton."

The Allied Powers were doing the same on the north and northeast. The object was to put a ring of starvation around Soviet Russia. Yet the people of Allied territories were told that the Soviets were the friends of Germany, and members of the House of Commons were confidently told that Germany was nobly helping in the suppression of Soviet Russia by the organised starvation of millions.

*Miss Masaryk's statement in Washington, June, 1918.

**The first British subsidy to the Czecho-Slovak conspiracy amounted to 4,000,000 pounds sterling, with promises of subsequent payments at fixed dates totalling 26,000,000 pounds sterling. (See reference in London "Times" of June 23rd, 1918). Later on the subsidies were increased.

On the 29th June, the Czecho-Slovaks in Vladivostok, supported by Japanese and British naval forces, seized the headquarters of the working-class organisations, shot down unarmed workmen in the streets, smashed the Soviets, and took possession of the city. They acted in a similar manner in all the principal cities along the Siberian line. The confidential documents from the Foreign Office to members of the House of Commons on this subject said:—

"The Czecho-Slovaks, by holding the line, have cut off Central Russia from its main source of supplies, thus making the food situation both in Petrograd and Moscow more and more difficult."

On the 1st July, 1918, the "Pravda" said:—

"The Russian workers must crush the mercenaries of England and France or die of hunger. The Czecho-Slovak bandits have treacherously fallen upon us from an ambush. They will not leave the country—the Anglo-French Governments will not permit them if they would. They are kept here to kill us. Self-defence of the working-class—that is the watchword of our time."

On the 13th July the cables reported that the ex-Tsarist General, Alexieff, had become commander-in-chief of the anti-Bolshevik forces, and that General Ivanoff had become chief of the Czecho-Slovak headquarters' staff. Alexieff and Ivanoff were two of the men whose lives the Soviet Government had spared, and accepting their valueless oaths, had set them free.

About this date Tomas Masaryk was told in diplomatic language to keep his mouth closed so far as favorable reference to the Soviet Government of Russia was concerned, else there would be no Czecho-Slovak State carved out of the carcase of Austria. So on the 24th July, Masaryk cabled to the Czecho-Slovak legions that they **must stop** in Siberia, and Lloyd George told the world that he fought the Bolsheviks because they would not let the Czecho-Slovaks go.

On 24th July the "Isvestia" (Moscow) said:—

"Britain is responsible for all the destruction of transport, of economic and social life which the Czecho-Slovaks revolt has caused. She is responsible for the thousands of Russian deaths resulting from this movement. The Russian worker sees that the English are with extraordinary readiness helping all the counter-revolutionaries, and that for the

real representatives of the people they are preparing bullets and prisons. The English will go down in the memory of Russia bearing the same reputation as the Germans in Ukraine."

On 29th July, "Figaro" (Paris) said:—

"One need only glance at the map to realise the prodigiousness of this seizure (of the railway line by the Czecho-Slovaks) and at the same time the possibilities of exploitation which it offers the Allies".

The Allies in Vladivostok announced that there should be a real democratic election for the City Council, supported by Allied gun-power, and free from Bolshevik terrorism. In order that there should be no intimidation, the Bolshevik candidates were arrested.

On July 31st the London "Times" correspondent at Vladivostok sent a cable in which was the following sentence:—

"The outgoing (Municipal) Council candidates include many Bolsheviks several of whom are now in goal, having been arrested by the Czecho-Slovaks."

A few days later the following appeared in the "Times" cable list:—

"Vladivostock, August 5th.

"The Bolsheviks have secured a majority in the Municipal elections of 58 candidates out of 101. This puts the Allies in the impossible position of recognising a Council which the Bolsheviks will control. The newly-elected members are in goal."

The Allies went to Russian territory to restore "popular control," to secure "the democratic will of the majority of the people," and when the majority said "Bolshevik," the Allies arrested the elected members, put them in goal, and the "Times" representative said "The obvious and most convenient way of dealing with the situation is to proclaim martial law." And it was so.

That was how Great Britain and her Japanese colleague carried liberty to Siberia.

The Siberian part in the coming combined onslaught upon Soviet Russia was now complete.

GERMANIC TERROR.

The Anglo-French Governments and the Austro-German Governments did similar deeds with similar

objects and the same excuses. The one went into Siberia and the other into Ukraine, and both into Arctica, to "control" the country, trample the people stop self-government, choke transport, seize corn supplies, starve Russia, and beneath the double pressure the twin Imperialisms expected [Soviet Russia] to crumple and perish, or fall back terrorized into servitude.

In Ukraine the men who had taken British gold to make Ukrania a camping ground for the reactionary enemies of the Soviets, and who had afterwards taken German gold for the desertion of Allied interests at Brest, were promptly swept away by the Ukranian masses, and no less promptly set on their feet as a Government by the armies of Germany. But within a few days Ukranian revolutionaries swept them out once more. The German Government, having no further use for the double-dyed traitors, seized them, charged them with having been the recipients of Anglo-French money, found them guilty, shot or imprisoned them, and set up Skoropadski.

Skoropadski had been a leader of the Russian "Black Hundred," a member of the Tsar's circle, the friend of the Horvats, Seminoffs and Putiloffs, whom British arms and money were at that moment backing in Siberia. This man the German Government on the 29th April, 1918, made Dictator in Ukraine.

May 12th, 1918, was the date for the Peasants Conference at Keiff. This conference was suppressed.

May 14th, 1918, was the date for the Ukranian Labor Conference. This conference was suppressed.

On May 20th, 1918, Leo. Lederer wrote in the "Berliner Tageblatt":—

"Unfortunately Skoropadski can only rule with the aid of German troops. It is very painful to see German troops again and again compelled to disperse meetings, to patrol the streets with fixed bayonets and to make arrests."

On May 23rd the London "Chronicle" said:—

"The rising has spread all over Ukrania. The Ukraine authorities are applying extreme measures. German detachments have been sent to a number of districts to maintain order."

On May 28th, Erzberger told the German Reichstag that the Ukrainians wished to be united with Soviet Russia, and the London "Daily Chronicle" admitted that the Ukrainian masses were "anti-German," but **unfortunately they were also Bolshiviki**. And because the Ukrainian masses were Bolsheviks the Allied Governments had subsidized with money the pro-German reactionaries.

On June 18th, Mr. Balfour, in answer to a question, stated that since the Government of Ukrania had **openly** associated itself with Germany, the British subsidy had ceased. Yet it was that British subsidized gang that in February was the first to make peace with Germany, and even after "open" association with Germany the representative of the German-sustained Government was permitted to remain in London and continue as a "recognized" official.

On July 6th the newspaper "Germania" said:—

"Skoropadski is mobilizing the forces of pre-revolutionary Russia, breathing new life into the monarchist institutions, even giving them a press organ of their own, the 'Donolavy Orjol,' or 'double eagle.' That hateful life of the Tsar's regime beneath the knout is celebrating its resurrection. Many of the Kiev factories have gone back to the eleven or twelve hour working day, and working men who pass for adherents of the Socialist Soviet Government have been dismissed, while the unwholesome crop of spies and informers has burst afresh into full bloom."

Towards the end of July, the British press reports stated that Bolshevik guerilla bands covered Ukrania, that the Austro-German forces found great difficulty in maintaining order, that the guerillas rose out of the ground, struck and disappeared. It further reported that the Ukrainian masses were applying a boycott and that—

"The German military, in conjunction with the Ukrainian Government, are now trying to make the population work."

During August the British press reported that strikes were spreading in Ukrania "despite German repres-

sion." The German press reported a similar state of affairs in Siberia "despite Allied suppression."

On August 8th the British press reported that in Ukrania "the Germans have destroyed all the centres of the workmen and, by an oversight, reported that the Allied Powers had done the same in Eastern Siberia—smashed the Municipal Government of Vladivostok because the inhabitants on a poll conducted under Allied supervision elected a Bolshevik majority.

On August 27th the British press reported that the Ukrainian railway strike still continued, that the workers refused to carry Germans, or members of the Ukrainian reactionary Government; that goods traffic had nearly ceased; that no train had left Kiev for weeks; that 42 engines had been put out of action, and that **"the workers in spite of all punishments remain steadfast."** The German press reported a similar state of affairs in Siberia, but the English press retorted that the Siberian strikers had been defeated and ground to dirt by the gallant strike-smashing tactics of the English Trade Union leader, John Ward, M. P.

And while the Anglo-French forces were slaughtering the Soviets in Siberia, while the Austro-Germans were doing the same in Ukrania, in Lapland, Finland and the White Sea region, the united arms of Germany and Britain organised anti-Soviet Governments and put the rebellious populations to starvation and the sword.

To the east of Ukrania is the country of the Don Cossacks. The Generals were Alexieff, Denikin, Kaledin, Krasnoff and Dutoff. These were the friends of Skoropadski in Ukranit. These rallied around themselves the forces of reactionary Russia. These controlled the valley of the Volga as far north as Samara and the railway from the east into Western Siberia, where they linked up with the Allied Powers. These formed the connecting links between the German headquarters

at Kiev and the Allied headquarters at Omsk. They were equally at home in both places, and were munitioned and subsidised by both—by the Germans at one end and the Allies at the other. Thus by this alliance of German and British Imperialism a ring of reactionary Governments was placed around Soviet Russia for its organised starvation and suppression.

On May 29th the British press announced that a new force had appeared in South Russia against the Soviets, under General Krasnoff. His first proclamation was:—

"The enemies of yesterday are the friends of today. The Austro-Germans enter our territory in alliance with us to fight against the Red Guards and restore order on the Don."

And of that Krasnoff linked up with the Austro-German the Czecho-Slovak agent in London (Vladimir Nosek) wrote in the July "New Europe:" "A hopeful sign is the presence of General Krasnoff on the Don."

A few weeks later this Krasnoff, munitioned by the Germans, with the British from the north and the French-controlled Czecho-Slovaks from the east, marched out in combined offensive against Central Soviet Russia.

THE ALLIED TERROR.

(August, 1918.)

The German Government, through its embassies and agencies, financed the "German Plot" in the United States and Argentine, and the Governments of England and France, through their embassies and agencies, financed the "Allied Plot" against the Soviet Government of Russia and its people.

In both cases arson and assassination, the bomb and the bullet, the destruction of bridges and buildings, the crippling of transport and production, were all articles **in the arsenal** of activity, and nothing was permitted to stand in the way of the "will to victory."

The Soviet leaders were under no delusion. They

knew not only the forces that faced them, but those that lurked in the shadows, and they knew that the two embassies of France and England were the dens and dug-outs for all plotters and schemers against Soviet Russia. As early as May 4th the Soviet Foreign Minister, Chitcherin, had written to the French Government:—

‘I must protest emphatically against the illegal designs of M. Noulens, executed under cover of skilfull diplomatic formulae.’

The French Government ignored the communication.

In June there was a reactionary effort to overthrow the Soviets. The British press announced that it was “undoubtedly monarchist,” and gleefully proclaimed the fact. For a few days there was great joy in the Imperial World. It was thought the reactionaries had triumphed, and in the press of June 28th, appeared headings, of which the following is typical of the premature joy. It said:—

GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS AS TSAR.

LENIN AND TROTSKI FLEE.

BOLSHEVIKS OVERTHROWN.

But the June plot was a dismal fizzle, and the Soviets emerged more powerful than ever.

The “Isvestia” said:—

‘Both Austro-German and ‘Allied’ Imperialists are prepared to fasten their teeth into the quivering body of Revolutionary Russia. But she will survive all her enemies. The power does not exist which is capable of dragging back to their old slavery the Russian millions. Little by little Russia is recovering her spiritual strength for the decisive struggle, if it should be forced upon her.’

On June 20th the Soviet Minister Voladarski was assassinated, and by the middle of July the assassination of Soviet officials had developed into a well organised and well paid trade.

On July 16th the “Pravda” said:—

"For what purpose are there in Vologda, Moscow and Siberia, ambassadors, consuls, attaches, agents and other officials of the English and French Governments? It is not convenient for them to recognise 'officially' the Soviet Republic. Very well. That can be overlooked, but there are deeds which can not be tolerated. The Anglo-French Governments can not finance conspiracies against the authority of the workers' Government and expect them to remain inactive."

Agents of the English and French Governments travelled backward and forward under all sorts of aliases and all sorts of disguises. Amongst them was Zavoiko, the market-jobber and general speculator. He was the man who passed the money to General Korniloff to organise to smash the Soviets in 1917. This reactionary schemer turned up in London in July, 1918, and passed under the name of Colonel Kourbatoff, and while English women were in goal for changing their German-sounding names in order to get a living, this Russian reactionary, under a bogus name, could walk abroad without fear and be an accepted guest in Government circles. He went over to Paris. He met members of the French Government. He was the agent of the two Governments. He returned to London. He went to the United States, and thence to Siberia. But Kerenski was not permitted to return to Russia, not permitted to visit the United States, or Mexico, not permitted to leave England.

A great Soviet-smashing scheme was timed for August. General Alexieff had been in Ukrania helping the Germans. He left and went to Allied Siberia. On July 13th the cables reported that he had been made Commander-in-Chief of the Czecho-Slovaks, with Ivanoff as chief of staff. These Czecho-Slovak forces were to press from the east. General Krasnoff, the man who spoke of the Germans as "our friends," was to push from the south, the British were to rush in from Archangel, and the conspirators jump to arms in Moscow, Petrograd and other centres.

Rene Marchand, of the French Embassy, a relative of the hero of Fashoda, who, amongst other things,

acted as Russian correspondent for the Paris journal "Figaro," wrote a letter to President Poincare describing how he went to a meeting in the United States Consulate. There were present representatives of the United States, French and English Governments. Reports were received from mercenary agents re destruction or preparation for destruction of bridges on transport system of Russia, and Marchand expressed to the President the opinion that such tactics did no good, that they only ended in reprisals which "enhance the suffering of all classes, accentuate famine and class war."

On 16th August Rene Marchand wrote from Moscow to Albert Thomas in Paris, saying:

"Our front is directed against Russia itself. Innumerable bands of brigands are attached to the Czecho-Slovaks which are sacking and massacring and creating ghastly disorders."

John Rickman, of the War Victims' Relief Committee operating in Russia, put it on record that in his district all members of the Soviet and all captured members of the Soviet army were at once shot. He added:—

"In the town of Buzuluk we saw the Cossacks driving through the streets with a cartload of headless bodies, the peasants remarking, 'Those bodies were our sons; they joined the Red Guard to defend the Revolution.'""*

Dr. Harold Williams, of the "Chronicle," was jubilant. He wrote (August 20th):—

The Bolshevik power is breaking up. Allied troops have entered Russia by the three gateways—the North, the Caucasus and Siberia." beria."

The London "Daily News" Russian correspondent wrote (August 18th):—

"The time chosen is to coincide with that of greatest starvation. The masses might during a hunger crisis be stirred up to riots, during which a coup d'etat might be accomplished."

Arthur Coppin, "Special" correspondent of the "Chronicle," wrote from Archangel (August 20th):—

'As the day approached for concentrated action against the Bolsheviks. . . .'

*"Manchester Guardian," January 25th, 1919.

Yes. "As the day approached" the dagger of the assassin and the bomb of the dynamiter of bridges worked briskly. Dislocation of transport was Allied Strategy. Tie up the food supplies going to the cities; produce despair and bread riots; work the coup d'état; restore the reaction—and so "the day approached." Everything that England did to destroy the First French Republic she repeated in Russia in 1918.*

The Soviet Government drew up a manifesto which it addressed "**To the Workers of the Entente Countries.**" It said:—

"We draw attention to the excitement which is shown by the great masses of the Russian people at the English falling upon us in this way, which was quite unprovoked by any act on our side; and equally to the consequences which this growing popular excitement may occasion in the future."

It further said:—

"Your Governments wage war against the workers and peasants of Russia. The Anglo-French bandits are already shooting the Soviet workers on the Murmansk railway. In the Urals they are destroying the workers' Soviets, shooting their representatives by the hands of the Czecho-Slovak bands, supported by French money, and led by French officers. The present attack of Anglo-French capital on the workers of Russia is only the culmination of an underground warfare carried on during eight months, against the Soviets."

The British squeezed in from the north, the German-armed gangs under Krasnoff pressed upward from the south, the Czecho-Slovak mercenaries came in from the east, ravaged along the Kama and up the Volga to Kazan, where they seized 65,000,000 pounds sterling of Gold from the Soviet Treasury and transferred the

*In 1919 the British Government awarded a Military Cross to Malcolm Maclaren for services as a spy in Russia. From the statements in the press setting forth the reasons for his decoration it appeared that Maclaren "lived in Russia as a Russian subject," served as an officer in the Russian revolutionary army, and that prior to Allied intervention, and while the Allies were professing friendship to Russia, Maclaren "organised and prepared the necessary groups and agents," that "he took measures to destroy the defensive plans" of the Russian Government, and that "by his conduct and control of Russian troops" the Allies were enabled to get a landing in Archangel without opposition. Had the Russians shot him as a traitor, his death would have been represented in England as "another murder of a peaceful English resident."

*London "Times," October 30th, 1918.

same to Omsk, in Siberia.* Inside Russia the bombing of bridges and the murder after murder of Soviet delegates culminated in the murder of Soviet Minister Uritski and the attempted assassination of Nicolas Lenin. The would-be assassin escaped through a flat engaged a few days previously by an employee of the British Embassy. Then, on August 31st, the Soviet agents rushed the British Embassy. To cover the retreat of the skulking conspirators, Captain Crombie fired upon the representatives of the Russian Government, and was himself shot. His death was turned into a martyrdom, but what would have been said had the scene been upon English soil, and Crombie, a foreigner, resisting the entrance of English police? That would have been different.

So ended August, 1918.

THE REPLY TERROR.

(September, 1918.)

When the agents of the Soviet Government rushed the British Embassy, they found a lovely brood of Russian reactionaries—Tsarist Ministers, Tsarist Generals, Lords of the Lash, and the Iron Heel foregathered under the shelter of the Union Jack. And with them were gathered the proofs of their complicity in acts of terror.

In this nest of conspiracy was found "Suck-the-Rag" Shakovski. In August, 1916, this man, as Minister to the then Tsar, told a deputation that they could make food go further if they sucked it through a rag. This embodiment of brutal indifference to human suffering the British Embassy could shelter and protect.

The Soviet Government got through a wireless to Maxim Litvinoff, its representative in London. It said:—

"The heads and leading spirits were Lockhart, the British representative in Moscow; the French Consul-General, Grenard; and the French General Lavergne. The object of the conspiracy was to seize the Executive of the People's Commissaries and to proclaim martial law in Moscow. The conspirators sheltered themselves behind diplomatic immunity.

False credentials, many examples of which are in the hands of a Special Commission of Inquiry, were issued, bearing Lockhart's own signature."

The British Government, without the slightest investigation, at once declared the charges "trumped up," arrested Litvinoff in London, and demanded the release of Bruce Lockhart.

The Soviet Government replied that the British could have Lockhart in exchange for Litvinoff, but that for the time being the British Embassy would do no more business in Russia.

On the 1st September, 1918, after the murder of Vitski and the attempt upon the life of Lenin, when the capitalist world was jubilant, that it might write "Finis" to his name, the President of the Soviet Executive, Sverdloff, said:—

"The working-classes will now reply to the attacks on their leaders with merciless MASS TERROR."

Arthur Ransome wired to the "Daily News":—

"The suggestion of **Mass Terror** means nothing. There can be no such things unless the mass feels inclined to terrorise, which it does not."

But it did. Mass Terror is not the terror exercised by a Government, by a gang of officials, or by an army. It is the reply of the tortured and tormented masses, to their tormentors and torturers. It can not exist or operate without mass inclination. Tsarism had taught the Russian masses to satisfy their hunger with pogroms on the Jews. They were now about to satisfy their hunger with a pogrom on the armed reactionaries of the Allied Powers.

The "Red Gazette," after enumerating crimes against Soviet properties and Soviet lies, said:—

"We can exterminate you bourgeois to the last man without leaving you an ybreeding stock. If only one workman undertakes to kill one parasite, you disappear."

Action moved on lightning wings. It was not a question of days—but of hours. The Soviet Government issued a manifesto "to the civilised world," which the civilised world, through its censors, as far as possible, suppressed. The manifesto said:—

"Agents of French and English capitalism, including official representatives of the French and English Governments, have concluded a close union with Tsarist generals. These gentlemen have not only hired Czecho-Slovak hordes and sent them to plunder our granaries, to destroy our towns and kill our brothers. They have not only destroyed Archangel and Onega by artillery fire, but now they have organised a series of terroristic attempts against the representatives of the Workers' Government. . . The whole world knows that we did not seek war against England and France, and that we do not desire it even now. But we can not remain silent and take no notice when the British Embassy is being turned into a den of conspirators and murderers, while official persons living in our territory weave a web of bloody intrigues and savage crimes against our country."

A proclamation appeared in all parts of Russia. It said:—

"The criminal adventures of our enemies force us to reply with a Mass Terror. Every person found with a weapon in his hand will be immediately killed. Every person who agitates against the Soviet Government will be arrested and taken to a concentration camp, and all his private property seized."

A manifesto went out to all "workmen, peasants and soldiers." It concluded:—

"ALL TO ARMS! FORWARD FOR BREAD FOR STARVING CHILDREN! FORWARD AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REBELS AND CONSPIRATORS! DEATH TO THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE!"

Then it started. The Russian masses followed the advice of the Imperialist press. They used the axe. They "made heads fly."* The monster priest Vostor-

*The "Journal des Debats." of Paris. on November 18th. 1917—before the Soviet Government was two weeks old—said:—

"Russia needs a 'Government.' To merit this name it must make heads fly. Richelieu sent to the scaffold persons of far greater interest than these Rosenfelds and Lenins. Russia can only be saved by similar methods. But it will be necessary to proceed on a larger scale. The Soviets must be dissolved by the Axe, not by words."

Long before this—in July—the London "Morning Post" had been howling for bloodshed in Russia. Whose blood was to be shed it did not specify, but presumably it meant, not the blood of the aristocrats and reactionaries, but the more satisfying red blood of peasants and workers! It said:—

"Nowhere (in Russia) is there any feeling of security for any kind of property, but care is taken everywhere not to kill. This is German teaching. Bloodshed on a heavy scale will alone save the situation, but there is no authority anywhere sufficiently courageous to order this sole but painful remedy."

goff went to kingdom come, followed by the other monster, Bielecki, of the Black Hundreds. With them went Sukhomlinoff, whom the Allied press declared to be a traitor, but whose death they transformed into a martyrdom. With them went "Suck-the-Rag" Shakovski, trapped in the British Embassy. Foulon told the people of France to "eat grass." Afterwards they stuffed him with it and then hung him. The Russian workers gave Shakovski the rag to suck and then shot him. With Shakovski went hundreds of others of like kidney, so if the Allied Powers were determined to restore capitalism in Russia they would find a la "Debats," its "heads had been made to fly."

Amongst the flying heads was that of Protopopoff, and this is what the London "Daily Chronicle," of September 11th, 1918, said of him:—

"Protopopoff, Minister of the Interior before the Revolution, was largely responsible for the collapse of the old regime. Scentsing revolution in the air, he decided to provoke a rising prematurely in order to suppress it in a sea of blood, but the movement was too great to be in his ken or control, and all he did was, in a small way, to hasten the downfall of Tsardom. It was especially his deliberate holding up of food for Petrograd that irritated the people to breaking point."

Beneath the shock of the Mass Terror the dying monster of German Imperialism shrivelled up in Ukrania, the British got back to Archangel, and the Czechoslovaks drew back from the Volga to beyond the Urals. The Allied press filled the world with horror at Soviet brutalities, but they had jubilant headings, such as these:—

SOVIETS STRUGGLE WITH STARVATION.

ALLIES DOMINATE SIBERIAN FOOD AREAS.

FOOD DOLES IN RUSSIA.

Such was the gloating of the capitalist ghouls over the organised starvation of millions, but the fact re-

mained that the Soviets still lived, and the Russian masses clung to them as to the Rock of Ages.

And because they did, they were to be starved to death by Allied strategy and Allied force.

On September 12th the Swedish Socialist journal "Politiken," came out with this:—

"It is a dastardly drama which the Allied States enact in these days on the Russian stage. They have boasted of their humane, democratic, freedom-loving ideals. They have bragged that they and they alone stand for State democracy and right of self-determination. For these sacred ideals they have sacrificed life and blood. In Russia they mock and insult their ideals. Their deadliest enemy could not besmirch them more than they do. Their action towards Russia is the worst possible crime against all that should be held precious by a democratic State.... They fall on Russia with blows and kicks. They sent their robber troops into Russian territory. Their troops pushed their way from the Murman Coast, devastating and murdering. Their yellow friends began their robber march into Siberia. They recognized as an independent, war-faring nation the invading bands of Czecho-Slovaks, which had no business to be on Russian soil. They paid and organized them in order that they should from the inside co-operate with the invading troops and drive away the hated Russian Government. According to international custom the diplomats are inviolable. But they are under an obligation to restrain their busy fingers, and not to touch the internal affairs of the foreign country in which they find themselves. Under protection of their diplomatic inviolability the Allied diplomats have prepared hotbeds of organized conspiracy against the Government whose protection they enjoy. In this gigantic plot figure bribes, military insurrection, arrests, murders, yes, all the component parts of a conspiracy"

The neutral countries protested against the Mass Terror.

On the 16th September, Chitcherin replied for the Soviets. The answer was lengthy, but its essence may be gauged by the following extracts:—

"The gentlemen who represent neutral Governments were not sent to Russia to defend the fundamental rights of humanity, because the bloody reign of the late Tsar never brought a protest.

"We openly declare that neither hypocritical protests nor supplications will withhold punishment from those who bear arms for the capitalists against the workers, or who try to starve them and inveigle them into new capitalist wars. Equal rights and freedom will be assured to all those who do their duty loyally as citizens to the Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Republic. To them we are the bearers of peace; to our enemies, we are the embodiment of merciless warfare."

On September 21st the Italian "Avanti" said:—

"It was nothing else than the shameless plots of the French and English diplomatic representatives which drove the Bolsheviks to grasp the bloody weapon of the Terror in self-defence against their unscrupulous enemies."

The "Manchester Guardian" said:—

"It was not until they felt their authority threatened by enemies, within and without that they adopted terror as a deliberate political weapon for the maintenance of the Government. They pleaded not only necessity, but reprisals, alleging that their enemies slew Bolshevik without mercy or scruple whenever they could lay hands on them."

The Allied Terror preceded the Red Terror, and not until September, 1918, not until after ten months of Soviet rule, did the Allied Powers even allege any acts of terrorism as excuse for their intervention. After all that the Allied press had said about the odious characters and pro-German activities of the Tsar and Tsarina, they dared not even use their deaths as a pretext for Allied hostility.*

Yet for ten months Allied Imperialism had waged pitiless war on the Russian masses, and there was no instrument in the arsenal of crime which they excluded. But Soviet Russia lived. Its power increased in the midst of the most violent assaults upon its existence. In other lands the workers were asking for "the land for the people"—the Russian workers had got it. In other lands the workers were asking for public ownership of mines and forests—the Russian workers had got it. That was the crime of Soviet Russia in the eyes of the International Money Bags; that was why they sought, by the medium of their Governments, to carry death to Sovietism.

That was why the German-British amalgamation sealed the Arctic door; why the Austro-Germans blocked the way to Ukranian cornfields; why the Anglo-French-Japo-Yanks straddled the Siberian granaries. That was why they put on to their pay rolls the discarded Generals and Ambassadors of Tsardom. That was why they organized starvation and subsidized assassins.

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On September 22nd, the United States Government issued to United States Ambassadors in all countries a

*"Manchester Guardian" "History of the War," vol. 8, page 370.

protest against the "Mass Terror in Russia." Therefore:—

"Acting solely in the interests of the Russian people themselves this Government expresses its sorrow at the existing state of terrorism. Therefore all civilized nations should register their abhorrence. Therefore you will ascertain if the Government to which you are accredited will be disposed to take action."

Never had the United States Government or any other capitalist Government taken such action while the Tsar was on the throne. Never had they registered their abhorrence or "taken action" against the pogroms on the Jews, the wholesale destruction of the working-classes, the endless chain gangs of men and women who, with knout-cut, blood-dripping bodies, travelled the dreary road to Siberia. Then, they had no protests, no action. Now they were full of "horror"—the grinning shams! The Allied Governments were preparing for new moves. When the German excuse disappeared they must fall upon the Russian workers with some other, and if no other, the Allied armies would fall upon them all the same.

A Soviet Deputy summed up the situation thus:—

"English Ministers, the German Government, the Washington Cabinet—all these fighters for the League of Nations stand actually not for a league of peoples, but for a league of capitalistic States, a league of Imperialistic Governments against Russia."

On September 23rd, Major Wardwell, of the American Red Cross in Russia, arrived in Stockholm on a visit. He was asked if the Mass Terror was over, and he replied: "Yes."

* * * *

The Soviet Government in September, 1918, not only paralysed the enemy within—it drove back the external enemy on three fronts. It did that with a half-starved and half-armed people. It drove the British back to Archangel. It drove the Czecho-Slovak hordes back into Western Siberia. It drove the German-armed Krasnoff back to the lower waters of the Don, and by the end of the month the people of the cities were



getting corn from the Volga in spite of every Allied effort at frustration. In the south the Austro-Germans had given up in despair all hopes of suppressing the Ukranian masses, and corn was moving northward into Soviet Russia. The correspondent of the London "Daily News" wrote:—

"The Soviet has strengthened itself even at a moment when few of the best troops are in the capitals, since the Soviet Republic is being compelled to use its half-formed army to defend itself on three sides while guarding a fourth.

In the previous June. Trotski, introducing his proposals for the re-organization of the Russian armies, said:—

"If the Soviets can live through the next three months they live for ever."

On July 10th, the British Foreign Office, in its confidential document to members of the House of Commons, reported, "Troubles in Bulgaria," "Ever increasing unrest among the peasants and soldiers," "Bulgarian Government feeling for a separate peace." By September the Soviet army had ripened into a real force, and by the end of September Bulgaria had rotted and was out of the war.

The events of September furnished a new excuse—the old ones were discarded.

On the 30th September Trotski addressed the All-Russian Executive. He said that Soviet power in Ukraina was rapidly extending, and that the Germans were no longer a menace. He added:—

"Germany as a power dangerous to us is off the stage, and we shall yet prove to the Anglo-French capitalists that we, the Soviet Government, have not only got as good a right to exist as the predatory gangs that seek to destroy us, but that we have also the will and power to exist. To all our enemies on one side, to all our friends on the other, we shall show that we are a Power—that we must live and shall live"

So ended September, 1918.

THE COLLAPSE.

When Germany in March, 1918, imposed peace upon crumpled Russia, the Allied Press summed up the results,

It asserted that Russia, by her "treacherous" submission, opened to the Austro-Germans the fields, factories, mines and workshops of Russia; opened up to the Austro-Germans vast stores of raw material—coal, iron, steel, copper, corn and meal—and rendered abortive the Allied effort to defeat Germany by means of an economic blockade.

It was asserted that after the peace the Austro-Germans had only to provide guns and munitions for 400 instead of 1400 miles of front, that therefore the Austro-Germans had more than half their factories relieved from war for industrial purposes, while for both purposes—war and industrial—there were augmented supplies of raw material.

It asserted that the Austro-Germans could thus increase guns and gunfire on the Western front with a smaller drain upon their resources.

It asserted that the Austro-German Campaign in 1917, whereby the Italian front had been shortened by two-thirds—from a horseshoe to a short straight line—had trebled the Austrian reserves of men and guns, and that the cessation of war on the Eastern front in 1918 increased the Austrian reserves tenfold, and made its position impregnable.

The cessation of war with Russia was said to have enabled Germany at once to concentrate 2,000,000 additional men on the Western front, and to transport to the west the vast gun power previously occupied in the East. In short, the so-called Russian treachery was alleged to have permitted the Germans to increase their man and gun power on the Western front at least threefold.

Thus, so it was said, the Americans, even at 300,000 per month, could not for many months land in France sufficient men to counterbalance the German increase, and General Maurice put it on record that at the declaration of the Armistice on 11th November, 1918,

the German man and gun power in the west was in excess of the Allied and American forces that confronted them.

Never did the Germanic armies occupy more territory, or those armies seem more unconquerable, or the prospects of the Entente more gloomy than in the weeks which followed the March treaty, which signified the submission and defection of the Russians. In the west Germanic men and guns were more numerous than ever. In the east the enemy was underfoot, and the raw material of the Eastern World was spread as on an open table. Thus the German Master-classes could talk boldly and defiantly of "no soft peace," and "Onward, Christian Soldiers," for blood and slaughter and Germanic victory.

Yet what did these reinforced German armies accomplish? Enormously augmented in power, they punched a hole in the undermanned Fifth Army of Britain, and then a few divisions of Australians blocked them, stopped them, drove them back. The Germanic armies by sheer weight of numbers sagged through the weakened French army to the edges of the Marne, and that was the end of them. The will to victory was gone. The mighty power of the German armies withered in paralysis, and within a few weeks the Empire for which those armies stood ceased to exist. Never as in May, was an Empire so apparently great. Never, as in October, was an Empire so crumpled and humbled in the dust. Why was it? Why change so sudden? It was not the power of Allied armies without—it was Revolution within. And for Revolutions, as for all things else, there is a cause.

*"Germany is dying, she is no longer a menace on any front.—Chitcherin, October 2nd, 1918.

"Three months ago it was said that only half-mad Bolsheviks would believe in the German Revolution. We see now that Germany, from being a mighty Empire, has turned to rotten wood."—Lenin, October 22nd, 1913.

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When the Germans in their March treaty with the Russians imposed on the conquered the peace of power, the Manchester Guardian "History" said:—

"If the German policy towards Russia had been in accordance with her professions, and reasonably generous towards the Russian people, the public argument between Czernin and Wilson might have led to a conference and general peace. As it was, the facts of the war in the East were all the time fighting against the efforts of humane men, and whether peace by negotiation was possible was decided by the actions of the German military party at Brest."

Germany by the odious terms which she imposed upon Russia did more than four years of Entente atrocity propaganda had been able to accomplish. She earned for herself in that one act the moral detestation of the masses of the world, that no man or nation can exist against universal abhorrence. She arraigned against herself that enormous body of opinion in every country which is always prepared to believe that there are two sides to every question. Thereafter there was only one. Thereafter the almost universal voice said, "Do to her as she does to others." The Brest Treaty turned every neutral against her, because no neutral could be sure of its own future. By her ignominious terms she made an enemy where she might have made a friend of Bolshevik Russia, and with Bolshevik Russia went millions of sympathisers of every nationality, including those of Germany and Austria. Thus Germany weakened herself within and without. Herr David, Majority Socialist, speaking in the Reichstag, said:—

"This is not peace by understanding. It is an unvarnished peace by force. It has shaken confidence in the honesty of German policy."

That was it. That was the cause of defeat. The Imperial grab for the earth, for its resources, and for the workers on the earth to work for the conquerors — all stood naked before the world — that of the entente was still garbed in the mantle of Democracy and Liberty. The one was discovered in the act. The

other still posed as pure and undefiled—that was its advantage.

Thus the people of Germany could see that their rulers were not fighting for German integrity. Their rulers, like the others, were using the population for spoilation and conquest. Their eyes were open—the others were yet to open. Thus the moral supports of Imperial Germany, the faith of its people in the righteous cause, the defence of country, disappeared. The “unto the last,” the unconquerable will that alone can sustain armies in the field, disappeared. Thus insubordination, mutiny, strikess, roits, revolts, revolution. It was not German Imperialism that had permeated and dominated Russia. It was the revolutionary principles of Soviet Russia percolating through Germany, counter-blasting the mind-dope of its Master-class, and undermining the capitalist foundations of its military caste, that shook Germany like a hundred “offensives,” and gave to Allied Capitalism its vaunted “victory.” Thus, if the Allied cause was indeed the cause of “freedom” and “democracy,” it owed as much to the spread of Bolshevik principles amongst the German masses as it did to any Russian army that ever, under the Tsar, took the field for the same noble cause.

It was at Brest that General Hoffman said to Trotsky, “You are the weaker,” and the answer came, “Yes, but we grow the stronger as we unmask your tactics,” and a few months later it was so. To tear the mask from Allied Capitalism was not less a duty.

CHAPTER V.

MASS HYPNOTISM.

MUTUAL CORRUPTION.

THE moment a country enters the war zone, things other than guns and shells appear upon the scene.

There is no only a war between warriors. There is a war of rival provocateurs, procurers, defilers, debasers, souteneurs and suborners. The first objective is to debase the civil population of the enemy, the second is defile your own.

The first part is designated "enemy propaganda." The object is to defeat the enemy censor, to drop or squirt into enemy territory everything forbidden, to impregnate enemy subjects with doubt, discontent revolt. The value of literature dropped on enemy soil is nil. Both sides know that both sides are doing it. Both sides know that the origin is tainted.* Both sides have gangs to shout that the stuff is poison, and that the man who spreads it a pro-enemy, a leper to be ignored. All this business is spectacular—the real business is otherwise.

Both sides struggle regardless of expense to induce citizens of the other country to do something against the interests of their race or country, or at least to accept a gift. The number of men who have been proved to have been the recipients of enemy money are very few, and they have been exclusively confined to the ranks of the reactionary and bourgeois classes.

It is not that the corruptible are few, but why be corrupted by the enemy Government when you can be corrupted by your own, with no risk and much glory? To be corrupted by the enemy is to walk in the valley of the shadow of death, and if discovered it is to perish in ignominy and shame

So few the men, so poor the results, that everything would appear wasted, but it is not. It is not the thing done—it is the man who does it. It is not the information required it is the man who sells it. It is not the de-

*"The effect of such propaganda on the German people is very similar to that of the propaganda carried on by the German Government in the United States. It is being despised, and real popular movements seek by all means to avoid being identified with the propaganda of a foreign Government, because it damages their cause."—"The Class Struggle," March, 1918.

fealist article of the pacifist speech—it is the man who does it for enemy pay. The corrupted men are the real assets. They do not carry their lives in their hands, their lives are carried for them by the agents of the governments to whom they have sold themselves. Thus Rasputin after corrupting Russian generals, furnished the means for their discovery. Thus Father Gapon, after being corrupted by reactionaries, was sold to the revolutionaries, not merely to discredit Gapon, but to prove the revolutionary zeal of those who sold him. Thus as rival politicians savagely assail each other in the chamber and embrace each other within the sanctuary of the Parliamentary bar, so the agents of rival Governments scowled at each other in the streets of neutral Switzerland, and in the seclusion of their bedchambers exchanged secrets and delivered up to each other the men they had corrupted. Thus the “discovery” of a traitor in enemy territory was always coincident with a similar discovery in your own—“My Bonnet Rouge” for your “Freie Zeitung.”

This sort of marketing tends to destroy itself. After a while it ceases to exist, but the results are far-reaching and long-lasting. The “traitor” is an asset. He serves as a stimulant for renewed cries of “Defeatist,” “Pacifist” and “Pro-Enemy.” The cries are howled at every citizen who desires an end to the bloody carnival, or who refuses to see eye to eye with the war policy of the Government. The Government makes full use of the one snake in the barnyard. It declares that the country is full of them, and thus having created an atmosphere of mutual distrust amongst its people, it proceeds to assume fresh powers of despotism, and with those powers it deals out most atrocious punishments for words or acts that have not the remotest association with the enemy or with enemy gold.

Thus, in September, 1917, the German Government issued the following:—



"Foreign influence is at work trying to spread discontent in the ranks of the home army by word and pamphlets and to incite protests and strikes. . . . Young German workers, do not let yourselves be excited by paid agents of the Entente. . . . To-day, when our Fieldgraven defend the Fatherland against a world of enemies, it would be an inexcusable crime if the younger men were to attack their fathers and brothers in the rear. They would cover themselves with indelible shame."

Thus, in October, 1917, the French Government issued as under:—

"In presence of the secret intrigues multiplied by the enemy with the object of influencing the national morals, the public authorities are faced with the imperative duty of making every effort to arrest a propaganda which seeks to disturb and weaken the country."

Yet these two Governments spent millions of public money in trying to defile, to prostitute, to transform into traitors and criminals, the population of the other. What they did all other Governments did, and in this dirty work Lord Northcliffe, chief of the British system, claimed to be the most successful.

On October 6th, 1917, the Swiss Socialist journal "Volksrecht," situated in the midst of all the reeking defilers, procurers and souteneurs of International Capitalism, said:—

"On both fronts international propaganda is being conducted and combated with the same filthy weapon—mean and contemptible slander."

With a nation properly doped, the greatest atrocity perpetrated by a Government upon a man or woman passes as an act of "national necessity." Thus, in March, 1918, Helene Brion wrote to her lover Gaston Mouffard, a soldier at the front. Helene was tired of the war. She could see no good in it. She wanted her lover. She told Gaston the thought that was in her. She was charged with writing a letter "of a nature likely to exercise a grievous influence on the spirit of the army and the population." How all France was to see Helene's love letter was not stated. She came before Colonel Maritz, president of the first Conseil de Guerre. Helene got **THREE YEARS**. Gaston did not know the letter from his girl was wicked. He did not deliver it to his superiors, who had previously read it. He was brought from the battlefield and sentenced to gaol for **SIX MONTHS**.

In the same month in the same country, a father of four children, three years in the battle-line, twice wounded, discharged as no longer fit for service, charged with "disloyal utterance" — **THREE YEARS.**

As in France, so in Germany, Austria, England, America, the most atrocious punishments upon any flimsy pretext. Thus all belligerent Governments—both sides—gradually drove underground, or reduced to a state of hypnotic passivity, all the sections of their populations likely to cry "Shame" on their bloody slaughters

MANUFACTURED MADNESS.

It is not enough to reduce the "peacemongers" to a state of terrorized passivity. It is necessary to stir amongst the civilian population, men, women and children, a passionate lust for blood.

To do this there must be an agency to stir it up. If a traitor can be hired for £10,000, for much less can there be purchased a ferocious platform warrior. There is no risk of gaol, or gallows, or undying ignominy, only cakes and ale, limelight, cheers and dollars.

To work blood lust in the masses you must see those who have influence with the masses—clerical or industrial. You need not buy the entire congregation or membership—buy the preacher or leader. He will prove that dead men, dying men, broken hearts, ruined homes, rape, rampage, widows in millions, orphans in trillions, go side by side with "Jesus and His love" or "Workers of the World Unite."

Thus there appears in war time in every country a "Department of Information." Its business is to supply glamor, gloss and glory; to subsidise critical journals into patriotic paths; to keep human gramophones financially oiled to do their ordained stunts; to keep an army of spies; to supply free faked cables, and to keep picture shows supplied with rapes, robberies,

rapines and murders until women faint with horror and men swell out with the will to slaughter.

The "Atrocity" campaign was the principal weapon in the arsenals of rival Imperialisms. The Germans presented to horror-stricken audiences the rape of German women in German Africa by black troops, with British officers looking on, also murder on top of rape at Tabora, in German Africa. What did not go into the picture went into the letterpress. They had dozens of "Miss Cavell" cases, in addition to "inhuman treatment to German prisoners of war." They had gouged out eyes, cut-off noses, men torn to pieces, and the usual cricifixions. In May, 1918, General Wrisberg said in the Reichstag that the British used a dum-dum bullet with paper filling, the dum-dum tore a hole as large as a fist, while the paper filling carried disease germs which completed anything the bullet left undone. By these processes the German masses were made to regard the British people with quivering horror.

The British Government was not to be defeated. It said the Germans slaughtered old men and matrons, mutilated their prisoners, ravished babies, nailed children to barn doors, poisoned wells, and conducted a "Corpse Factory," in which economy and efficiency were carried to a gruesome limit. Corpses were tied in bundles of four, taken to the factory, fried, boiled, stewed or frizzled, turned into food, fat or nitroglycerine, and sent back to the trenches as rations or high explosives.

Neither Government left the population of the other a strip of decency or humanity. Both aroused in their people the passion to slaughter the "inhuman monsters" that composed the other. Thus both Governments attained their objects—the attuning of their populations to the will to "go it" and "stick it."

In both countries the atrocity pictures in music halls

and cinema shows were worked under the supervision and dictatorship of men who, before the war, had been preachers of "internationalism," the "class struggle," the doctrine that there are but two nations, the exploiters and the exploited. Both men, for similar inducements, proved in passionate perorations, that their life-long promulgations were only froth and bubble.

Speech-faking and cable-faking was done by both German and British. The Germans subsidized Wolff's Agency, and the British subsidized Reuter's. President Wilson's speeches were doctored by both sides. They kept out or put in whatever served their baneful purpose. Speeches delivered by public men in one country were given in a diluted or exaggerated form in the other. Everything was done to excite the population to the mad frenzy imputed to the population of the other, and soldiers died that democracy such as this might live

In Berne, Berlin, Vienna, London, Paris, Copenhagen and Amsterdam, regular bureaux of false information existed on the subsidies of Governments. Amsterdam, Berne and Copenhagen maintained fake news agencies. They published reliable information from non-existent correspondents, and this was transmitted to London or Berlin, whichever it suited, to spur the will to victory.

This is "control of the mind of the public by controlling the knowledge which reaches that mind." It is organised mass hypnotism. It is the modern instrument of the oligarchy of Finance. It is the most complete for mof autocracy, because the mass victims, with their doped minds, moving to the will of their spengalic spellbinders, imagine they are free agents following the dictates of their individual judgments.

In England the people were told how the Australians left their farms to the briars and the brambles. their sheep and cattle to wander in the wilderness, and their crops to rot while they sailed forth to England. Aus-

tralians, the English were told, indulged in no smiles or laughter. They wore a grim expression, and were a sample of patriotic purpose which English slackers should follow. In Australia Ambrose Pratt, prodding others on to slaughter, did "Why should we fight for England," and in it he said of England: "There is no light, no laughter; no worker takes a holiday, they weep to leave their jobs." This sort of stimulus was done in all countries for the same purpose and the same inducement.

The most potent agency of Capitalism in this mass hypnotism was the Daily Press masquerading in the garb of national fervor. Speaking of the situation in Germany, the "Munchener Post" said:—

"Numbers of German papers have sold themselves to vested interests with the object of deceiving and befooling the people. Vested interests created by the war are buying up newspapers in order to carry on that form of political propaganda which suits their own interests. Official departments, too, in Germany, are trying to hound and coerce the press into publishing particular articles.,,"*

That statement was true of every country in the war. French papers were known to receive Government subsidies to encourage their war fervor, and while the Tsar lived three of the prominent journals of Paris received subsidies from the Russian Government to sing the glories of Tsardom.

In no country was the "Atrocity Campaign" so scientifically conducted as in the United States. It surpassed all others in brutal intensity, and incited the passions of the populations not only against the external foe, but against all those within who failed to toe the line in abject submission to the Bossdom that ran the country. There was the usual war institute for the dissemination of "public information," and after the war the chairman, George Creel, openly admitted that the so-called "German plots" and I.W.W. conspiracies were mostly newspaper fakes, without found-

*"Munchner Post," July 31st, 1917.

ation in fact. There was a "German Plot," but nine-tenths of the allegations were based upon the one-tenth fact.*

Creel said:—

"There was no medium of appeal that we did not employ, using equally the wireless, the cable, the written word, the poster, the painted sign, and the motion picture.

"Every disorder, every manifestation of unrest was ascribed to the I.W.W. or the Bolsheviki. . . . No effort was made at distinction—Labor demonstrations, Mooney protests, Socialist meetings, all being lumped together. Out of the same cloth, though different in pattern, were the 'German spy' fakes . . . Every untoward incident, almost every fire, explosion, accident or disaster on land or sea was credited to 'the German spy system,' every local revolt to the Bolsheviki. Headliners carried the word in the largest type."

Out of these now admitted "fakes," fear, hysteria, prejudice and fearful racial hatreds were developed. Creel denied responsibility, but his power was autocratic. He admitted that under this "manufactured madness" good men were done to death, and honest organizations stamped out of existence.

In 1917, the miners of Bisbee, Arizona, went on strike. The American press at once started a slander campaign. It alleged the strike to be the product of German intrigue and I. W. W. conspiracy. Under the banner of patriotism the Bosses organized a "Public Safety Committee," organized an armed Thuggery of 2000 men, rounded up the miners, their wives and children, drove them into waiting cattle trucks, freighted them hundreds of miles, and then, at Hermanos, in New Mexico, threw them out, foodless and waterless, into the desert. Creel, the head of the American "Committee of Public Information," said: "The strike was not an I.W.W. movement, nor even remotely German intrigue." Yet the millionaire knaves who inspired and financed the outrage upon the workmen and their families went unpunished. Patriotism was debauched to serve the ends of Capitalism and to cloak its crimes.

*See Creel's articles in "Everybody's Magazine" for February, March and April, 1919

Thus were would-be strikers paralysed with terror and
 "the world made safe."

* * * *

Australia was far from the battle zone, but nowhere on earth was the censorship so odious. The Tsar made a smudge; the Kaiser left a blank; and capitalist England permitted the use of the word "censored"; but the Government of Australia would not permit any indication that the censor had destroyed or inverted the sense of an article. Moreover the censorship was only applied to the working class journals, and the capitalist dailies had an unrestricted license. In Australia, when no Courts could be found to convict a man, or when the verdicts in the lower Court were set aside by the Supreme Court and the man set free, the Military, with the consent of the Ministry, stepped in, seized him and deported him to other lands—that did not apply merely to men of alien origin; it applied to men of English birth and origin. Australian workmen whose parents were Australian were dismissed from the public services because their grand-fathers or grand-mothers were German, while the populace were expected to sing "God save" a man whose grand-father was also German. Australians of English origin were stuck in internment camps with German prisoners, and all who raised a protest were alleged to be German sympathisers—so were the protesters silenced. Men were seized on the denouncement of Mining Magnates and Company Bosses, and every crime was covered with the label "German." It was not only during the war, but after the war—no Court, no judge, no trial—merely seizure and condemnation on the denunciation of men with a pull upon the Military or the Ministry, and to these odious practices, to these violations of every principle of justice, men who all their lives had been professing Socialists gave their consent and their signatures. Under the mask of "patriotism" and in the

name of "freedom" they became the associates and instruments of the most detestable reaction.*

It was John A. Hobson who, in one of his books, said: "The most important lesson of modern warfare is the fact that a knot of men—financiers, profiteers, and politicians—can capture the mind of a nation, arouse its passion, and in the name of patriotism impose a policy of slavery."

Old man Walt Whitman wrote these words:—

Justice is not settled by legislators and laws—it is in the Soul.

It cannot be varied by statutes, any more than love pride, the law of gravity, can.

It is immutable—it does not depend on majorities—majorities or what not, come at last before the same passionless and exact tribunal.

And some day the men to whom we have referred will get "justice"—justice measured out by the diabolical machinery of their own creation—an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

MASS MENTALITY

The German owned or subsidized journals in all neutral countries—so did the Allies. The Germans spent millions on propaganda in neutral countries—so did the Allies. The Germans spent enormous sums to acquire or rent cinema shows in neutral countries—so did the Allies. The Germans plastered the walls of neutral cities with picture posters—so did the Allies. In every large city in every neutral country black-

*In November, 1917, an Australian whose parents were also Australian had personal and political differences with one of the wealthy residents of his locality. A few days later this man received the following from the Commandant of his District:—

"Whereas you are suspected of having acted or being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety." Therefore the Commandant, without explanation of accusation, ordered the "suspect" to the "appointed place," and his family for months was left to sustain itself as best it could. Later on the "suspect," having received his lesson, was permitted to go back to his work and his home.

mailers, corruptors, and bribe-takers swarmed like carrion crows, and in such countries men grew rich by taking money from both sides and selling both.

Into this work the American "Committee of Public Information" jumped with both feet, and displayed a singular aptitude. It not only said: "Public opinion is a **vital** military factor." It said: "Public opinion is a **vital** trade factor." Everywhere, in pictures and posters and cinema shows, it advertised the Allied cause side by side with the superiority of Yankee products over all the rest. Not only did it send its own men for patriotic and trade trips to other lands, but it brought editors and politicians and traders out of Mexico, Argentine, Switzerland, Spain, and Scandinavia, France, Holland, and Italy to the U. S., filled them with good things, loaded them with price lists of goods to be sold, and sent them back to their own countries beaming with the light of patriotic truth.

The war gave America a monopoly of cinema pictures. It was difficult for a house to run without the American article. Therefore the U. S. Government, after it entered the war, gave no license to exporters except on agreement that the pictures should only be let to those houses in neutral countries where the German product was barred. It was good patriotism, also good trade; the German dope was gradually worked off the neutral market and the right dope injected. A new mass-mind was created—no longer pro-German but pro-Ally. One idea shut out, another injected; one sheep through the fence, the others follow; one stampeding steer, away starts the herd, Suggestion, Repetition, Infection: the deed is done; thus Capitalism maintains its domination by the methodical debauchery of nationality. Such was the debauchery developed that the French journal "Le Rire" published a cartoon representing two journalists sitting at a table. One said, "What news?" and the other said,

"I worry not; I believe nothing but that which I myself invent."

Belgium was a conspicuous instance of this work. The Germans during their occupation, through their journals, posters, and cinemas, and various other devices, created a pro-German mob-mind; and when the Allies went into Belgium, they found themselves up against a hostile population. So much so that the British Government had to maintain in Belgium an army of occupation until the counter propaganda could get in its work. This was entrusted to Professor Purves. He organized journals, cables, news posters, and cinema pictures as antidotes to the German poison. He gradually produced a mob-mind of the desired brand; and this sort of hideous mass hypnotism produced by German Capitalism one year and by British Capitalism the next, is designated "democracy."

Another glaring instance was the United States. For three years the injected dope was "Neutrality," and under its contemptible spell the American mass voted neutrality, and the cries of tortured Europe floated by deaf ears. Within a few weeks of that vote it suited American financial interests to go into the war. At once it was necessary to change public opinion, the spellbinders got to work, the cinemas turned on the horrors, the papers featured the conquest of New York by Germany and the rape of American women, and the deed was done. In the twinkling of an eye the millions were howling against the policy of neutrality for which they had voted; and tarring, feathering, torturing, burning any body who dared to stand for the voted policy of the country. This horrible state of affairs was stood for by the wealthy and so-called "intellectuals," and they embalmed it with the beautiful word "Democracy." So long as the mass can get food and a job, so long are they the victims of this organized dopery; and only actual starva-

tion and the hard facts that penetrate the belly can teach them the truth, and impel them to the only possible remedy.

Every belligerent country carried on an inter-change of "Liberty" and "War to End War" spruikers. On both sides of the trenches populations were gassed with the same formulae and methods, but none carried it out with more diabolical perfection than the American Bureau of "Public Information"—it set the pace to all the others.

In France it had a permanent staff of 740, and a couple of thousand French agents going on and off the payrolls—payment by results. In September, 1918, one of the principals of the American Bureau described to group around a table, of whom the writer was one, the working of the "system." There was the usual fake news, fake cables, fake pictures, "stick it" talkers and advertisement of American goods. In addition, agents were maintained in towns, villages, and industrial mills and factories. The agents had to report on all cases of local dissatisfaction or war sickness. If it resulted from agitation, the names of the agitators, their occupations, qualifications, and principal arguments had to be forwarded. The agitator must then be approached by some local patriot who knows him personally, or by his shop manager, to inform him that they have heard of an excellent position in some other area which they think the agitator's ability will just fit, and which they will help him to get. Agitation will, of course, be incompatible with the responsibilities of his new position. If the agitator takes the glad hand, he will disappear, and the area he had previously infested and infected will be invaded by a cinema show, a brass band, "O My Country" oratory, and "off she goes again."

If the agitator would not see the good thing he must be called up for military service, although this must

be done with discretion, because the calling up of Andrieu, of the Metal Workers' Union, caused a most inconvenient strike; but with the persons of less importance and less "pull" it could be safely and properly done.

If the "agitator" was too old to be sent to the front, and too stupid to be converted, he had to be snowed under with "pro-enemy" slander, or a "frame-up" had to be secured, and the man gaoled. The safety of the nation was the objective; to secure it every method was justifiable, and by one means or another war sickness must be conquered, and fresh war vitality pumped into the jaded nerves of the mangled population.

One of the men at the table asked, "Is there much war sickness in France?" And the agent replied, "Plenty of it."

"Why?"

"Well, sick of the war for one thing. High prices for another; and then, the longer the war lasts, the more the people see the Capitalist foundations of the war."

"Do you mean to say that you believe this war has a Capitalist origin?"

"Don't you?"

"Of course not! It is a war for the liberty of the world, a war against militarism, a war to guarantee that no nation shall be ruthlessly trodden on by another."

"That's all right, that is the dope I'm putting out. Now we'll have a drink."

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This spy and dope and dollop system operated in every country. In the House of Commons Mr. Pringle, a Liberal M.P., said the English institution for the corruption or suppression of men and women was started as a section of the Ministry of Munitions, under

Lloyd George, and was afterwards linked to the Ministry of Information. He stated that large pecuniary inducements were held out to trade union officials—and sometimes with success—to make secret reports as to “agitators” and “anti-patriots” inside their unions. Havelock Wilson, of the Seamen’s Union, was openly charged by Arthur Henderson with handling £50,000, of which he, Wilson, dared not explain the origin. Tom Richardson, M.P., alleged that the clerical work for Wilson’s Patriotic Crusade was done in the War Office. Four hundred “Patriotic Trade Unionists,” at £1 per day and expenses, were engaged to demonstrate in Coventry against the munition strikers. In the great workshops, men were bribed to spy upon their comrades, to report “slackness” and “agitators” and “pacifists,” and some of the phizgigs actually stimulated trouble in order to have something to report, and prove themselves worthy of their tainted pay and their talented corrupters.

The London “Everyman,” speaking of an English Labor leader, said, “The whole habit of his mind is bourgeois,” and the next week a writer in the same journal said: “As for his deplorable respectability, is not that one of the worst and most fundamental characteristics of the British working man. Is it not the chief cause of the swift and easy nobbling of his Parliamentary representatives?”

Arthur Henderson said: “Labor has only been trusted out of the country when it undertook a Government Mission.” He had been a member of the Government—he knew.

Phillip Snowden, during the elections of 1918, said of Lloyd George: “He bribed Labor leaders by the offer of office and honors; he subsidised landlords and profiteers; he used public money to mislead public opinion; he used the press to advertise himself and to defend his policy; he suppressed civil liberties and im-

prisoned honorable men for mild expressions of opinion; he bribed the landlords by a Protectionist Corn Bill while refusing a wage of 30/- a week (equal in pre-war value to 12/-) to the agricultural laborers. He has multiplied parliamentary offices to add to the number of his bought supporters. In short, his administration has been the most corrupt that his country has known since the days of Lord North.”*

* * * *

The British Bureau of “Public Information” was under the control of the Canadian, Max Aitken, whom George had made Lord Beaverbrook. Beaverbrook surrounded himself with a group of clever colonials—Canadian, South African, and Australian—who closely followed American methods. There was the same sort of international, interchangeable propoganda. The writer was asked his opinion about the advisability of inviting from Australia a group of “loyal” Labor leaders and “loyal” Labor journalists. The writer suggested it would be better to bring over the “suspects”—they might be enabled to “see the light,” and new war assets built up. A list of desirable converts was compiled; but before the suggestion could be acted upon, the war began to totter to its finale; so the trip was lost.

The British had “Public Information” institutes all over the States. They were under Colonel Bryan, a co-director on the Canadian Presidential Trust with Grant Morden, the “Dope Scandal” man. It was admitted in the House of Commons that the British agents in the United States numbered about 4500, but the amount of money spent on propaganda in the United States was never stated.

There were similar agencies in all parts of the

*Robert Smillie, of the Miners’ Federation, was offered the Coal Controllorship and afterwards the Food Controllorship. Both positions carried salaries of thousands of pounds per annum—Smillie refused both.

world, supposed to be of local, spontaneous growth, but all financed by Great Britain. The persuasion money passed through one or other of the trading corporations operating in the region. Thus, in Asia, the cash passed through Tobacco Trust agencies, under Cunliffe Owen. In Switzerland it passed through the stock-broking establishment of Richard Guinness, a patriotic Britisher, with a succession of German wives. The financial house of Charles Hambro & Co. paid out in Spain and Scandinavia, while in Australia the cheques for expenses were passed to galvanised patriots by the firm of Dalgety & Co. This was superior to the German method of working through diplomatic agencies. The advantage of passing public funds through industrial and commercial houses instead of political activities was that a beautiful business skin was given to the most ugly operation. And so the good work went on the wide world over.

THE APOSTATES.

The American "Alliance of Labor and Democracy," sustained by money from Governments and Trust Bosses, had its counterpart in the "British Workers' League," run by trade union officials and Government cash. The "Social Democratic League" of America, run by Government agents, had its counterpart in the English "National Socialist Party," run by the stool pigeons of the Government. With one exception the leaders of these two camouflage institutes got into Parliament with Tory support, and the "Manchester Guardian," referring to some of them by name, said they could carry any flag, any policy, with an equal show of sincerity for the same consideration.

In war time human flesh, even the poorest, acquires a value. Even the slum dweller and the beggar in the gutter are good to wield a bayonet for the land in which they starved. Socialist chiefs and Labor leaders

acquire at once a market value in the eyes of the men who before the war scorned, rejected and despised them. They are wanted, not for their personal worth, but for their influence upon the crowd.

They were wanted, and they were got. Thus in a majority of belligerent States—Germanic and Allied—the majority of Labor leaders cohabited with men whom they had previously alleged to be the real enemies of their country. They stood for persons and policies they had previously assailed. They became the voices of the old governing classes, and all the principles of the Working-class Movement were submerged beneath the tidal wave of war.

In Germany, Franz Mehring, speaking of the "Majority" Socialists, declared they had become "the mere slaves of the Government," and he added:—

"Their moral and political value is gone. They inject poison and filth into the masses, as it were, by hundreds of pipes."

In the All-Russian Congress, in July, 1917, Lenin said:—

"Whenever a capitalist Minister could not possibly appear in defence of the Government as, for example, before the Soviets, a 'Socialist' Minister appeared. He would conscientiously accomplish the capitalists' job, defend the Ministry, whitewash the capitalists, befog the minds of the people by repeating promises, and end by advising, wait! wait!! wait!!!"

If there were any two countries in which this traffic by Labor leaders in their consciences and in all their lifelong affirmations could be seen in its most odious forms, those two countries were Germany and England.

Those "leaders" hurled at each other across the frontiers their odious invectives. They denounced each other as "Stool Pigeons," "Tame Socialists," "Hired Hacks of the Government," as if they knew each other and their mutual recriminations made them the proper objects of distrust and contempt.

In England, Kropotkin had declared that regiments should be designated Fifth Vickers, the Fifteenth

Krupps, the Thirtieth Putiloffs, the Seventh Rothschilds, to keep before the people the interests for which those regiments were organised. In France, Gustave Herve had poured the vitriol of his wrath on all who said, "My country, right or wrong."

They stood for the Materialistic Conception. All things had their roots in the material conditions of life. All wars were the fruit of the predatory system, with a distinction between the capitalist and pre-capitalist. In the pre-capitalist era the victors went home loaded with the loot of the conquest. In capitalist times the conquering soldiers went home lootless, to toil, to pay interest to those whose perquisites, privileges and properties they had defended. Such, in brief, their story, and the moral that war could only disappear with the predatory system of which it was the product.

Yet Herve and Kropotkin and Kautsky and Hyndman and hundreds of others—German, British, Austrian, French—became apostates to the faith they had promulgated. Either before the war they fed the workers with false and pernicious doctrines, or they betrayed them during the war.

There is somewhere a description of the last moments of the Russian leader and traitor of 1905. It went somewhat like this—

Gapon: Brothers! Remember the links which bind us to each other.

Workman: That is why you deserve to die—you traitor.

Gapon: Brothers! darlings!—stop, let me say a last word.

Workman (jerking the rope): You have said it.

Never in all history, not even in the days of the torture chamber and the rack, were there such transformations, renunciations, sudden acts of apostasy. German leaders to English leaders cried: "You! You

suborned creatures of the Money Power!" English leaders to German leaders cried: "You hired satellites of Kaiserdom!" That and more they said of each other, and more need not be said. Kropotkin, the Anti-State, became the advocate of the State, Herve, for whom the furthest was not far enough, became so monarchist and pro-capitalist that even moderate Socialism hooted him from the scene. Burtseff, "The Terrorist," for whom the bomb and the dagger were the only effective instruments of progression, wired to newspapers his praises of Grand Dukes and reactionary generals. Such were the fornications of war.

THE CONVERSION OF LABOR.

For three years the United States kept out of the war, and for three years the press of all countries, cursed it, and accursed was its President. The Allies cursed because the United States would not fight, and the Germans cursed because the United States sold munitions to the enemy. Wilson was said to be the political buttoner for sordid interests, a "spineless jelly-fish," a man "without backbone, honor or courage." Then one day the Germans cursed him more, and the Allies rose up and called him blessed. In the twinkling of an eye he possessed every human virtue—honor, foresight, wisdom, courage, sagacity. And the reason? America had come into the war.

Wilson stood for "Democracy against Autocracy," for the guarantee that no nation should ruthlessly invade the soil of another. He stood for it during the years he kept out of the fight, and during the months he was in it. "In" or "Out" meant the same thing.

● To carry on effective war Wilson required a "united and unanimous nation." To get it he had to get those who exercised influence. Much he had—more he wanted. What he wanted was the elimination of



trouble from the industrial sections. Therefore he had to get the working-class leaders. Therefore he had to get the American Federation of Labor, its allied associations, and the oratorical and journalistic exponents of Socialism. If there was anything left alive that stood outside the door refusing to come into the feast it would be so lonely that it could be exterminated without pity and without protest.

The majority of American unions were banded together under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, of which the first article of association declares:—

“Whereas a struggle is going on in all the nations between the oppressor and oppressed, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer which grows in intensity from year to year.”

This was the situation when President Wilson found it desirable to secure a union of “oppressor and oppressed”—and he got it. That was a great achievement. The war was worth it. Trust bosses and Labor leaders became linked in the indissoluble bonds of matrimony.

What Wilson did to keep “Big Business” sweet and “paytriotic” is a toothsome story, but he did it—wonderful man! He had a “National Committee” to control oil supplies. Its address was 26 Broadway—Standard Oil Company. The “National Committee” to control the supply of steel consisted of the Steel Trust, and so on through all the ramifications of industry.

For the great “captains of industry” and the patriotic leaders of Labor there were bountiful tables spread—missions, commissions, supervisions, cash gifts, prizes, profits, perquisites, presentations, posts of “national importance,” and places where men too pure to work for pay could work for nothing, except “expenses” and unlimited “allowances.”

Thus, by one means or another, Wilson secured in a greater degree than in any other country a grand

united kingdom. And if any remained who would take no gift, or trip or job or keep their mouths shut, if in a free land they would persist in expressing opinions not on the "free" list, they could be stamped, tarred, feathered, ridden on a rail, shot, burnt, tortured, exterminated, and none would wish them mercy.* Thus Haywood could be dungeoned for fourteen years and Eugene Debs for ten, to the plaudits of the united "oppressor and oppressed." Thus was the world made safe for democracy.

The president of the American Federation of Labor was Sam Gompers. He delivered the goods to Wilson, and Wilson delivered the goods to him. From the day war started Gompers could travel anywhere. All the facilities of the United States and the Allied Governments were at his disposal. He could cable to all parts of the world, upon every conceivable subject, and apparently the means at his disposal were sufficient for his needs. On the 2nd of April, 1917, four days before the United States declared war, Gompers cabled to the Russian Soviet urging moderation. Had the Russian Soviet cabled urging him to "speed up," he would have regarded it as an impertinence.

Gompers travelled England, France, Italy—wherever he wished. Everywhere he went he discovered the tainted character of the men who held views opposite to his own. He was not 24 hours in Italy before he was able to tell the world that the "Avanti" Fund was fed from enemy sources, and the "Avanti" retorted by publishing the names of the Labor Unions and Co-operative Societies that had made the contributions.

In the autumn of 1918, while Gompers was in Paris, an officer of the American Bureau of Information said to a few friends around a table: "Well, here's to Sam Gompers, the squarest, honestest old man that ever

*Garrison Villard, editor of the American "Nation," said: "There has been built up in the United States a spy system which cannot have been surpassed in the palmiest days of the Czar."

was, and the finest stool pigeon upon which the American Government has been able to lay its hands."

THE "CONVERTED" SOCIALISTS.

The Socialist Movement of America was not numerically powerful, but what it lacked in numbers it made up in the capacity of the speakers and writers attached to it. Probably in proportion to the number of actual adherents the Socialist leaders in America compared favorably with any country. Such men would be an immense asset in stimulating the will to slaughter. They were "wanted."

On April 28th, 1917, a few weeks after the United States Government entered the war, the United States Socialist journal, "Appeal to Reason," referred to **"the controlled press that lashed Congress and the Administration into the war,"** and it went on to say:—

"From the very beginning . . . we pleaded with Congress to suspend our foreign commerce until the war was ended. However, the exploiting classes are more powerful and influential than the champions of the common people. . . . War was therefore the logical outcome. . . . It is true that many Socialists . . . believe that the Entente is fighting the battle of democracy against autocracy. . . . The 'Appeal,' however, cannot support this view.

"The 'Appeal' believes that this is the most opportune time for the propaganda of Socialism. . . . The war will bring home the fact that in the real sense the people do not rule."

The "Appeal" had a circulation of 400,000 weekly. The "Appeal" was the subject of violent denunciation in the capitalist press. The New York "Tribune" of August 6th, 1917, included it in its list of "disloyal" publications that ought to be suppressed.

The "Appeal" was not suppressed. Like Saul of Tarsus it saw a great light, and all its staff had a sudden conversion. They saw the war through gold-rimmed glasses, and their worldly tribulations disappeared. They became as bitterly pro-war as they had been anti-war, and much less discreet in their condemnations. The pen and the tongue went without bridle. All those comrades who refused to change over when they said "over" were now denounced as men "domin-

ated by the Prussian cult' or German gold. The "Appeal" became the "New Appeal" appealing for the policy it had previously assailed. It became the organ of "The Social Democratic League," a camouflage club, in which the somersaulters met and went through the mummeries of the new true religion. This so-called organisation was one upon which capitalist dailies and the Trust Bosses could properly bestow their praise and contributions. And side by side with this came a new fake institute—"The Alliance of Labor and Democracy."

The process of conversion went on rapidly. In June, 1918, the United States Government Committee of Public Information sent the following notification to the press:—

"The loyal wing of the American Socialist movement has named seven well-known Socialist leaders to represent it on a tour of the Allied countries."

All others were provided for in some way, but the Seven Lamps of Midas were:—Louis Kopelin, Charles Russell, John Spargo, A. M. Simons, Alexander Howat, Frank Bohn and G. D. Herron.

Clarence Darrow, the opponent of munition manufacture, became a breather of fire and slaughter. Allan Benson, who tried to push Wilson out of the Presidency, suddenly discovered in the President the most remarkable virtues. The American Committee of "Public Information" kept 75,000 men doing daily stunts to keep the American nation tuned to warlike pitch. The saved Socialists and converted Labor leaders went on Missions to all parts of the earth, and everywhere they preached the Glad Tidings of how the American Trust Bosses were sacrificing their worldly possessions for the cause of human freedom.

THE HIDDEN HAND.

After four years of war there developed in England a "Hidden Hand" campaign a la Americano. It

ascribed every fire, strike or accident to German influence. It aimed to build up a mass mind of terror, hatred and savage hostility against all who dared to question Georgian tactics, and the political purpose of boosting George was hidden under the banner of national defence.

The campaign was conducted by hired speakers, greased journals, and fake organisations. The public were lashed to fury over a girl who gave cigarettes to a German prisoner, but a discreet veil was drawn over the steel magnate actually in communication with the enemy. The girl was sent to gaol as a horrid example—the magnate escaped with a fine. An Englishwoman married to an interned German, and anxious to get work, applied in her maiden name. She was sent to gaol for seven weeks, while others with influence were permitted by the Government to change their names to hide their German origin. The last was lauded as a proof of loyalty—the Englishwoman in gaol was a proof of German intrigue.

There was in England a Princess Loewenstein, who time after time violated the Alien Restriction Act. She travelled under false names, gave false addresses, made enquiries about aeroplanes, and for a brief moment furnished a sensation. Then the Government took her into its care, gave her an English name, and, as with a magic wand, the "Hidden Hand" campaigners became silent—not one word of denunciation against George, the head of the Government that did the deed.

The Russian, Miliukoff, who was first Anglophile, transferred his affections to the Germans and lived in Kieff under the protection of German bayonets. After the Armistice he went to Paris. He was howled out of it, and on December 23rd, 1918, he went to England, of whose Government protection he was assured. He was dined by the Tories, dined by the Liberals, dined in the House of Commons by Colonel Alan Burgoyne,

but the "Hidden Hand" campaigners made no protest.

Lloyd George was immune from attack by the "Hidden Hand" campaigners. They assailed other men for pro-German utterances before the war—they were silent about George. Yet he was the man who just before the war said "the German army is vital not merely to the existence of the German Empire, but to the very life and independence of the nation itself." Thus London "Justice," while assailing Asquith because "his most intimate friend before the war was Sir Edgar Speyer, of German origin, was silent on the fact that **during the war** Mr. Lloyd George kept in his Ministry Sir Alfred Moritz Mond, a man of German origin.

To cover the attack on Asquith all sorts of other people were indiscriminately spattered. One of those was Miss Maud Allen, the actress. She went into court to secure protection. Up for the defence rose a crowd of neurotics, bigamists, perjurers and converted sodomites. Against Miss Allen they made no accusation. They admitted that they knew nothing to her detriment, but they developed in that Court the most hideous spectacle known in British judicial history.* They stormed, they raved, they took possession of the Court, they assailed the Judge, they assailed alike the living and the dead. They poured out a story of Sadism, Sodism, Black Mass, Black Book, a string of gloomy horrors besides which the Tsarina-Rasputin stories were tales of heavenly purity. As in the Rasputin case, so in this, they alleged that the German Secret Service knew it all, and by its knowledge exercised a baneful influence upon men and women prominent in the public life of Britain. The Judge did not clear his Court. He did not commit them for contempt. He admitted he was conversant with the literature of Sadism. He was as one who sat in fear. Miss Allen was forgotten. The issue was, Were the gloomy horrors

true? The jury said Yes, and the accused were ac-

*"This orgy of innuendo degraded and debased the whole fabric of British justice. It destroyed the sacred dignity of the law. It trampled on every rule of evidence. It outraged the most elementary principles of fair play. It delivered justice into the hands of the unthinking and hysterical mob. It turned the Old Bailey into a bear-garden or a lunatic asylum. It produced hideous scenes which recall the decadence of the days preceding the fall of the French Monarchy and the execution of Marie Antoinette."—London "Star," June 6th, 1918.

"The defendant started by putting the Judge on his trial, and calling upon the jury to treat the Bench as a criminal, the Judge accepting the situation."—London "Daily News," June 5th, 1918.

quitted. They left the Court triumphant. They were shouldered by their enthusiastic dupes. They would do still nobler work for their beloved England—but they did not. That was the end of them. They were cut off as by a knife. Their pay stopped, their paper, the "Vigilante," stopped. They were socially ostracised, ruined, or gaoled on charges subsequently raised against them.

That was a strange ending to patriots who had done such splendid work in the "Hidden Hand." What was wrong? They had overdone their parts. In their anxiety to be worth their hire, they had spattered the wrong persons. They had dirtied the sacrosanct. When they dragged into their indecencies the names of Evelyn de Rothschild and Neil Primrose, they touched the garments of men whose kinsfolk were sufficiently powerful to kill them. That was their crime—not their odious campaign against persons too poor or weak to resist or resent their outrageous and preposterous assaults.

Through all these filth campaigns a hidden purpose ran. Kill Asquith, kill all who oppose the Government. Kill them politically, socially, morally—anyhow, somehow. Even Prince Lichnowski's "My Mission to London" was used for anti-Asquith purposes. It contained a reference to the ex-Prime Minister's private relations that was a contemptible interpolation woven into the original text.

The newspaper, "John Bull," was a working part

of a "Hidden Hand" campaign. Its editor was Horatio Bottomley, made M.P. for Hackney, and its principal proprietor was the Canadian, Grant Morden, whom the "Daily Express"* referred to as "A Man of Empire." He was. He floated a Dope Corporation to make gelatinous compound for the wings of aeroplanes. Every sixpence was transformed into £14 10s, and £4000 was turned into a nest egg of £2,300,000. That was patriotism. It was Terah Hooley, Baron Grant and Whittaker Wright rolled into one, and this Grant Morden was Lloyd George's Coalition candidate for Chiswick.* "John Bull" did not discover this hidden hand, nor did it ever discover that Morden's co-director, Robson, was an alien named Rosenfeld.

The "Dope Scandal" was featured by the London "Daily Chronicle." That was unpleasant. It was therefore bought out. It changed owners, and thereafter it functioned for reaction. It was Arnold Bennett or A. G. Gardiner who said that the owners and controllers of nine-tenths of the British press could sit round a table for six. They were:—Northcliffe, his brother Rothermere, Beaverbrook, Riddle, Dalziel and Hulton. These controlled the main channels of public information.

There is a saying that when thieves fall out honest men come by their own, and when others fall out they tell the truth of each other. When Northcliffe in February, 1919, quarrelled with Lloyd George he said in the "New Illustrated": "He (Lloyd George) is a political chameleon, taking on the color of the views of those who happen to be his associates. He must be sure of support, even though it be the support of 'kept' newspapers." The odious character of those "kept" newspapers was beyond question.

*March 26th, 1918.

*Speaking in support of Morden, the Rev. Selby Henry, Vicar of St. George's, Brentford, said: "I have a conviction of soul that God has raised up Grant Morden to help rebuild our Empire."

THE MASTER CRAFTSMAN.

If you have a lovely home, and outside of it a man stands persistently ranting that your home is built on widows' woes and children's tears, something must be done to abate the nuisance. If you assault him or call a policeman you may augment the trouble. Better take him in, feed him, put something in his pocket. Perchance he may be grateful and sing your praises. At least he will sing the miseries of the poor no more, or sing them in a minor key.

Lloyd George sang his "Song of the Shirt" outside the Palace of Power, and at last the "Old Gang" opened and took him in, and the "Song of the Shirt" grew weaker.

Then came the war, and Lloyd George became Minister of Munitions. It is not enough to do good work. It is necessary to have someone shout your virtues from the housetops. More flies are caught with treacle than with vinegar, and Lloyd George had a marvellous charm wherewith he transformed virulent opposition into songs of sweetest praise.

Old Mrs. Pankhurst regarded George as a charlatan and a gamester. She assailed him and all his associates. But one night she had a dream, and woke out of it with feelings of the greatest admiration for the man she had despised. She got up a great deputation of patriotic women. It was a mammoth and costly affair, with flags and banners and gorgeous procession. It waited, not on the Prime Minister, but on Lloyd George. Afterwards it transpired that George, out of the public funds, had paid for the organized flattery to his own greatness. This was at a time when Mrs. Pankhurst was conducting a malignant campaign against his colleagues—that was loyalty. From those attacks he was immune—that was business. He was the blazing sun by day and the moon by night.

Presently all the powerful Conservative journals of Great Britain became pro-Georgian. Only a few ultra-

radical papers remained outside the charmed circle. Presently all the great shipping, landed and financial interests ranged themselves behind George. George was their hero. They forgot everything—even profits—for their country. They joined in the loud hosannas, George was the man who ought to be Prime Minister.

There was a smart young Canadian named Aitken. He made a fortune in cement deals and land booms. When he was 32 years of age (1910) he went to England, went into Parliament, bought a newspaper, made close friendship with Carson the Ulsterman, with Bonar Law, brother Canadian, and later on made up a quartette by the inclusion of Lloyd George. During the autumn of 1916 these four motored and suppered and slept and breakfasted together, and talked of their beloved country. It was unfortunate that just about the same time masked slander dogged the steps of the Prime Minister Asquith, and strange figures in doorways whispered unprintable stories. The Northcliffe papers charged him with incapacity, and orators who had filled the earth with his praises suddenly discovered his German connections.

On December 4th, 1916, an article appeared in the Northcliffe "Times," based on facts known to a few in the inner circle of Empire. Somebody had violated the secrets of the sanctuary. Asquith resigned, Lloyd George became Prime Minister, Northcliffe became a "Viscount," Aitken became Lord Beaverbrooke, Minister of Information and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster—more business.

Lloyd George did to others what the "Old Gang" had done for him. He opened the door to "Labor Leaders," took them in, fed them, and put something in their pockets. Out of 73 paid positions in the Ministry, Labor M.P.'s got eight. Two were in £5000, two on £2000, three on £1500 and one on £1000, and for this they were expected to inject the dope that they could

in some way influence the policy of the other sixty-five.

The leader of the Labour Party, Henderson, was a member of the British Cabinet. He was against the Stockholm Conference. Lloyd George was for it. So Henderson went to Russia and came back converted to the proper view. Lloyd George was in France and failed to leave a message that he had changed his mind. So Henderson, thinking he heard his master's voice, went to a Labor Conference and expressed the wrong opinion. For that he had to resign £5000 per year. Lord Milner, Lord Northcliffe, and other members of the Government expressed opinions for which the Government did not stand, but they were not called upon to resign. Henderson was victimized. George could safely do to him what he dare not do to Northcliffe or Milner. Working men have walked out of their jobs as a protest against victimization—but not Henderson's colleagues. On the contrary they rushed his job. Barnes got it, and nothing could drag him from it. Yet those men asked the country to believe that they in some way, or any way, influenced the policy of the Government of England.

While this was going on, and while West Indian negroes were fighting on the West Front to preserve the Empire, the British Government in the West Indies was suppressing with gunpowder the effort of the negroes to form a union as a safeguard against the rapacity of their masters. The British Government (June, 1918) justified the shooting of West Indian workers on the ground that their efforts to form trade unions were the result of German propaganda. Yet the same Government could, at the same time, enter into direct relations with the Germanized Government of Finland because it was anti-socialistic and pro-capitalist. The "Intransigent" of Paris had said: "A state of war does not permit of different shades of opinions." But the only opinions the majority of working-class leaders possessed in any country—German or British—were the

the spies in the workshops, the purchase of support for cash, or place or "honors"; the interchange of spruikers and scribes to preach in their own land the fervor for war on others; the whipping and spurring of war-opinions of their masters, and to "the Master's Voice" they conformed their conduct.

Mrs. Pankhurst was sent on a trip to Russia at a time when others were prohibited from travelling. She was sent to the United States while the delegate of the British Trades Union Congress (Miss Bondfield) was refused a passport. The Labor Ministers could not prevent even that case of flagrant partiality. They permitted it and stood for it. They stood for every iniquity, partiality and close-up that the Government cared to perpetrate. Their conduct from beginning to end constituted the strongest arguments against coalition. They were in such a helpless, hopeless minority that every act of the Coalition compromised them. But that did not trouble their consciences. They found a hundred subtle reasons in favor of the Coalition and deserted it only when threatened with political extinction. Then they found excuses for desertion in the acts for which they stood sponsor. They accepted the capitalist exposition of the Russian situation, and held up their hands in orthodox horror at the wickedness of the Russian masses. One of the foremost English Labor leaders during the elections of 1918 exclaimed proudly: "I was the first in England to denounce them. How dare they call me Bolshevik?" Such were the lamps in the darkness, the shining lights on the path to New Jerusalem.

All that has been described — bribery, brutality, thuggery, corruption, deception, suppression, the lies and the infamies, the cries of Bolshevik or pro-enemy, weary masses to the last ditch of exhaustion—all this to maintain "morale" by the degradation of every moral code—this under both Imperialisms, Germanic and Allied, was designated "a vital necessity of war."

The war, which showed the use of big guns, bombs, and poison gas, also showed men the use of lying on the grand scale. . . . Instances could be numbered by the hundreds of incredible statements circulated during the war, greedily swallowed by the public without questioning. — Melbourne "Age," August 12th, 1919.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF 1919.

IRONSIDE AND MANNERHEIM

NO sooner did the German Overlords find that their populations were rising, their ships of war flying the Red Flag, and their warriors declining to fight, than they opened negotiations for an armistice. Allied Capitalism stipulated many things for Germany to do, but there was one thing it stipulated that Germany should not do. It was not to withdraw any more troops from the occupation of Finland, the Baltic Provinces, or Ukrania until the Allied Powers were prepared to take up in those areas the war against the Soviets.

As early as October 14th, the London "Times" said:

"All competent observers who have lately been in Russia appear unanimous that on the withdrawal of the German military support, which, apart from the armistice negotiations, has already begun, no bourgeois Government can maintain itself in Ukraine for a week. The re-union of the greater part of European Russia under a central Bolshevik Government is thus, at any rate, by no means a remote prospect."

Weeks before the Armistice, and while the two Imperialisms were at war with each other, their respective Governments negotiated on the Russian situation, and on the 6th November—five days before the Armistice—the German Junker journal the "Kreuz Zeitung," announced that the Kaiser's Government had consented to keep German troops in Russia until relieved or assisted by the troops of the Allied Powers.

From Finland the Germans had begun the withdrawal of their troops in September, and it became evident that without foreign bayonets the local reactionaries could not exist. In early October, while the war was still on, and weeks before the declaration of any Armistice, the Finnish butcher, General Mannerheim, left Finland, went to England, was the guest of the Government, and interviewed by the English press he spoke of the splendid work done by the Germans.*

This was the man whom the British Government delighted to honor, and who went back to Finland with promises of recognition and support, while he in his turn promised to render to British Capitalism the same whole-hearted support which he had previously rendered to the German. It was of this monster and his clique that Hyndman had said only a few months previously** that "rather than see the wealth which they had amassed taken from them by the rising Social Democrats, they deliberately set their country under the heel of Germany." Yet, when in October and November Hyndman saw the head serang of that horrid gang a welcome guest in England, he made no protest. Like a dutiful Government Socialist he remained silent.

This Mannerheim, whom Havelock Wilson's union carried backward and forward without protest, the working-class crowds in Stockholm howled at as a "murderer," and in Norway the Government so feared a popular rising that it asked him to keep out of the country. In March, 1919, on a jerrymandered franchise, with 100,000 Socialist voters dead, or in gaol, or off the rolls,* with no free speech, and a rigid suppres-

*See "Manchester Guardian" for November 19th, 1918.

**"New Europe," July 25th, 1 18.

*"To make sure of crushing Socialism, Mannerheim called in the Germans, who seconded his enterprise of extermination, and his relations with Berlin were so close that he was preparing for the advancement of a German Prince to the throne of Helsingfors. Now the same Mannerheim has been received in London and Paris by official personages."—"Le Populaire," December 16th, 1918.

sion of Socialist newspapers, the Socialists scored 80 out of 200 seats.** If they had got a majority they would, as at Vladivostock, in August, 1918, have been shot or gaoled.* For such as General Mannheim, for such liberty and such democracy, the British Government stood sponsor and supporter. This man, the associate of Von der Goltz, was now to link up with General Ironside, the Allied commander at Archangel, for the 1919 onslaught upon Soviet Russia.

In the Archangel section the Allied troops became "unreliable." In plain words, they mutinied against the work of smashing the strikes of Russian workmen.*** To remedy this state of affairs the entire naval and military services around Archangel were turned into purely volunteer services at very high rates of pay. Those English, French and Americans to whom even more money furnished no attraction, were returned to their various nationals, and "volunteers" brought back. England raised the pay in this area to 8s. per day, and naval services to a like amount. The advertisements appeared in the English press during March, under the heading, "Men for North Russia." The agreement was to be for nine months, free kits and uniforms, and in addition to ordinary pay "there would be a river transport allowance of £2 2s. per week, which will start on April 15th.' So by killing Russian workmen, a man could earn as much as £21 2s. per month.

THE GERMAN BALTS.

The provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and the part of Lithuania wedged between Courland and the Prussian border, embrace 50,000 square miles, and 5,000,000 people.

For centuries these provinces have been the prey of

**London "Times," February 11th, 1919.—At the 1916 election the Socialist won 103 out of 200.

***See "Philadelphia Ledger" of April 11th also debates in the American Senate.

rival robbers—Prussian, Russian, Polish and Swedish—but, since the days of Peter the Great, the military master has been Russian.

The chief seaports and cities of the Baltic Provinces were founded by German traders in the thirteenth century. From that date they have been the master class, controllers of land, finance and industry, the exclusive holders of local political power, and the imposers of economic slavery upon the local races.

For two centuries the German Balts were the staunchest supports of Tsarist Governments. In return they were permitted to be sole rulers in the Baltic Provinces, and Tsarist soldiery were always at their disposal for the subjection of rebellious workers.

The Baltic masses therefore staggered under a double yoke, that of the German Balts, and that of the Russian bureaucracy—the former were the economic taskmasters, the latter the military oppressors. The German Balts and Russian autocracy were akin, but since the Balts came closer to the daily life of the people, the Baltic masses had a more implacable hatred against the German Balts than even against the Russian autocracy.

Thus the Baltic masses have always been the foremost and most reliable in every Russian revolutionary movement. The Revolution in 1905 showed how intense was the hatred of the Baltic peasants to their brutal Teutonic landlords, and only the influx of many Cossack regiments saved the Baltic Barons from utter extermination. The hostility of the two classes was not less intense in Riga and the other industrial centres. Again, in March, 1917, the regiments of the Baltic Provinces were the first to participate in the revolution, and were always the most reliable military agents of Soviet authority.

On April 12th, 1917, the First Provisional Government of Russia granted "Home Rule" to the Baltic Provinces, and as such autonomy meant government by

peasants and proletarians, the Baltic baronage of landlords, tradelords and financiers saw their robber power disappearing. Thus they agitated for intervention, annexation, salvation of their perquisites and possessions from the wrath of the Baltic people, and their cry for "liberation" was taken up in Germany.

John Buchan, in his "Nelson's History of the War," has put in on record that:—

"The pro-German aristocracy was clamoring for the occupation of Esthonia by German troops, since their great landed estates were in danger from any popular Government."

On January 2nd, 1918, Herr Vorst, the correspondent in Russia of the "Berliner Tageblatt," put the case thus:—

"Should the Baltic Provinces remain united with Russia or obtain self-government, the social and economic predominance of the German Balts will be abolished through the uprising of the people. The German Balts look to Germany for protection against the local proletariat."

There was here no talk of a Russian Bolshevik invasion, but a blunt admission that the Baltic capitalists and land monopolists feared their own people and wanted foreign bayonets to save them.

The Brest Treaty (March, 1918) left the Baltic Provinces of Esthonia and Livonia within the Russian State, and Soviet Russia left to those two provinces complete powers of self-government. At once a deputation of Baltic capitalists visited Berlin and appealed for the occupation of their country by a foreign State. The German Government complied, and thereafter German steel and German guns kept the people in subjection.

On April 23rd the Berlin "Vorwärts" wrote:—

"Germany supports with armed force the Esthonian and Livonian reactionaries on the plea of protecting German citizens."

The "Arbeiter Zeitung," of Vienna, wrote:—

"If the Baltic Provinces were not occupied by German troops the Baltic peasants would drive away the German barons and take possession of the soil. It is the same in Poland, where the landowner seeks the protection of the German bayonet against the Polish peasant. Everywhere we see the Imperial armies protect the properties of the rich against the poor."

And when Imperial Germany could no longer do the

dirty work, Imperial Britain took up the task, and acted either alone or in collaboration with Germany.

After the Armistice, the Baltic Sea having been cleared of mine-fields, the British fleet sailed in and tightened up the Russian blockade. The neutrals were prohibited from trading with Russia. Even the fish that passed from Scandinavia to feed the poor of Russian cities was seized and destroyed, and gleeful starvation augmented. Provisions and vegetable seeds from Denmark were treated in a like manner. The passage of agricultural implements and machinery from Sweden to Russia was forbidden. Flax that was being sent from Russia in Russian ships to Sweden was seized at sea and taken to British ports. Litvinoff said: "We are being strangled and deprived of the possibility of bettering the internal conditions, and yet it is we who are said to be responsible." The "Times" was jubilant in its contemplation of the powers of "economic suasion," otherwise starvation, and applauded it as "cheaper and more effective than guns."

On December 6th, the "Manchester Guardian" said:

"The Soviet Government meets with general support from some eighty millions of people whom it controls. It has established order. It is grappling successfully with the food problem. It is promoting the popular arts. It is preparing a great scheme of popular education. It is performing most of the normal functions of a Government, and performing them with increasing success. These are the facts, but they do not suit the policy of our freedom-loving Government."

That same day (December 6th) the British landed at Riga, and next day at Reval.

On Sunday, December 29th, the local Lithuanian regiments held a meeting in Riga, and declared for Lenin and the Soviet Government of Russia.

On December 30th, the joint action of German and British troops was agreed to by their respective Governments.

On January 1st, 1919, the Lithuanian troops were designated "mutineers," and German and British troops marched out against them, overcame them, and

compelled the survivors to carry arms against their own race and country.

On January 2nd the working population rose en masse, the German soldiery refused to fight, and the British were compelled to evacuate Riga and surrounding country.

In this situation it was determined to secure high-priced "volunteers" for the unreliable conscript armies. The "National Committee" of German Baltic Barons, the committee that twelve months previously had petitioned Germany to annex the Baltic areas, were heavily financed by the Allied Powers to organize a German volunteer force, and recruiting offices were at once established in Berlin and other cities. The "Manchester Guardian" (January 8th) said:—

"The irony of the situation is that the German Baltic barons are the most reactionary gang to be found anywhere in the world."

On January 8th, 1919, the British press announced that "the Entente Governments ordered the German occupation authorities to keep German troops in Russian territory until further notice," and next day Colonel J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., publicly stated that.—

"In the Baltic Provinces, side by side with Germans we are protecting the landlords from the peasants."

Only a few months before these events, in July, 1918, the British Foreign Office, in one of those documents which it made available to members of the House of Commons, under the label "confidential," said:—

"The barons and rich merchants, supported by armed detachments, exercise a military terrorism upon the population, and continue to agitate for a 'Baltic State,' to be part of the German Empire"

Yet it was those pro-German barons and merchants and that "terrorism" by the rich and that subjection of the poor of the Baltic Provinces that the British fleet and British regiments were sent out to support.

In the middle of January came the Spartacist risings in Germany, as a protest, amongst other things, against the German-British intervention in the Baltic Provinces. It was a failure. The leaders, Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht, were captured, and after

capture they were murdered. The murderers were never punished. The murderers of revolutionary leaders never are. It was so with the murderer of Sheehy Skeffington. The murderer of the French Socialist leader, Jaures, was five years before he was brought to trial, and then went unpunished. The boy who fired a shot at President Clemenceau without hurting him was in a few days tried and sentenced to death. Such is Justice under Capitalism .

During January and February, 1919, British ships of war were convoying German troops from one part of the Baltic to another. On February 22nd the British press reported that 8000 German troops had landed at Libau, that they were all "volunteers," that they were well armed, that their equipment included armoured cars, and that their commander was General Von der Goltz.

Von der Goltz had come across from Finland. He took charge of the Baltic land operations, while the British fleet protected his rear. These symbolized the united financial Imperialisms preparing the Baltic for the coming summer campaign against the local populations and Soviet Russia.

THE MONSTER KOLCHAK.

The western Siberian portion of the capitalist ring around Soviet Russia was as hypocritical, as reactionary, and as odiously cruel as anything elsewhere. The history of the monster Kolchak equals in horror the deeds of Gustave Mannerheim in Finland, or those of the German Balts in the Baltic Provinces.

After the Soviet triumph in November, 1917, the Moderate Socialists and Radicals who stood behind

Kerenski fled beyond the Volga and there established a number of "Constituent Assemblies," and by these

*A Soviet Government was established at Omsk (Western Siberia) in November, 1917, and held out against a ring of foes until 7th June, 1918. On that date the Szecho-Slovaks and Russian reactionaries, under the Tsarist general Ivanoff, defeated and destroyed it.

instrumentalities they governed the country between the Volga and Lake Baikal, in Central Siberia.

Within this territory there are vast mineral resources controlled by British capitalists, who had gathered their ownership of the mineral wealth of Russia from the Government of the late Tsar. Their corporations, companies and trusts controlled 50 per cent. of the copper, all the lead, all the silver, and one-third of the gold turned out of Russian and Siberian mines.*

These mines of "gold, copper, zinc, lead and coal" are of almost fabulous value, and one mine alone was stated to be capable of yielding "net profits" of £13,000,000 at pre-war prices.**

The head of these mineral syndicates is the British "Financier," Leslie Urquhart, and on the share books of his corporations appear the names of men powerful in the world of British politics. The managing director in Siberia is the Russian reactionary, Feodissief, and Urquhart claimed personal friendship with Kolehak, ex-Admiral of the late Tsar's Black Sea Fleet, a man whose cruelties to his sailors were notorious even under the brutal regime of the Tsar.

During the summer of 1918, while Urquhart was in Siberia, a propanganda started to create one great anti-Bolshevik alliance, composed of Socialists at one end and reactionaries at the other, and one great "All-Russian Government"—composed of every variety of anti-Bolshevik. In September Urquhart returned to London, where he reported that there would soon be a dictatorship and a good chance of a limited monarchy.***

The Hampshires and Middlesex regiments in Eastern Siberia were ordered to Omsk. The Middlesex were under Colonel John Ward, ex-revolutionary, ex-member of the Social Democratic Federation of England,

*London "Times," December 16th, 1918.

**"Morning Post," September 19th, 1918.

***"Daily Mail," September 12th, 1918.

general secretary of the English Navvies' Union, and organizer of Chinese labor for Europe, and Labor M. P. in the House of Commons.

When the English regiments went to move forward, the Siberian railway workers went on strike. There was a hold-up at Zema. Colonel John Ward at once ordered the seizure of the leaders, and gave the strikers the opportunity to work the trains or die. His strike-breaking campaign was a huge success, and by these methods the Hampshire and Middlesex regiments arrived at Omsk.

The anti-Bolshevik "All-Russian Government"—a coalition of Moderates and Reactionaries—was constituted on November 4th, with Kolchak as Minister of War.

On the night of 18th of November, the Moderate members of the Coalition were arrested, and Kolchak, with military support, declared himself Dictator, and took his "Financial Adviser" Feodissief, the managing director of the British mining syndicates.

A tremendous outcry had been raised in the capitalist press of all countries against the "abolition" of the so-called "Constituent Assembly"* by the Soviets, but it was silent over the suppression of the Finnish Diet by the reactionaries in November, 1917.** It was silent when in August, 1918, the Allies suppressed the

*Not until the coming of the Republic of Federated Soviets had there existed in Russia a Government in which the people had either a voice or a vote. Anything after that date had therefore to establish itself as the March Revolution had done, as the November Revolution had done. If it merely put in a formal claim to rule and then fled without a blow, it had no confidence in its power and no confidence of the support of the people in whose name it professed to speak. The "Constituent Assembly" never existed as a Government, and not until the Soviet Government had been in existence for over two months did a number of men dubbing themselves "Constituent Assembly" claim the right to rule. When Lenin told them (January 20th, 1918) to run away, they ran, and that was their Genesis and Exodus.

**"The men whom Lloyd George and Clenenceau want to impose on the Russian people are the most ferocious butchers—Mannerheim, who had more than 30,000 Finnish Socialists executed. Skoropadski, who crushed Ukrainian peasants with German troops; Krasnov and Denikin, who hang and shoot everyone suspected of Socialism. Such are the representatives of order and civilization." ("Populaire," May 25th, 1919.)

Vladivostok City Council because the citizens voted for Bolshevik candidates. It was silent when Kolshak, with Allied aid, destroyed the anti-Bolsheviks "Constituent Assemblies" of Western Siberia, and made himself Dictator—those crimes were not listed for denunciation.*

Under Kolshak all freedom and liberty was suppressed, including freedom to the press, freedom of association, and the right to strike. Members of the Constituent Assembly who fled were ordered by proclamation to report themselves under pain of death if they were captured. If they surrendered they were promised immunity. Eight gave themselves up, and were immediately shot.

On November 22nd, the "Times" correspondent at Omsk wrote saying it was imperative that the Allies dissociate themselves from the reactionaries, and he asserted that Allied deeds in Siberia were "driving all moderate men over to the Bolsheviks."

On the 29th November, the "Manchester Guardian" asserted that:—

"We have a British army killing Russian peasants and Russian workmen in the Arctic, and British troops engaged in the same occupation in Siberia. Our blood and our money are being poured out in Russia to help in the restoration of the evil system which the Revolution overthrew."

On the evening of the 29th, Alexandre Kerenski, speaking to a pressman in London, said:—

"You are creating a new psychology in Russia. Eighty per cent. of Russia is pro-Entente. They are being turned into your enemies."

Before the end of January there were three popular risings crushed with unprecedented brutality. The workers went on strike in spite of the prohibition. One day 47 working-class leaders were taken out and shot. Another day, 60 workmen were shot because they refused to resume work. At Kolomsina, a railway town near Omsk, 70 railway men were arrested and then shot. No man dared protest for fear of be-

*"Kolchak and Yudenich are simply Russian traitors belonging to a Germano-Russian club, whose president is Von der Goltz." ("Action Francaise," May 15th, 1919).

ing dragged before a field court and either killed or thrashed. Hundreds of workmen were flogged, and some of them died under the lash. Not even under the Tsar did Western Siberia have less liberty, and this reign of horror was, said the "Manchester Guardian" and other protesting British journals, upheld "with British gold and British troops."* This Kolchak was in daily touch with London, and to him the British Government accredited the services of M. Nabakoff, the ex-Ambassador of the late Tsar, whom the British Government had placed in its own pay roll.** By Tsarist diplomacy, by political treachery, by financial persuasion, by terroristic devices, there was constructed the Siberian portion of the Ring of Fire around Soviet Russia.

THE GERMAN-BRITISH.

No sooner did Turkey in October collapse, surrender and open the Dardanelles, than the press of Allied capitalism boldly unveiled itself. The "Echo de Paris" said: "Now is the time to take up the unfinished task. A new base of action now appears—the Ukraine." The London "Daily Chronicle" said: "We shall now be glad to bring support to the gallant army of Alexieff." This was the Alexieff who was equally at home in the German headquarters at Keiff and at the Allied headquarters at Omsk. The "Journal des Debats" said: "Now shall we be free to attack Bolshevism with vigor and with violence. Now shall we make examples." Steel Maitland, the British Minister for Foreign Trade, said (November 18th): "I am now dealing with new enterprises in Russia." That was his conception of "self-determination." An Anglo-Russian trade journal said: "We are now witnessing the opening stages in the struggle for the natural resources of Russia. It is the greatest prize since the discovery of America.

*"Manchester Guardian," January 11th, 1919.

**London "Times," December 30th, 1918.

It is the Treasure House of the World." The "Financial News" said (November 20th): "Events are shaping towards an international suzerainty over Russia. Such an event would transform Russian bonds into the cream of the market" and three days later the "Morning Post" mentioned that "half the material wealth of this planet" was inside the Russian borders. "Such wealth the impoverished world cannot ignore." No word about the rights of the Russian people. What they would not take from Russia under the Tsar and the Grand Dukes they would take from Russia under the Soviets. Then the Allied fleets of Allied capitalism sailed through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea.

From May, 1918, to the 5th of November, the ruling figure in Southern Russia (Ukrania) was the Tsarist Hetman Skoropadski, upheld by the power of German bayonets. Skoropadski's commander of the local reactionary forces was the Kuban Cossack General Denikin. In November the commander of the German forces was Von Keller, and Denikin's relationship to him was akin to that of Mannerheim's to Von der Goltz in Finland.

On the 5th November Skoropadski reconstructed his Government, included several officials of the late Tsar, and declared Von Keller Generalissimo even over the so-called "volunteer forces" of Denikin. This Government the Allied Powers "recognized," and after the passage of the Dardanelles furnished it with money and supplies. The Allies no longer wanted an independent Ukania. They now stood for a unified Russia, and Skoropadski declared accordingly.

At once the Ukranian Separatists and Home Rulers jumped to arms, and the internal props of Skoropadski began to fall away. The Allies appointed the Frenchman Aynot as their joint representative, and on November 22nd he issued from Odessa a declaration in the name of the Allies. It appeared next day in all the newspapers of Southern Russia. It said:—

"The Powers of the Entente intend to support the present Government of Keiff as constituted by the Hetman and his Ministry. Every attempt against the Government will be vigorously suppressed."

Here was a bold declaration of alliance between German and Allied Imperialisms to uphold the agents of odious Tsardom. It only added fuel to the fire. The German troops raised the Red Flag and refused to fight, and as the Allied troops could not get out of Odessa, General Denekin was driven out of Keiff. On the 15th of December the Government of Skoropadski came to an end.

The new Government was one of Ukrainian Separatists, standing for an independent State on a Capitalist basis. At once the Allies tendered their support. Any sort of Government provided it stood for the capitalist foundation!

The Allies pushed forward their forces, largely composed of African negroes, and Dr. Harold Williams said in the "Daily Chronicle": "It is pitiful that we should be reduced to employing colored troops for purposes for which we dare not employ white troops for fear of a public opinion which is kept in the dark."

And since conscript Germans could no more be relied upon to fight in Ukraina than the conscript Allied soldiery in Archangel, there went on in Germany, as in England, the same effort to raise volunteer mercenaries at high wages. Thus there was secured for service in Ukraina a German volunteer force to fight side by side with the Allies.

And side by side with this went on a transformation amongst the Russian reactionaries. Yesterday profoundly pro-German, they now became fervently pro-Ally, and the Denekin who yesterday fought with Von Keller now fought with the French General Anselme and the English General Poole. Alexieff, having passed away, Denikin, his successor, became chief of the Kuban Cossacks, and Krasnoff, who yesterday had said,

"Germany is our friend," now linked with the forces of England.

But the workers of Southern Russia, those workers who, during six months, had boycotted, sabotaged and dynamited the German army of occupation, would not have a country occupied by a foreign army simply because it was called "Allied," nor would they have a Government content to be a vassal to the foreigner.

On February 5th, 1919, the population rose, smashed the Government, and proclaimed the "Ukrainan Soviet Republic federated to Great Russia."

On February 27th, Deputy Cachin asserted in Paris that the German "volunteer troops in Ukrania were maintained out of the public funds of France." That charge went unanswered. General Anselme reported to the French Government that the French troops under him at Odessa were no longer reliable, and Chapedelaine said in the French Chamber: "Those who are not volunteers do not want to remain in Russia. We have made enough sacrifices. We may paraphrase a famous saying, 'Gentlemen of England, after you!' *

THE RUSSIAN LEGION.

The Allies took a new step. There was in France a Russian Legion, sent round in the days when the Western front was hard pressed for men. This army was on the Rhine as part of the army of occupation. They were asked to enlist to fight under Denikin in Russia. They were given 15 minutes to decide. They refused. They were threatened with loss of fourragere, loss of special compensation, with threats of transportation to Algeria. They again refused. They were brought back to France, sent to Marseilles, and shipped for service against the Soviet Government of Russia. They mutinied and compelled the ships to put back to Marseilles. In Marseilles they were surrounded by French and African troops and given the alternative of re-

* "L'Humanite," February 2th, 1919, and March 21st, 1919.

embarkation or death. They went to Russia.

The Allied Powers in Paris went further. The Russian prisoners in Germany were suffering badly from chronic under-feeding and tuberculosis. The best of them were picked out, placed under an escort of Entente troops, and transported for delivery to General Denikin to fight against Soviet Russia.*

THE FORGERY FACTORIES.

There was yet another instrument more subtle, more deadly, more difficult to combat, than even that of hostile armies. The readers of the "Memoirs of Admiral Clinton" will remember his description of the injection of counterfeit paper dollars into America. Alison, in his "History of Europe," describes how during the French Revolution factories were kept going in England turning out counterfeit assignats wherewith to flood France and destroy the value of its currency. When in 1796 the French Directory substituted "mandats," the volumes of counterfeit assignats were found to total £600,000,000. When in 1918 the Allies occupied Archangel, they declared that place to be the seat of the real Government of Russia, and issued a "double-eagled" paper currency. . . . But that currency had no value outside the occupied areas, and Russians found with it in their possession were declared by the Soviet Government to be guilty of "trading with the enemy." To get over that difficulty the British Government deliberately re-enacted the policy of forgery pursued against the French Revolution and the strugglers for American Independence. In England, in the vicinity of London, a factory was kept going counterfeiting the Russian rouble currency, and with such counterfeit currency Russia was methodically flooded. Wilfred Humphries, who was with the American Y.M.C.A. and Red Cross in Russia and

*"L'Humanite," February 15th, 1919.

Siberia, told his American audiences that the Japanese did likewise. He said, "A horde of Japanese traders followed the Japanese troops into Eastern Siberia, and bought up products with spurious Russian roubles manufactured in Japan." To counteract this deadly onslaught Russia was driven to all sorts of new devices to escape the deluge, so that the evil was not without its advantages to the people whose economic life it was meant to destroy.

THE BROKEN RING.

By February, 1919, the forces around Russia might be described thus:—The extreme left in the north consisted of Allied contingents under General Ironside. Next were the Germans in the Baltic Provinces, under Von der Goltz, backed by the British fleet. Then came the Polish centre. The right wing in the south consisted of African negroes and French, under General Anselme, and the extreme right, under the English general Poole, linked with the Russian reactionaries and ex-German associates, Generals Krasnoff* and Denikin. The rear of the Russians was assailed by the Tsarist, Kolchak, assisted by the Middlesex and Hampshire regiments, and in the Far East, American and other Allied troops were under the supreme command of the Japanese general Otani.

This ring of enemies around Central Russia—English, German, French, Austrian, Polish, Japanese and Yankee—seemed complete and all powerful to destroy, but it was no sooner ready for united action than it commenced to rot and break. Hungary went Bolshevik, the Poles refused to fight Russia, and Paderewski, in order to stave off an internal revolution, was compelled to send Wienrouski to Moscow with power to come to an agreement on the Russian-Polish frontier question. In one way or another the anti-Soviet centre collapsed.

*Krasnoff, when linked up with the Germans, had the Allied proclamations burnt in the public squares

On all fronts, in all languages, the Soviet Government shot its literature into the ranks of the opposing forces. It said:—

"The sole aim of the capitalist is profit. They make profit out of food. They make profit out of the uniforms you wear. They make profit out of the guns you use. The war has been for them an Aladdin's cave, from which to draw wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.

"As against the working class the capitalists of all countries are united. They understand the class war.

"If you help to crush our revolution, you will only be helping to fasten the shackles of wage slavery more firmly on yourselves."

The Allied volunteers in the north made no headway. They were glad of the high wages, but they had no heart for the fight. The German volunteers in the Baltic provinces were in the same position. They marched out one day and retired the next. In Eastern Siberia the American soldiery went on strike and refused to fight against the Bolshevik workers. From Western Siberia Kolchak marched his forces into Eastern Russia as far as the Kama river, only to be smashed in battle after battle and driven back in disorder to his lair in Siberia. In the south the Russian Legion brought from France went over in force, with arms and equipment, to the Soviet army; the French army revolted; the sailors in the French Black Sea fleet refused to fire, and the French general was compelled to evacuate Odessa. Between the Black Sea and the Caspian, Generals Poole, Krasnoff and Denikin scored some victories over local Soviet forces, but got no nearer Moscow. Altogether, the early summer campaign against Russia in 1919 ended in a failure as ignominious as that of 1918. The disguise which had been stripped from Imperial Germany after the forced peace of Brest was now stripped from Allied Imperialism. Now was its brutal purpose also exposed. Now was it self-evident that what it wanted in Russia was not liberty and democracy, but the restoration of the forfeited concessions of the Money Power. It wanted the restoration of the Grand Dukes, of the Mining Magnates, of the Forest Kings, of the brutal Landlords, of

the Slum-owners and the Factory Sweaters. The soldiers of every nationality could see it. They were on the spot. It was a revelation and a revulsion to them, and as a result their "will to victory," their "morale," disappeared—their heart was not in it.

On April 27th Chitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, issued a manifesto, to the workers in Allied countries. In it he said:—

"Nowhere in Russia did the troops of your Governments play the part of enemies to Germany. Where the troops of the two different enemies of the revolution found themselves neighbors, as in Finland and its ajacency, as in the Baltic Provinces, the Ukraine and the Don, they acted in complete agreement, so much so that it was impossible to distinguish where the Allies of Germany ended and the Allies of the Entente began."

The marvel is how the Russian armies, foodless and munitionless in 1916, in a similar plight in 1917, could possibly fight in 1918 and resist and defeat the ring of enemies in 1919. And yet it was not a marvel. So did the ragged armies of Revolutionary France drive its world of enemies beyond its borders and perform prodigies of valor unsurpassed in all its centuries of kings. The most powerful force in national defence is the power of the proletariat exalted with the knowledge that it fights no longer for the landlord and the slaver, but for the soil which belongs to the tiller and for the product which belongs to the producer. The Russian Revolution freed the people from the burden of the Grand Dukes; of the floggers, of the torturers,* of the rack-renters, of the economic exploiters, of the internal interest-mongers and the burden of foreign concessionaries and bond-holders. Thus the revolution of necessity, because it was a revolution, "lifted an immense burden from the shoulders of the masses. If the output of the factories was smaller and the crops smaller for want of fertilisers, the product was for the people. They were not exported for foreign bond-

*Amongst the tortures to which the Russian workers were subjected was that of sticking pins into the eyeballs, cutting the brow and gradually tearing off the scalp, while farmers were whipped by the landlord if their workmen went on strike.

holders or foreign concessionaires, or drawn off for the luxurious existence of Grand Dukes and their entourages. The Russian workers had something for which to fight. Defeat meant return to the old slavery.* Thus the revolutionaries of Russia, like those of Revolutionary France, fought in 1918 and 1919 with all the fanaticism of the dervishes of the desert, and for a better faith, the faith in the possibility of the better life here and now. Thus so far Russia has remained unconquered. English ships of war have taken away out of Black Sea ports the Grand Dukes and Duchesses, to find them sustenance drawn from the people of other lands—Russia is well rid of them.

In June, 1919, the Black Watch and Coldstream Guards refused at Dover to go on board against Russia. On August 23rd London cables to Melbourne reported that the Gloucester and other regiments refused to ship at Southampton for service in the Black Sea ports. The capitalist character of the struggle against Russia is well known amongst the soldiers of England, and their action is unique in British military history.

CHAPTER VII.

CAPITALISM IN THE FAR EAST.

China gives the lie to every Capitalist Government professing to stand for liberty, democracy and the self determination of nations. Every Capitalism has ruthlessly forced China to submit to every indignity which those Capitalisms in their own territories professed to

*Speaking in the Gwen Wilson Institute (London) on March 25th, 1919, the Rev. Marsh Robert, of Christ Church, Westminster, said:—

"I spent several years in Russia and visited every town of importance, both in Russia and Siberia, and was in Russia when the war broke out. It was no exaggeration to say that the majority of the workers lived like dogs, always in a state of semi-starvation, and food was transported abroad while millions perished of hunger. The Russian peasant worked 16 hours per day for a wage of 8d. per day, while in the Caucasus they worked for 2d., and when they struck for an extra farthing per day were shot down in hundreds."

Deputy Shingarev, speaking in the Duma in 1916, said:—

"Russia did her enormous pre-war export of wheat on the basis of the chronic underfeeding of the masses."

repudiate. They have callously carved concessions from the Chinese carcase and every appeal to justice has been answered with the cutlass of the pillager. Thus for many years China has been so many "spheres of influence" within which rival robbers have pursued their depredations.

During the last twenty years the Shi Hui Tong (Socialist Party) has grown very rapidly in China.

In 1911 there was a revolution, the Manchu Monarchy was overthrown, a Republic was established and Sun Yat appointed first President. Sun Yat was an old, tried and trusted revolutionary. He had travelled in many lands, and was respected by Chinese the wide world over.

The international capitalists, English, German, Japanese, American—speaking through their diplomatic agents—would not have Sun Yat. They would permit the "Republic" but they would not permit at its head any man who was likely to make it anything more than a name. That was their ultimatum. China was not in a position to resist. Within six weeks of his election Sun Yat was compelled to resign.

The new President was Yuan Shi. He dissolved Parliament, smashed the "Young China" Association, dissolved the Shi Hui Tong, beheaded all of its leaders whom he captured, and made himself Dictator. The soul of international capitalism was joyful, its investments were safe.

THE NEW MASTER.

In 1914, Japan, at the request of England, jumped into the war for freedom and promptly appropriated all those parts of China that were under lease to the German Government. This was done with the secret consent of the Anglo-French Governments—China was not considered.

In January, 1915, Japan, taking advantage of the situation in Europe, presented to China the ultimatum

known as the **Twenty One Demands**.

Those Demands amounted to the practical appropriation of Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, embracing 500,000 square miles of country and the actual appropriation of the Chinese province of Shantung and the general diplomatic, economic and financial overlordship of all China.

Those Demands compelled China to abstain from any financial or economic relations with other powers unless with Japanese consent; took away the rights of China to make concessions to other powers without Japanese consent; reduced China to a state of vassalage and left China only the name of "Self-Government."

Either at the time, or before the end of the war, Japan got everything asked for in those "demands"—and more.

England, engaged in Europe and anxious for Japanese support in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, gave her consent to what was practically a renunciation of her long-held predominancy in the Far East.

The United States alone protested. She declared that she would vigorously oppose every claim that conflicted with the interests of American Capitalists. She therefore stood in **1915** for the sovereign rights of China.

In December 1915, Yuan Shi proclaimed himself Emperor and once more the revolutionary forces jumped to arms.

In June 1916, Yuan Shi and the reactionaries were utterly defeated and the Republic re-established.

In the re-established republic, the Shi Hui Tong controlled the Senate and in the House of Representatives, in conjunction with the Radicals, held the balance of power.

But the Japanese ruling class did not want a Republic in close proximity to Japan to set an evil example to its own people, and Putman Weale, in his book,

"The Fight for the Republic," said:—

"The object of the secret diplomacy of Japan is the restoration of the Manchu Dynasty or the enthronement of some pliant tool, in order to repeat in China the history of Korea."

On February 4th, 1917, the United States Government broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and invited the Republican government of China to do likewise.

The Republicans in China, anxious for American sympathy, promptly responded with favorable majorities in both Houses.

RIVAL ROBBERS.

On April 6th Wilson declared war on Germany and asked China to do likewise. China could do nothing against Germany in a military sense, but the mere "declaration" of war gave her a place at the Peace Conference. There the question of China's right to make concessions to European or American capitalists without Japanese consent, would be raised and resolved by the assembled nations.

That was not what Japan wanted. She would not permit China to enter the war except under Japanese conditions. She financed a military insurrection against the Chinese Government.

On June 6th, 1917, Wilson wired to the Chinese Government that a declaration of war was "only a secondary consideration," and that her "main care must be the maintenance of internal order." At the same time he requested Japan to support his message. In plain words he offered to call off his request for a declaration of war by China against Germany if Japan would call off her conspiracy to destroy the Americanised Republican Government of China.

Japan promptly challenged the right of America to interfere, or even give advice to China without Japanese consent. There was no mistaking the meaning. Upon that issue Japan was prepared to accept war.

Wilson referred the matter to Great Britain. The

issue was plain and clear cut. There could be no American troops for Europe unless America's predatory rights in China could be guaranteed.

In the meantime the United States gave financial and expert backing to the Chinese Government. Japan backed the military reactionary revolvers. The reactionaries won, the Government was overthrown, then the reactionaries were beaten and the Government restored. On the 4th August, 1917, the Government of China declared war on Germany—the United States had won!

But this only increased the tension between the Governments of America and Japan. It furnished no relief to the Western front. In this parlous situation the Allies intervened. They all desired, for the sake of the noble cause for which they were all fighting, that the breach should be healed—and it was.

Viscount Ishi, Japan's ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, was deputed to go to Washington and negotiate a settlement.

In November, 1917, an agreement was reached. Under this—the Lansing-Ishi agreement,—the United States recognised Japan's "special interests in China" and agreed not to intervene or advise China, unless such intervention or advice were approved by Japan.

China was not to make at the Peace Conference, any proposals that in any way encroached upon Japan's "special interests in China." But neither China nor the United States at that time were aware of the extent of the "special interests" which were secretly conceded by the Anglo-French Governments.

In exchange **Japan** "offered to the United States and to all nations equal commercial and industrial opportunities in the Chinese market."

And this agreement was made between two nations with the consent of other nations, all of whom were professing to be fighting for the guarantee that "never again shall nation interfere with the self-governing

right of another," and "never again shall one nation invade with impunity the soil of another." Yet these bartered, haggled, sold, and transferred the self governing powers of China, and as soon as the predatory power of America in China was secured, so soon did her interest in the self-governing power of China disappear.

* * * *

Not until this agreement was made; not until it was ratified by the Japanese Government; not until she was guaranteed that her robbery rights in China would be kept intact, did the United States commence to move troops for the salvation of democracy in Europe. After the war, Lloyd George said to an audience at Leeds:—

"I shall never forget the morning when (after the German break through in March, 1918) I sent a cable to President Wilson, telling him it was very essential that we should get American help at the speediest possible rate. . . . America sent 1,900,000 men across."

These men were not sent until the rival predatory interests of Japan and America had been for the time satisfactorily settled.

COUNTER STRATEGY.

But the Social Revolution in Russia (November 1917) had created a new situation, and the Allied Powers and the United States had promptly cut off all credits and stopped all exports. England and France had organised their mercenary Czecho-Slovaks, and they were anxious to choke up Russia's Siberian outlet. But here again the rival predatory interests of Japan and the United States clashed badly. Nothing could be done until they agreed upon the manner in which they should divide the resources of Russian Siberia.

Both Governments pretended they had no wish to intervene. Both demanded that other nations should stand off the Russian grass, both referred in the most friendly manner to Soviet Russia. Wilson assured Russia (January, 1918) that his Government would

support Russia in working out her own destiny without external interference. Japan was not less flattering.

Both Governments had economic interests in Siberia. Both had an eye on future trade, and both wished to stand in the position of a friendly and favored nation to whatever Government might arise in Russia. Even if a Soviet Government closed the door on foreign control of Russian resources, there would yet be much trade and much profit.

In March, 1918, the Japanese newspaper "Asahi" said:—

"Japan has more reason to be apprehensive of the increase of American influence in Siberia than of any danger from Germany. Whom are we expected to fight? Is it the Government of Russia? If so, there must be some definite grave facts threatening Allied lives and property. Where are those facts?" (Quoted in "Japanese Chronicle," 11th April, 1918)

The "Shin Jin," a Japanese journal, made a candid admission. It said:—

"Why should the Japanese antagonise the bulk of the Russians without justification? Japan needs to secure a footing in Siberia for trade purposes, and it is easier for her to do this by earning the good will of whatever party happens to be in power in Russia and Siberia. Japanese officials coming from Siberia all declare there is no real reason that would justify intervention by the Allies."

The Russian reactionary generals, Semonoff and Horvat were in Manchuria posing as Russian patriots in exile. There they had organised gangs of freebooters of every tint and tongue. They were the paid agents of Japan. Japan would not intervene. Japan was against it, but at the whispered word of Japan the Manchurian gangs moved silently forward to the boundaries. Such were the diplomatic camouflages beneath which the predacious nations performed their preliminary skirmishes.

MAN POWER.

On May 16th and 19th, 1918, Japan signed two new agreements with China. Under those agreements, Japan got control of Chinese munition factories and

of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and, most important of all, secured the right to carry on recruiting amongst the Chinese masses and enlist them in a Japanese army for service outside of China.

By this act Japan became possessed of the greatest available man power in the world. She at once commenced to do what Great Britain had done in India—raise armies of native mercenaries for local defence, local suppression, or foreign aggression.

So far as the white races are concerned, this was the most momentous development of the war. Japan acted when her economic rivals were least able to resist. She struck when the armies of England and France were, in the language of General Haig, with their backs to the wall, and when the armies of the United States were being poured across the Atlantic at the rate of 300,000 men per month.

In this situation, it was impossible for America to intervene, and it was bad strategy for Wilson to entrust the predatory interests of the United States in Siberia to the tender care of Japan. He was not a Socialist, not even a Democrat, not even necessarily a believer in the things he said, but he was the supreme political strategist of the American Money Power. He knew the value of sweet words when hard blows were not payable, or possible.

So Wilson stood once more for the lofty principle of non-intervention in Siberia, and an expansionist interviewer wanted to know from him why he objected to intervention.

Wilson said: "Do you remember the statement I made in Indianapolis on the Mexican question?"

Interviewer:—"I do!"

Wilson:—"Well! read it again. It fits the situation in Russia."

In that statement Wilson had said:—

"Until the recent revolution, 80 per cent. of the people never had a 'look in' in determining what their Government should be. I am for

the 80 per cent. It is none of my business and none of yours how long they take in determining it. The country is theirs and the liberty is theirs—if they can get it. So far as my influence goes, while I am President nobody shall interfere with them. European nations have taken as long as they wanted and spilt as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that right to Mexico? I say NO!"

Japan, no less virtuous, proclaimed that she would never intervene, and under cover of her virtuous declamation her robber bands under Semonoff and Horvat came stealthily up from Manchuria, linked up with the Czecho-Slovaks, fell upon the Soviets, slaughtered supporters of the Soviets, took possession of Vladivostock and surrounding country. The Japanese fleet and the British gun boats maintained a stoical tranquility. The right side was being slaughtered.

On June 18th Prince Arthur of England appeared in Japan and on behalf of the British Nation made the Mikado a Field Marshal of the British Army.

On June 19th the "London Times" came out with an article in which it said:—"The conscience of Japan is awakened. Japan will now take action in Siberia against Russia."

The Japanese inspired press promptly denied any such intervention. Beneath the cover of Semonoff and Horvat, Japan was getting into Siberia as far and as fast as she could, without admitting it. She wanted the Siberian plums for herself and no partners in the profits. The Japanese Government denied intervention.

On June 28th the British inspired press went back on its declaration of the 19th and published cables saying:—

"The Tokyo Government has decided to decline the request of the Entente to intervene in Siberia."

At the same time the American newspapers were publishing photographs taken in Vladivostock showing the occupation forces, consisting of British and Japanese marines and Czecho-Slovak soldiers, whose existence in Vladivostock Lloyd George was publicly denying.

SIBERIAN PLUNDER.

It was evident that Japan, without proclamation or beat of drums, was every day increasing her hold upon Siberia, that Great Britain was playing valet to her yellow Ally, and that America was going to be left without a shadow of a claim to have a share in the Siberian pickings. Wilson therefore announced that the United States would intervene. His "conscience was awakened." Therefore the Allies at Versailles announced that they would all "intervene."

On August 3rd the British Hong Kong contingent went aboard the gunboats in Vladivostock harbor. Then the contingent was put ashore, formed fours, waved a flag, beat a drum, marched down the street, and thus "officially" intervened.

The French Consulate got a gang of international mixtures, put them on a steamer, dressed them in French uniforms, put them ashore, formed fours, waved a flag, beat a drum, marched down the street and thus "officially" landed.

Apart from this ceremony the British and French did nothing on August 3rd, 1918, which they had not previously done. Their real agents were the Czecho-Slovak mercenaries.

On August 12th, 1918, the United States 27th Regiment of Infantry from Manila landed in Vladivostock.

And when the Western Allies, the United States and Japan, jointly intervened officially, they made no affirmation that the Soviet Government of Russia had done anything it had no right to do. They made no demands. They presented no list of complaints. They just jointly and officially did what they had sworn not to do—"invade with impunity the soil of another." And so far as the Anglo-French Governments were concerned, they only "officially" did what they had been desperately doing for months.

When the official intervention took place, the brigand

bands from Manchuria were no longer diplomatically permissible. They disappeared into the earth and rose again clad in new uniforms, soldiers and officers of the Army of Great Japan. They were all over Eastern Siberia, and the ex-Tsarist, General Semonoff, rode into the town of Chita, 1200 miles from the coast line, and stopped there.

Japan made a western boundary of Lake Baikal and of the ranges that run northward. Beyond these she would not then go, either for Humanity or Democracy, or for the Allies. She was in a military and economic sense master of Eastern Mongolia, Manchuria and Eastern Siberia, and all the troops of the other Allied Powers in those territories were under the supreme command of the Japanese General Otani. Japan was undisputed mistress of the Far East, and in her hands were all the requisites of a vast new empire.

THE MARCH MASSACRE.

In November (1918) Kolchak rose up and destroyed the anti-Bolshevik Constituent Assemblies of Western Siberia, and made himself Dictator. The government of this monster the Allies declared to be the real Russian Government.

This action aroused great indignation amongst the inhabitants of Eastern Siberia, and mass meetings of protest were organised by men who, while Radicals in politics, were anti-Bolshevik and faithful supporters of Allied intervention. They were now about to get their reward.

On the night of the 1st March, 1919, General Ivanoff, acting on behalf of the Allied Powers, rounded up all those members of the Vladivostock City Council left alive from the massacre of the previous August. He seized the editors of all Labor journals, all leaders of trade unions, co-operative societies and Zemstvos who

had spoken at the protest gatherings. Some he shot, and others he drove over the border into the Gobi Desert. Others, who had warning, endeavored to escape, and "Humanite," of Paris, said that "despite their hostility to Bolshevism they were pursued, tracked down, and shot." Khodoroff, who had been one of Kerenski's commissionaires, and always anti-Bolshevik, was arrested as a protester, and only American intervention saved his life. This man-hunt for protesters went on throughout March, and the work of Zemstvos and co-operative societies was totally disorganised by the arrest of members and directors who had taken part in the protest movement. Only the reactionary and his satellite and slave could be sure of the protection of the arms of International Capitalism.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TWO NATIONS

The war of the rival Imperialisms—Germanic and British—is at an end. Peace is declared, but peace is not in the world. Another chapter is added to Eugene Sue's "March of the Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

Once more we see under every flag Two Nations—The Master Class and the Subject Masses. Ever the Master Class has treated the majority of its own race and blood as a foreign race. Only in time of war has it recognized the blood tie; only then has it sworn brotherhood; only then has it promised a recognition of service, and ever after the war it has sought to impose the old servitude. If ever the mass revolted, this Master Class called in foreign intervention, and the events of the last three years furnish further proofs of the universal truth.

This Master Class of every land and brand has not

even treated its own workers as cattle fit to be fattened for a profit. It has, wherever it has had the power, overworked and underfed them, and when it had no work it has turned them out to starve. It has trodden upon their necks with iron heel — has ground them into poverty, misery, slumdom, ignorance, hopelessness, and shot them down when hunger made them riot. In every land and clime and age the struggle of the masses has been not so much against the foreign invader as against the internal degrader. Shelley provides a description of the condition of the "Men of England" in the days that followed Waterloo, and no less a personage than Lloyd George has described the lot of English millions "rotting in poverty" when Imperial war once more called them forth to carry bayonets for the preservation of their Masters' perquisites.*

Labor-leaders have ever described the economic origin of the war and have ever professed an anxiety for a social order wherein the economic causes of war would be no longer existent. They could not escape the war. They could not desire the triumph of an external foe, but they need not have supported Governments that permitted wholesale profiteering and the piling of fabulous fortunes—that was not loyalty, it was treason.* Robbery caused discontent, and the discontented were blamed—not the robbers. The robbers were designated 'patriots,' the discontented were designated "traitors." Neither did anything

*"More than half our wage-earners are living on wages which do not allow them and their families the same amount of nourishment which they could obtain in a workhouse or a prison."—(Lloyd George, May, 1914.)

"To-day you have a greater poverty than you ever had. You have a more severe economic bondage than you ever had—grinding labor does not always guarantee sustenance or security. That condition of things was foreign to the barbaric regime of the darker ages." (Lloyd George, January 17th, 1912).

duty owned by each to all." ("The Round Table," Sept., 1918.)

**"The power to exploit the public is gradually being perfected in Australia. . . . Combines wring higher profits out of the public. . . . The people are demanding that they shall be protected from this conspiracy against them. . . . Only those countries that provide protection for their people against that lust can hope for peace and contentment."—Melbourne "Age," July 22nd, 1919 (after the war).

that was done justify the support of Governments that coerced populations for slaughter while mines, mills, factories, wide domains and ships remained the predatory properties of a few rich exploiters—that was not equality of sacrifice. Yet such were the influences brought to bear that the majority stood for it. Governments that could take the bodies of the poor for national defence could have taken also the properties of the wealthy for “the new world after the war,” but that deed was not done by any Government, no matter of what land or brand.

THE ILLUSIONISTS.

It was not the duty of Labor leaders to lend a hand to the wholesale doping and deception of the masses. However active in resistance to the foreign foe, their duty was not less to save the workers from subsequent disillusionment, to teach them that the old problems would still remain, that under capitalism war must ever recur between rival robbers for the riches of the earth, to teach them that whosoever desires a lasting peace must be for war against capitalism—against robbery, poverty, and monopoly. But the wide world over the majority Labor leaders followed the drum beats of the Master Class.

It was Kârl Liebnicht, speaking of the Majority leaders in his country, who said something that applied to every country. He said: ‘The Social Democracy had no policy. It wiped itself out completely as a party with a world conception of its own. It delivered the country without protest to Imperialistic war without, to the dictatorship of the sword within.’

Now we see what the war has produced—not destruction of militarism, but more militarism. Now we see out of the blood welter two new Imperialisms—the American Money Power and Asiatic Japan—powerful armies, powerful navies, reaching for the traffic of the earth. Now we hear no more of “War to end

war"—that lie is exploded. Preparation for the next war—that is now the battle cry.

Now we see the factions, who, before the war, built up the economic power of Germany in England, who during the war sang "Rule Britannia" to hide their German connections busily sending Trade Missions to Germany to resume the old affectionate relations. The war cry of "Never More" with Germany is now declared to be a madhouse song. So more lies go to the grave.

Now we see that in Australia the capitalist patriots who, before the war, assisted the growth of the economic power of Germans in Australia, have transferred their affections not to England, but to Asia. They are eagerly assisting to build up the trade power of Japan in Australia, and they are planting the seeds of future strife, and upon Japan they will call for the preservation of their perquisites. They are the real enemies of Australian nationality. They are the "disloyalists," the "traitors," the "treason mongers." They prefer their trade profits to their "Rule Britannia." They hear no call of kith or kin or country. Against them the capitalist press raises no outcry. They are the men who should be rooted out and exiled from the country they sell, despoil, and betray.

Now we see the value of all the pledges and promises. Now we hear no more of "the new world after the war," of "the world fit for heroes to live in." Now we see how all the promises of "open covenants openly arrived at" have ended as of old in secret diplomacy and negotiations by a few. Now we see that in no country, however faithful, loyal and patriotic the forces of labor, no matter how numerous and solemn the pledges that organized Labor should be represented at the "Peace" Conference—by no Government has the compact been kept.

Now we remember how the national emergency which compelled the national control of great industries went

side by side with profuse promises that those great industries should be held for national rehabilitation—now we see how every promise was a lie. Now we see how capitalist Governments desire to revert to old conditions, how they grant concessions here and there and everywhere, subsidise idle workmen, scatter millions in a variety of wasteful ways, hoping the storm will pass and everything simmer and settle into the pre-war dominance of the Master Class.

NEW WORLD POWERS.

But it cannot be. The economic factor is master of human destiny and shapes its end. Thus nations move forward to the crisis which battered trade, battered bodies, destroyed efficiency, the enormous blood debt and the new psychology make impossible to avoid. England before the war drew annual tribute from American industries. Now the position is reversed. England is the indebted vassal of the American Money Power. England, in common with all Western Europe, is faced with the competition of the new Imperialisms—America and Japan. They not only seize their foreign trade—they assail them in their home markets. Europe has no longer its pre-war advantages. Its industries are shattered, loaded with debt, and its workers not only refusing to go back to old conditions, but asking for quick delivery of the promised paradise. The lies and disillusionments are bearing bitter fruit. On the other hand, the great landowners, the great capitalists, the great monopolists of the means of life, will forego nothing. How can the crisis be avoided?*

Upon every nation there is a load of debt as odious and burdensome as the tribute levied by a foreign conqueror. Thus the last straw breaks the back of the most patient, and without will or wish, decisions or

* "The outlook is exceedingly gloomy. . . . The employers want to get back to the old conditions which existed before the war, and the workers are determined not to go back."—London correspondent of the Melbourne "Age," August 23rd, 1919.

direction, revolution stalks abroad. Thus we are witnessing the closing scenes in one of the periods of universal history. The forces that are being unchained, that nothing can restrain, are akin to the migration of peoples. But this time the movement is vertical. Capitalism has no way of solving the problems produced by the war. It is bankrupt of any method of reconstruction. Therefore Capitalism goes into liquidation and dissolution.

"There are stormy days ahead," said Sir Alfred Booth, of the Cunard line. "Labor unrest is due to the false hopes held out of a new heaven and a new earth." Lord Buckmaster said: "We face the growing discontent of a disillusioned people."

THE TWO EXTREMES.

Australia is as large as the United States, with a population smaller than that of New York City. One day the people are told that Australia, proportionate to population, is the richest country on earth. Another day Governments are seized with panic, and staticians, whose duty is to deal in facts, are detailed at great expense to deal in "ifs." "If" all the wealth of Australia were equally divided, "if" it were divided amongst everybody—including school children and babes in the cradle—"if" it were, there would not be much for each—as "if" somebody wanted it so! The fact remains that apart from new forms of production, the existing wealth is sufficient to provide land and home and decent surroundings for every family.

There are a few other facts. The population of Australia is 5,000,000. The adults number 2,780,000, and of that adult population 1,873,000 (68 per cent.) have no proprietary interest in the soil, the domiciles, or industries of the country in which they live. At the other end of the scale there are 15,000 persons (less than one per cent. of the adult population) owning more than one-third of the total wealth of the contin-

ent. Inside this circle there is an inner circle of a few hundred persons possessing more wealth than seven-tenths of the people, and possessing more control over the properties, industries and economic resources of the country than the nation has ever dared to exercise for itself. Now Australia, in common with all belligerent States, finds itself loaded with debt, face to face with the economic and psychological problems which the war has produced, and in the dug-outs of Reaction there lurks a financial Oligarchy small in number but powerful in influence, an impediment, by means of its poison-gas press, to every remedy that threatens its predatory existence.

The "Great Daily Press" is not an instrument of the "common good," but of private gain. It has no national social ideal supported by a definite understandable method. Even that section of it which courts popular support by the exposure of abuses, invariably supports, in every struggle, the partisans of the abuses it has assailed. One evil begets another. Public men compound with conscience to perpetuate positions. Politics become a series of compromises, bargains, palliations, and makeshifts. Nothing fundamental is touched, the discontented are perpetually duped with hope deferred.* At last the shell of the old society begins to crack—that day is dawning.

THE ARMIES OF REVOLUTION.

During the early part of 1919, President Wilson rose up and said:—

*"The cheated elector, promise-crammed, and defrauded by Parliaments, a cipher in the business of politics, a pawn that Parliaments play with, a shuttlecock they toss with in sport. Parliament exists not for the people. A man may enter that preserve with ideals to be accomplished, but he soon succumbs, morally chloroformed by his environment."—Melbourne "Age," May 27th, 1916.

"I know that a new chapter of our island history is unfolding, that the day of reckoning is at hand past all possibility of postponement. For behind profiteer and censor stand nothing stronger than the tottering pillars of an effete and obsolete Parliamentary system.—Countess of Warwick, September, 1918.

"The House of Commons is the negation of everything that can be called democratic."—Melbourne "Age," February 9th, 1918.

"I want to utter this solemn warning, not in the way of a threat; the forces of the world do not threaten—they operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are going to rise and run—they rise in their majesty and might, and those who stand in their way are overwhelmed. If men cannot now, after this agony of bloody sweat, come to their self-possession and see how to regulate the affairs of the world, we will sink back into a period of struggle in which there will be no hope and therefore no mercy."

But this coming struggle will be different in its manner, character and purpose from anything previous no longer undisciplined mobs, but masses disciplined by war, will give a practical application to Lloyd George's "audacity by new ways and methods" and "success in proportion to audacity." Centuries-old obsolete, out of date machinery of centralized bureaucratic authority, will go with a crash. In its place will come machinery adapted to modern needs. It will be there where the people live, where they can watch its operations. "All Power" in its scope, the right of each locality to work out its own salvation, land, homes and industries, local action, direct action, action quick and on the spot; emulation, stimulation, rivalry in effort for the common good; the foremost a beacon to the backward. The National Directory will function for purposes which localities cannot handle. Banks will function for the people. Finance will be the hand-maid of industry—not its master. Security will give the right to currency—not the whims and will of a predatory clique. The impatient world will wait no longer. The frailties of men, the soul-pawning for the prestige of an hour, the desertions of the timid, of the Iscariots for cash, will furnish no despondency. They will all count as part of the inevitable loss in the battle-line. Capitalism listens with quaking soul to the drum-beats of the Armies of Revolution. Those beats grow louded and louder—they draw nearer and nearer.

