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THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC

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"PEACE ON EARTH, GOODWILL TOWARD MEN"

PREFACE

THE Great War has reached and passed its dramatic climax. But instead of the curtain being rung down on a world still vibrating from its titanic blows, we are spectators of a series of scenes which weary us with a sense of hopeless anti-climax, yet refuse to be dismissed from the stage. International politics present a series of hopelessly mixed situations, and it is impossible to judge when the threads will be gathered and the harmony of nations restored on earth. The object with which this book is written does not require much explanation. The writer took the opportunity of visiting Soviet Russia with a view to ascertaining if it were practicable to advance the cause of peace in Eastern Europe, and to explore the ground for the negotiation of such a peace. As basis for an opinion as to the possibility of these negotiations an examination at first hand of the political, social, and military conditions in Soviet Russia was considered to be the obvious thing to do.

Before writing these notes I was faced with the alternative of carefully and assiduously analyzing the voluminous literature which I had obtained, the results of interviews and experiences—a work which would take many months—or on the other hand at once committing to paper a brief chronology of the trip and the impressions gained therefrom.

I decided that it would be best to concentrate on the latter, perhaps proceeding with the former as time permits.

For those who expect a detailed exposition of the Soviet system, complete schedules of work done by the different departments, comprehensive expositions of the machinery of Government, this short book is obviously inadequate. It will, however, convey to readers a vivid and true picture of the surface of the state of affairs in the world's newest Republic as shown to the outside world by its rulers. If when this book is published the blockade still continues, I hope it will turn public opinion to the removal of that greatest cause of the destitution of the Russian people. If, however, the blockade has by then been actually lifted, the personal task undertaken and carried through as described in this book, and the representations in the House of Commons and in the Press, will not have been without practical result.

CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE.

November 1919.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
I.	INTRODUCTORY	11
II.	TO PETROGRAD	17
III.	MOSCOW	32
IV.	SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION	38
V.	TROTSKY AND THE RED ARMY	49
VI.	INDUSTRY	60
VII.	RELIGION AND WOMEN	78
VIII.	THE PEACE TERMS	85
IX.	HOMEWARD BOUND	92
X.	CONCLUSIONS	111
	APPENDIX—PRINKIPO AND NANSEN	143

THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE short notes which follow are substantially a diary of the visit paid to the Russian Republic, and mostly deal with affairs as they were presented to me from day to day. I have written it in diary form so as to present as vivid a picture as possible of things seen, interweaving details of interviews, conversations, and my own reflections as they occurred. For the benefit of those readers, however, who have hitherto taken little interest in Russian politics, and are not therefore *au fait* with the chain of events leading up to the present situation, a brief recapitulation of the outstanding facts must be forgiven by the more well-informed reader.

It is not necessary to labor the historical facts concerning the Tsar's régime, its faults and its many shortcomings. These are well known, and are readily accessible to all students of Russian history. The struggle between autocracy and democracy in Russia, which culminated in the successful Revolution of March, 1917, was one of the longest and bitterest contests of its kind in history. Among national move-

ments toward freedom, not even the French Revolution passed through more sanguinary phases. It will be remembered that the Revolution commenced in the first week of March, 1917, by a series of strikes on a small scale in Petrograd. It is widely supposed that the Revolution was political, and that a great deal of it was stage-managed, and had, if not the active co-operation, certainly the connivance of the Allies. Small riots occurred; eye-witnesses have informed me that they were merely good pieces of acting. However, the strike movement began to expand. The textile workers walked out on March 7th. On Friday, March 9th, part of the tramwaymen struck. Other workers joined the spontaneous movement. The movement was gaining a momentum which neither the authorities nor the people themselves realized. The spacious Nevsky Prospekt, the chief thoroughfare of Petrograd, was full of people, who came out to enjoy the sight of the demonstrations. The excitement was intense. There was electricity in the air, yet there was a spirit of a hilarious celebration about it all. Following the precedent of the Revolution of 1905, the workmen of Petrograd organized a Council to direct the general strike and its development. It was at this period that irresponsible hooligan elements were liberated, and that cases of looting and other acts of violence began. The Duma was in session all the time. There was no display of ill-feeling between the Cossacks, the police, and the people. Efforts were made to isolate the center of Petrograd from the other islands making up the Russian capital by guarding the bridges

with police, but these efforts were not complete, and crowds managed to collect in the Nevsky Prospekt and in the square in front of the Nicholas Station. Police, secreted on the tops of buildings, opened fire with machine guns at the demonstrators. Other police, disguised as soldiers of the Volymski Regiment, fired on the throngs from a side street. This enraged the crowd. The soldiers of the Volymski Regiment were also enraged at their commander for allowing the police to wear their regimental uniforms. They revolted at five o'clock in the afternoon of March 11th. Up to that time demonstrations had been in the nature of protests, but from that moment they assumed a revolutionary character. By a chain of circumstances, too lengthy to narrate in detail, the control of government eventually rested with two parties, a Special Committee appointed by the Duma and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. On March 14th the French and British Ambassadors announced to the President of the Duma that their Governments had decided to enter into relations with the Duma's Committee. Through all this the Tsar was quiet. On March 15th, 1917, Nicholas II was deposed. The following day his brother abdicated, thus ending the rule of the Romanoff Dynasty in Russia. Prince George Lvov was Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. Paul Miliukov became Minister for Foreign Affairs. He had been banished from Russia for his liberalism toward the close of the nineteenth century. The outstanding figure in the Provisional Government was that of Kerensky, Minister of Justice. The Council of

Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies functioned as an independent executive side by side with the Provisional Government. But, as was inevitable in such a case, a fierce conflict grew up between the Government and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates exerted more and more pressure on the Provisional Government. It was led by Nicolai Lenin (Prince Vladimir Ouliniov), and power was gradually assumed by his executive. More and more it became apparent that the power was passing completely into the hands of the Soviet at the Smolny Institute, and these events culminated in the Bolshevik Revolution against the Duma of October-November, 1917.

The analogy between the French Revolution of 1785 to 1793 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 to the present date is profound and far-reaching.

The moderate initial demands limited to constitutional changes, the co-existence of the Paris Municipality, with extreme revolutionary views, and the Convention with its highly idealistic aims, their mutual rivalry, their final clash and the destruction of the moderate body by the extremists, is strictly paralleled by the co-existence of the Duma and the Smolny Council of Soldiers and Workmen and by the downfall of the Duma.

The transitional period of anarchy and terror, the fierce and bloody local combats in the provinces, the mutual atrocities, begun by the more violent elements of the Revolution, and repaid in kind by the Monarchists, and the final emergence of a strong central

bureaücracy with unlimited powers, display step by step the same causes and the same effects.

The history of the armed forces shows great differences and great resemblances. The disappearance of the old Corps of Officers, the collapse of discipline, the reduction of the army to a mere mob of debating circles, was much aggravated in Russia by the presence of masses of conscripts.

The appointment of Commissaries to the Army, with disastrous effect on its efficiency, their withdrawal, the gradual rebuilding of discipline, the attraction of old officers to the new *carrière ouverte aux talents*, all give warning that a new army, on the model of the French Revolutionary Armies, is in the course of formation. The pressure of foreign war, of invasion, is having the same welding effect.

Trotsky is no negligible disciple of Carnot, "the organizer of victory," of the Republican and Napoleonic Armies.

The greatest discrepancy in the analogy lies in the relatively backward condition of Russian Education, Science, Industry, and Commerce. France of the Revolution was one of the most highly developed countries in the world. Her industries were second not even to those of England. Her scientists led the world.

The Russian Soviet leaders seem to be intensely conscious of this weakness in their position, and their tremendous efforts to spread education and technical training are the most significant facts in the Russian Revolution.

It is probably fortunate for the world that modern war on the great scale cannot be waged unless based on a national industrial development such as is to-day only found in the British Empire, the United States, Germany, and France. National armies cannot even be collected without the assistance of the whole modern machinery of national industry, still less equipped. Without equipment on the modern scale great armies are sheep for the slaughter. There can be no question that the Revolution in Russia has thrust that immense nation into the full stream of modern development. Given the pressure of external threat of war, in ten years they will be formidable, in a generation the greatest military power in the world, in the sense of that military power staked and lost by the Germans in the recent War. Their man-power is almost untouched compared with that of France and Germany. The far-sighted statesmen of Western Europe and of the United States should find their greatest pre-occupation in solving the problem of binding new Russia to the League of Nations, so that their gigantic national energy shall be directed to peaceful production.

CHAPTER II

TO PETROGRAD

I WILL not burden the readers of this book with the initial difficulties of getting from England to Russia. As I make clear later in the book it was not possible to arrange for an official Mission representing all parties to proceed to Russia, and I am afraid that I did not get very much encouragement from Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, whom I approached several times on this matter. However, eventually the Foreign Office indorsed my passport, and on Saturday, September 13th, at 9 p.m., I left Hull on board the s.s. *Arcturus*, of the Finska Angfartygs Aktiebolaget for Helsingfors. We spent a day at Copenhagen, and arrived at Hango on September 19th, and Helsingfors on September 20th. From there my journey took me through the Baltic States, and by an extremely lucky coincidence (and quite unexpectedly) I came across someone who was going to Petrograd.

As civil war is still proceeding and the countries through which we passed are so unsettled, it is obviously undesirable to state the names of the people I met on the way, or the countries and places through which we passed, and I must therefore skip the means of our conveyance there by sea and land, the unpleasant experiences of crossing the frontier, the long

marches, often by night, through forests and through swamps.

Eventually, however, on Sunday, September 28th, after a very wet and disagreeable night in the open, crossing the Bolshevik frontier by various devious means, I arrived at X——. The Bolshevist sentries did not seem to notice that I was a stranger, and I walked up unchallenged to a peasant's dwelling, consisting of one large barn-shaped room about 20 feet square, with my neutral friend, A——, who was accompanying me to Petrograd. We entered this building at about 6.15 in the morning. On benches round the wall were a number of sleeping forms in confused bundles. Our arrival caused the inmates gradually to awake, and as form after form arose I wondered how many more were going to appear. They eventually resolved themselves into eleven men, two women, a small boy, and a baby. In their shirts I was uncertain whether they were soldiers or peasants. They looked very tousled and unkempt, and might have passed for our caricaturists as types of Bolsheviks. My dramatic sense was disappointed when I found they were simple peasants. After drinking quantities of cold water to quench our thirst from the long night march, they gave us coffee, with which we ate our own black bread, and at ten o'clock in the morning we continued our journey. The next stage was 4 kilometers over open country, grass fields, to a fair-sized farm, which was inhabited by middle-class farmers (judging this by the fact that they wore collars). In the vicinity of this farm were visible a good many

soldiers, who presumably were quartered in some of the barns. We ordered carts here, for the next stage of the journey was a long one. Wearying of the continual delay, we began harnessing a horse to a cart ourselves; this led to a heated controversy between A—— and some soldiers, who came up to inspect what we were doing. The gist of the discussion related to passes, etc., and it looked as though something was going to happen in the nature of an arrest, for we were detained two hours while a meeting went on in the farm. During the stay at the farm I was able to make an impromptu toilet with such limited means as I carried with me. Eventually the man in charge (of the N.C.O. type) came out and beckoned me in, and carefully went through all my papers, including, of course, my passport. Our luggage was also examined, not particularly scrupulously, but apparently the chief object was to ascertain whether we had any arms or ammunition, which we had to surrender. My friend had two Mills bombs, one in each trouser pocket, and I had an automatic Browning and a box of ammunition, all of which we surrendered. But the arrangement was very business-like. We were given receipts, the arms being given into the custody of our escort for return in due course, which was done. We were then allowed to proceed, and set out in two light farm wagons, A——, myself, and a farmer's boy in one, and two Bolshevist soldiers in the other as escort; it was not quite apparent whether they were there to protect us or to watch us. We left at 3.45 in the afternoon for a long drive over excessively bad roads, the holes being

so large that the wagon containing our escort capsized twice. At one time the farmer's boy incited our horse into a gallop, which again upset (metaphorically) our escort, who discharged their rifles into the air. We passed three or four patrols, who asked for our passports, but made no difficulties. At 7.30 in the evening we arrived at another house, apparently the headquarters of the local Commandant. It was difficult to distinguish ranks from the uniforms, but from the education of the men there, they were of the officer type, one speaking English, French, and German fluently. Here we spent the night sleeping on mattresses in a rough shanty, about seven of us in a room. We had an evening meal, consisting of black bread and kasha and the inevitable tea. The C.O. asked me to give him some of my revolver ammunition for his automatic, which was of the same caliber, and was very grateful for twelve cartridges. After sharing a mattress with A——, we were awakened at 6.30 on the morning of

Monday, September 29th,

and left half an hour later, fitted out with a new cart and a new escort. We drove till 11.30 a.m.—this long drive, lasting four and a half hours, was not very pleasant, raining off and on most of the time, cold, excessively bad roads, wheels sometimes axle deep in water—when we arrived at the quarters of another Commandant.

We were now getting to more civilized country and found ourselves in the small town of Q—— of about

4,000 inhabitants. After a quarter of an hour the C.O. viséd our passports, and we walked with our luggage about 2 versts to the railway station. We went another verst beyond the railway station to what appeared to be a railway official's cottage. While walking along the line we stopped a boy with a milk-can and purchased from him two mugfuls of his milk (1 pint for 20 Finnish marks). Here we were transferred from the military escort to the civilian police, and were given a railway pass; the four or five men on duty were busily cleaning their mixed collection of up-to-date revolvers and automatics. We had a meal here of black bread, butter, and fresh milk, and in company with two men, one woman, and a soldier, who were all bound for Petrograd, we all walked down to the station and caught the train, which left punctually at the scheduled time, 2.45 p.m. I may say here that my automatic pistol had been restored to me. The train was crowded, and consisted at the start of seven or eight third-class carriages. A few stations down the line the train stopped, and our escort, apparently being aware of the precedent, quickly left the train and secured for us seats in a second-class coach, which was coupled on to the train at this station, so we completed the journey in comparative comfort.

We arrived at Petrograd at 6 p.m. and went to the stationmaster's office, where we were met by Z——, one of the Petrograd officials, who speaks English. After bidding adieu to A—— and the civilian police, we went out of the station, which was much like any other terminus station, and took an izvoshtchik to

the Hotel Astoria. This is now known as the Dom Soviet, or House of the Soviets, and is reserved for the accommodation of the Soviet officials; chits were necessary to get in and out of the hotel each time. After a short while the Commissar of the Hotel allocated me a room, which was vacant; the room was in good condition, as were in fact all the rooms I visited. Telephones, electric bells, lifts, etc., were working. I had hoped to see Zinovieff, the head of the Petrograd Soviet, that night, but he was detained at a meeting. We had a meal, consisting of black bread, butter, potatoes, and tea. The beds were decent, sheets were clean, and the hotel staff seemed to be the same as those employed before the Revolution.

Tuesday, September 30th.

In the forenoon, after some black bread and tea, I went out with Z——, and we went for a walk round the town and saw some of the principal sights. We went down the Konno-Gvardeiski Boulevard to the Nikolaevski Bridge, then we saw the British Embassy, then along the banks of the Neva, along the Angliskaya Naverezhnaya, till we came to the famous equestrian statue of Peter the Great. The Tsar, riding up a rocky slope, has his face turned to the Neva, and points with his right hand toward the scene of his labors; the horse is balanced on its hind legs and tail, while its hoofs trample on a writhing snake. This fine statue, standing on an enormous granite block, is quite untouched; and this visible contradiction to the reports spread in Western Europe to the effect that all

works of art have been destroyed by the Bolsheviks made a vivid impression on my mind. We went past the Admiralty to the Winter Palace, the scene of so much strife and so many crises in the progress of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The high wall surrounding the garden to the west end of the Winter Palace has been removed, with the view, I understand, of opening these gardens to the public, an unmistakable sign of the times. Beyond this the Palace has been untouched, although its walls are sadly scarred with innumerable bullet marks, being a district in which active fighting took place. We then wended our way to the Nevsky Prospekt. We walked down the Nevsky Prospekt and past the Anichkov Bridge, with its famous statues at the four corners, and on to the Nicolai Station, where we took an electric tram to Smolny. On passing I went into St. Isaac's Cathedral, untouched so far as one can see. One could not fail to notice that a good deal of furniture was being "moved," either in motor lorries, horse-carts, or hand-carts. This was noticeable also in Moscow.

The general atmosphere of the town, from the "bourgeois" point of view, was undoubtedly a little depressing. The Nevsky Prospekt flashed no aristocratic scintillations, the shops were for the most part bare. Essential commodities are controlled by the State, and one sees such signs as "seventeenth boot store," "ninth barber's shop," "fourteenth clothing store," "nineteenth food store," and so on; but shops, such as art shops and curiosity shops, were open. I was told that a good deal of speculation goes on

amongst the adherents of the old régime, and that they even make large sums by gambling with houses which have been actually appropriated by the Soviet Government, in anticipation of its collapse.

One thing I noticed was that the lower parts of the walls on all the houses throughout the streets, up to a line about breast-high, were very dirty, in the usual style of Russian towns, but now much worse from the milliards of proclamations which had been pasted up, torn down, and re-covered—one of the inevitable incidents of revolutionary movements. The huge business in posters calls to mind the innumerable *affiches* which covered the walls of France during the Revolution.

Women police are in evidence. As for the reports that the streets are dirty and full of dead, such streets I saw were exceptionally well cleaned, and I was informed that this was part of the Government's strenuous and successful efforts to reduce serious outbreaks of epidemics. I noticed that the statues and other ornaments of the town were still intact, but that the fine statuary which was removed from the top of the German Embassy at the outbreak of war had not been replaced. Smolny, before the war, a school for aristocratic girls, is the authentic home of the Revolution, for it was at Smolny that the Trades Unions first organized themselves for political power. It is the Headquarters of the Petrograd Soviet and of the Third International. At the entrance to the Institute is a crude bust of Karl Marx. Here I met Zinovieff, and explained the object of my visit, and asked him to

accord me all facilities. He did not spare me in testing my *bona fides*, both by the production of questions which I had asked in the House and of articles which had appeared in the Press. He was a little suspicious because I had no introduction from any *persona grata* in England. After that we had lunch at the Institute for the price of 10 roubles, consisting of stew, with rare morsels of meat, a sort of fish pie, black bread, and tea. This was a moderate-sized room on the second floor, with a table seating thirty persons. The Soviet workers came in and snatched their meal as convenient from about one o'clock to five, so that there was a continuous coming and going, which constituted for me a veritable panorama of types of Soviet Republicans, men and women. The types varied from long-haired, ill-groomed, typical Bolshevists of caricature, to neatly dressed young women, who might be students in one of our university colleges. One wall of the room was covered with red-and-white bunting arranged radially from a large red sun, representing the rising sun of the Communist ideal. Lenin and Trotsky's photographs, the large gravures seen everywhere, occupied the position of honor on the walls.

When we had finished our lunch we borrowed a car from the Soviet, and drove back, calling on the way on the Countess B——. English was the medium of the discussion of the situation in Europe and Eastern Europe and relations with the Western Powers; after tea we returned to the hotel, i.e. the Dom Soviet.

We had hoped to catch a special train which was leaving for Moscow that night full of troops, but at

midnight we learnt that the train was canceled. I was now introduced to R——, an American who was quartered in our hotel, and talked with him well into the early hours of the morning; he is in charge of the School of Soviet Workers in Moscow, and I hoped to be able to travel with him thither.

A brief description of the principles of Soviet Government may be given here. The principles are those of extreme socialism, the moral principle that every person who is capable should perform useful work for the State, the right to vote or to be elected is therefore extended to all those who earn a living by productive work of use to the community and who have attained the age of eighteen. Soldiers and sailors, and any of the above after they have become incapacitated for work; persons employing hired labor for profit, persons living on unearned income, monks, clergy, lunatics, are disfranchised.

The smallest unit of governing body is the village Soviet. They are established in rural places, on the basis of one delegate per hundred of the population, with not less than three and not more than fifty delegates per village.

A Volost Soviet consists of representatives of all the village Soviets of the volost on the basis of one delegate for every ten members of the Soviet.

A District Soviet consists of representatives of all village Soviets in the district on the basis of one delegate per 1,000 inhabitants, with a maximum of 300 delegates.

A Provincial Soviet consists of the representatives of

town and volost Soviets on the basis of one delegate per 10,000 inhabitants, and from towns on the basis of one per 2,000 electors, with a maximum of 300 per province.

It was originally proposed to organize a larger unit, viz., the Regional Soviet, but the central governing body, i.e. the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, here consists of representatives of town Soviets at the rate of one delegate per 25,000 electors, and of representatives of the Provincial Soviets at the rate of one delegate per 125,000.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets elects an All-Russian Central Executive Committee, consisting of not more than 200 members. This Committee appoints the Council of People's Commissaries. There are eighteen people's Commissaries, viz.,

Foreign Affairs,
Home Affairs,
Social Welfare,
Nationalities,
Agriculture,
State Control,
Military Affairs,
Justice,
Education,
Finance,
Foreign Trade,
Public Health,
Naval Affairs,
Labor,
Post and Telegraph,
Communications,
Food Supply,
Supreme Council of National Economy.

The above gives very briefly the constitution of the Soviet Republic. The first impression is one of an immense bureaucracy, something akin to, but even more extensive than, the system of "hotel government" set up in England during the War, and one is

reminded of all the characteristics of that administration, the ponderous bureaucracy, the superfluous flappers; but that conception is gradually dispelled as one perceives that the Government and the country are synonymous terms, that it is performing 90 per cent. of the executive business of the country, and not merely controlling an outside world. In the ultimate ideal the need for any form of dictatorship will, of course, cease to exist.

Wednesday, October 1st.

Breakfast as usual. Went out to Smolny with R——. We tried to shop, and here I came across one of the difficulties of the Communistic State: a great deal of red tape was necessary to get a permit to buy some articles of clothing, and, when we finally got the preliminaries settled, the establishment was closed. We then took the tram to Smolny, and found that as it was the first of the month all the prices had gone up, the tram fare costing 3 roubles instead of 2, and lunch 20 instead of 10 roubles. Lunch consisted of cauliflower soup and the usual black bread and tea. We got our tickets and passes for our journey to Moscow, went back to the hotel, and collected our luggage in time to catch our train at 7 p.m. But just as we were starting from the Dom Soviet at six o'clock we learnt that the trains were also changed on the first of the month, and the train now left at 6 p.m., therefore we had to spend another day in Petrograd. So we went to the theater with Z——, R——, and a lady friend of theirs; the play was *Don Carlos*. Soviet of-

ficials were entitled to the Imperial Box, which we occupied. In the rear were the Imperial Vestibules, untouched so far as their gilded trappings were concerned. One of these the manager was utilizing as an office. He had been manager of the theater since the pre-Revolution days. He appeared to be happy and contented with his lot, and by his appearance seemed to be well fed.

We arrived just before the performance commenced, and found an orator in the uniform of a sailor (very probably a real sailor) on the stage in front of the curtain delivering an impromptu oration to the audience on conditions existing at the time of "Don Carlos" and the conditions under Communism. The play lasted till 11.30. It was a special night for soldiers who were going to the front, and the stalls were full of khaki.

Thursday, October 2nd.

Had tea and bread with R—— at 10 a.m. We did some more shopping in the forenoon, having got the chits the day before, and actually obtained the articles required (a shirt and a pair of socks). Visited the Petrograd Soviet of Labor Unions in the "Labor Union Prospekt"; it is in this street that many large blocks of flats have been converted into trade union establishments, and here the professional alliances (as they are called) are centered. The "Labor Union Avenue" and the central office of the Petrograd Labor Unions are really the headquarters of the industrial population in Petrograd. It is the vital nerve center

of the working population there. I had a long talk with the head of the Petrograd Labor Unions, and obtained some literature describing his organization, and managed to get it safely to England. We then took a tram out to Smolny, where we had the usual lunch at 4 p.m. We were rather late, so borrowed a car back to the hotel, collected our luggage, and caught the train for Moscow. There were dense crowds at the station, because some troops were also leaving, and we had difficulty in getting there at all; bands were playing the "Internationale," and as the train steamed out of the station the whole crowd sang the "Internationale" with every appearance of enthusiasm. R—— and myself were given places in a four-berthed second-class sleeper, which we had to share with two other travelers.

The significance of Petrograd in the military and political situation is now so enormous that I made special efforts to learn the views of the Soviet Republic.

A peace conference had been arranged at Dorpat for October 25th with the new Baltic States, and the immediate result of Yudenitch's offensive and of his premature communiqué announcing the capture of Petrograd was to compel the postponement of the conference. The small Baltic States are necessarily swayed to and fro by the changing currents of world politics. On the one hand, they fear the complete success of Koltchak, Denikin, and Yudenitch, none of whom has recognized the independence of the smaller States, intending their reabsorption in a restored Russian Empire. On the other hand, they do not desire the imposition of revolutionary methods on their own

countries. Given guarantees by the Soviet Republic, they will undoubtedly be attracted by the prospect of guaranteed independence, peace, and commerce.

On the premature communiqué there was much gambling in the rouble at Helsingfors and elsewhere, a side issue, but one of much significance.

As for the safety of Petrograd, my informants expressed no fears. The figure given by several people independently was 100,000 troops in the vicinity of the city. Fresh troops have probably been brought up since.

Had Finland and the Baltic States supported Yudenitch with all their forces and with real enthusiasm, the Soviet Republic would have been faced with an overwhelming danger. But the necessary enthusiasm is not to be worked up in face of the fears for their autonomy at the hands of a reconstructed Russian Empire.

Should Petrograd fall, it would undoubtedly be an immense blow at the prestige and cohesion of the Soviet Republic. Should the attempt fail, it will incalculably consolidate their position.

CHAPTER III

MOSCOW

Friday, October 3rd.

The sleeper was in good condition, the upholstering undamaged and fairly clean, no indications of undesirable insects; the lights were in order, but no heating. I slept most of the night in comparative comfort.

Between seven and eight in the morning our passports were examined, in this instance the military police were naval.[1] The country is well known by travelers' descriptions, but as this was my first journey in the country I was impressed by the vast sweep of forest and plain, the latter well cultivated and dotted with cattle and peasantry, all bathed in a bright morning sun.

We arrived at Moscow at 10.45 in the morning. Luckily, one of our friends, whom we had picked up on the journey, had a car sent to meet him at the station, and after waiting some time for it we drove off. The impressions on arrival at Moscow are similar to those which one feels on arriving from Western Europe at Algiers or Port Said. Like these border ports, it is a veritable gateway to the East, and is bathed in that peculiar atmosphere which is created by the contact of Western trade and commerce with

[1] The writer is obviously Irish.—PUBLISHER.

the mysterious Orient. I retain of Moscow the most vivid images—the motley crowd outside the station; gesticulating izvoshtchik drivers, counter-gesticulating military police, newspaper vendors, porters, fruit-sellers, and every kind of street market dealers.

We drove off with R—— and two of our friends, dropping them at the Second Dom Soviet. Then we drove on to a large house—I am not sure as to its exact use—where I left my luggage, and from that we proceeded to the First Dom Soviet, the late National Hotel, where R—— had his room. He had very heavy portmanteaux, which, in view of our relative physique, I found it an obligation of courtesy to transport to his room on the fourth floor.

We then walked back to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and whilst waiting to see Litvinoff came across L——, the representative of an American newspaper. There seemed to be some desire on the part of R—— that we should not get into too close conversation, and he beckoned me away, and suggested that it would be preferable to keep my visit in the town unknown; but, as events turned out afterward, this was needless, for I met L—— on several occasions, extracted much useful information from him, and eventually traveled back to Reval in his company.

Each of the Commissariats is controlled by a Collegium of two or three members, the Commissar and his assistants. This corresponds to the Board of Admiralty, Army Council, Air Council, and so on in British Government Departments. In the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs Tchitcherine is the Commissar,

and he is assisted by Litvinoff, who deals with affairs in Western Europe, and Karakhan, of Armenian extraction, who deals with politics in the East, Asia, India, and so on.

I had a long talk with Litvinoff, and explained the objects of my visit.

My ultimate object was to meet the responsible heads of the Soviet Republic as a member of the British House of Commons, and as such I wished to explore the possibility of negotiations with a view to establishing peace in the remaining fields of war. I invited him to state the basis on which they were prepared to co-operate in reaching out toward a settlement. I undertook to carry such views to England, and to bring them before the British Government and the British public through the House of Commons and the Press.

My primary object, however, was to see, myself, the Russia of the Soviet Republic as represented by its capitals, by its responsible *de facto* Government, by its institutions, by the activities of its daily life, as far as this was possible in a brief visit.

From this, though courtesy forbade me stating it in such blunt terms, I hoped to form an opinion as to whether anarchy and disorder prevailed, or whether forces of law and order had grown up out of the wreck of the Imperial régime, such that a civilized and democratic Government could decently and properly negotiate with them.

I told Litvinoff how I desired to spend the few days at my disposal, and the date on which I wished to

get back to Reval to enable me to catch the steamer for England. The different catechisms I had been submitted to at the frontier and Petrograd and elsewhere rendered further examination unnecessary, but at this point I produced the only letter of introduction which I had, if such indeed it may be termed, from Arthur Ransome, a distinctly "bourgeois" personage. Litvinoff had not yet seen a copy of his book, *Six Weeks in Russia*,[1] which was in my possession, and which I gave to Litvinoff. Each from our own point of view considered it a rather tactful picture of the situation. Personally, I think his book is very guardedly written. It is not too strong, although everything he says is absolutely true, and does, I think, present a good, vivid picture to the mind of the reader.

Through Litvinoff's good offices I obtained from the Commissariat a pass, giving me complete freedom in the town, which was under martial law, and, in company with Madame Z——, one of the staff, who speaks English (an Englishwoman by birth, I understood), drove off to the house in which a room had been allocated to me, picking up my luggage on the way.

Incidentally I noticed that the house from which I picked up my luggage was used for delegates from India and Egypt.

Life in the city, as I had already noted on my arrival, continued to show far more animation than in Petrograd. The small street market stalls were in full swing day after day, and there was an accompanying activity of street traffic.

[1] London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

The house, Sofiskaya Naberezhnaya, No. 14, I was lodged in is on the banks of the River Moskva, facing the ancient walls of the Kremlin. It belonged to a multi-millionaire sugar magnate, by name Charitonenko. It is a really fine house of the kind only produced by a combination of wealth and taste, full of wonderful art treasures from all parts of the world, East and West; beautiful paintings, bronzes, statues from Japan, tapestry from France, and so on. It was completely untouched, even the smallest article of bric-à-brac had been undamaged, but the spacious garden behind the house was overgrown with weeds. Charitonenko's valet was still in being and looking after it, and, in spite of two years of revolution, had not lost any of his customary professional mannerisms. Possibly this was subtle propaganda to catch the "bourgeois" fancy by giving indications that Russia under Lenin and Trotsky will offer the ruling classes possibilities not less dazzling than France under the Directorate.

After washing and a few hours' rest, Litvinoff called for me at about 5.30 p.m., and later we went to the Opera. It was a Russian Opera. I was informed that the cast and the orchestra were the original pre-war staff, and if a comparison with Covent Garden is a meet standard, they were to the amateur lover of opera beyond question in the very highest class of artists. Other members of the Government were there, including Semashko, the Commissar for Public Health, with whom I entered into conversation between the acts, French being the medium of exchange.

It cannot be said that the Tsarist administrators cared very much about the health of the lower classes. The medical institutions which existed were within the reach of the well-to-do population of the towns, but the urban and rural poor could not afford to have such assistance. It was therefore evident that radical charges were necessary. The Government apparatus and its various departments, amongst them the medical and sanitary departments, are at the service of the proletariat. Every citizen of the Soviet Republic has the right to demand medical assistance from the State, and gets free medicine, treatment, medical and hospital. This general insurance led to the actual nationalization of the medical profession. The State takes the obligation to supply every citizen with free and qualified medical assistance. Cholera, which is a customary visitor to Russia, was averted owing to the measures taken by the Commissariat. It was stated that up to June 1st there was not a single case of cholera in the Russian Republic. Further, as the result of heroic efforts, typhus is subsiding, and many other diseases are disappearing.

These conversations filled in the gaps in the play.

The performance ended about eleven o'clock, and we went home, myself well content to enjoy rest earned by somewhat strenuous hours and days.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Saturday, October 4th.

I woke with the traveler's familiar strange feeling on finding myself in this trebly famous city. After all I had heard and read of the Empire-shaking happenings in this historic capital, I could not bring myself to acquiesce in the reality of the natural life which is presenting itself. A sentimental novelist somewhere represents the world as standing still because a papyrus found in Egypt demonstrated that the New Testament was a forgery. But H. G. Wells, the great artist of human psychology, grasped the profound truth that the world goes on with its day disturbed not at all by the imminence, but only by the actuality, of a great catastrophe. Yet I could not at first grasp the reality of seeing people going to and from work in the ordinary way in the morning, nor of the visible fact that along the banks of the river and across the bridges the trams were running past my window. Incidentally, I noticed also that a number of trams were drawing behind them flat trolleys loaded up with wood, an example of the efforts which are being made to cope with the needs of the coming winter. The outline of the Kremlin filled the background with the multitudinous golden domes of its beautiful Byzantine architecture. Every

three hours the sacred bells clanged forth in discord, with lingering throbbing overtones, the revolutionary airs of the "Internationale," the sound calling up from the past a symbolic vision of French priests wearing the tricolor sash over their soutanes.

I did not get up till after nine, as nights had been somewhat broken of late, and shortly afterward Litvinoff's secretary, P——, arrived to assist me in putting in operation my lengthy program. We first proceeded to the Health Museum.

In the building I was shown what were represented as typical examples of the efforts which are being made to improve the health of the Russian people by propaganda. There were large pictorial posters and plaster models showing the visible symptoms which portend certain diseases and epidemics, with added instructions stating what action should immediately be taken in the way of isolation, treatment, and various precautionary actions. By this means it was possible to convey, even to the illiterate, simple first principles of hygiene. Other instructions and illustrations conveyed elementary principles of domestic hygiene, school hygiene, workshop hygiene, first aid. There were models showing how schools should be organized and arranged, how peasants' cottages should be furnished and ventilated, the need for careful drainage, and so on. There was a very good model showing the danger of drawing water for drinking purposes from a river. It showed a river with a factory on its bank, and streams of refuse pouring into the water, peasants washing in the river, and so on—all intended to illustrate how important it was

not to utilize this form of water for drinking purposes, but rather that a pump or well should be driven down a certain depth, so as to obtain water which had received the benefit of filtration through the earth. Later I went to a building where these models and diagrams were being reproduced in quantities for distribution throughout the country. The hypercritically minded may call all this display a good specimen of window-dressing, but they must at least admit that the display in this particular window was worthy of a political Messrs. Selfridge.

Subsequently we went on to St. Catherine's School. Part of this school is still retained for children, the other half is used for instructing teachers, especially in technical work, and there were numerous scientific models. In order to give the pupil teachers, who it was stated are appointed to this school by the Trade Unions, instruction in the elementary principles of everyday engineering, there were models of pumps, mines, wells, steam engines, and other machinery. There are special sections in this school for woodwork, printing, textile, agriculture, and other trades and industries.

It struck me that when this nucleus was trained and dispersed throughout Russia it might be possible to build up a great industrial nation whose potential force throughout the world would be no mean factor. There are very able and subtle brains at work, which may presently make of the movement something entirely different from what people think—something which, instead of being a so-called scatter-brained

anarchy, may become a new and very formidable type of industrial oligarchy. If that development should take place, and indeed it has already begun, it will be impossible merely to turn a blind eye to it, and absurd to go on treating it as a form of ultra-democratic anarchy with which respectable constitutionalists must have nothing to do. It will, if and when this stage is reached, be the most drastic and ruthless system of law and order that the world has ever seen, and quite as formidable an example to the workmen of the Western countries as to the owners of property. Capitalists take note.

The other part of the school is used by children, who appeared to be healthy and well fed, in spite of the shortage of food. Special arrangements are made for these possibly favored children, and they receive allowances of milk, honey, bread, and fish, which are not always available for the adult population. The children have a large garden behind the school. They appear to be of somewhat mixed classes, some of them highly bred. It was obvious that this school would be better than most of the schools available for them.

After visiting these institutions we returned home. At about 9 p.m. some visitors called on me, with them Mrs. R—— and Madame Z——. The former can only speak Russian, but is anxious, if possible, to join her husband in England, and we discussed the restrictions and their applicability to her case.

Free postage has now been adopted in Soviet Russia. This has been introduced because it was thought that by this means there would be a greater intercourse be-

tween all parts of the Republic, which would have an educative and enlightening effect on the mass of the Russian people.

Sunday, October 5th.

In the forenoon we went to visit the Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition. This is another form of medical propaganda, conducted on very similar lines to the Commissariat for Public Health, but operated under the control of the Commissariat for Social Welfare, though I understand that a proposal is under consideration to place it under the control of the Commissariat for Public Health. The Exhibition was crowded. Several classes of women were being taken round and given lectures. Sections were devoted to the care of children, and by means of large diagrams —colored and otherwise—and by means of models, attempts were made to show such details as the correct way to carry a child, methods of clothing, feeding, milking, breathing, and so on. Diagrams also showed the comparison of the death rate in different countries in proportion to the illiteracy of mothers, in countries where there was prohibition, and so on. Another section dealt with food; the types of food which should be supplied to children, or which should be taken by mothers before the birth, the utensils which should be used, the need for cleanliness, the danger of flies, and all the hundred and one domestic details which make the difference between health and sickness, between strength and weakness of the rising generation. The extended use of illustrations, diagrams, and models

mark the illiteracy of the masses of the Russian people as left by the old order.

I was given the table (see page 44) which shows the increase in the various types of institutions between October 1918 and July 1919.

The statements that these were typical and representative I cannot demonstrate, but they were obviously not got up on the chance of an unexpected visit even by so important a person as the humblest member of the Mother of Parliaments. Hypocrisy has been defined as the last tribute paid by vice to virtue. At the very least, then, the Soviet Republic wants to be regarded by the Western World as caring for all these things.

I believe that it really does care for these things, that it really is struggling to carry through schemes of universal compulsory education—what a contrast to illiterate Russia of the pre-Revolution days!—that it is really trying to train up engineers, scientists, doctors—in fact those professional corps without which a country cannot be considered as civilized. I believe that the need for the machinery of commerce has demonstrated itself to the artisan who desires goods, to the peasant who desires manufactures, to the Government which must exchange its corn, surplus flax, and timber against foreign supplies. Where its ideals are impracticable, time will prove and throw them out.

Personally, I am fully aware of the argued advantages and disadvantages of Communism. Human nature being what it is, not even in Russia, I believe, can the sudden introduction of the principles of Com-

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

Moscow and Principal Government Towns, from Returns received in October, 1918, and July, 1919

	Asylums for Newborn Children		Asylums for Children from One to Three Years		Crèches		Ambulatoriums for Newborn Children Consultation		Milk Kitchen		Asylums for Mothers with Newborn Children	
	1918	1919	1918	1919	1918	1919	1918	1919	1918	1919	1918	1919
Moscow	1	2	2	6	4	26	8	17	8	10	1	3
Yaroslaff	1	1	—	—	1	3	—	2	—	1	—	—
Kostroma	1	2	—	1	2	2	—	2	—	1	—	1
Ivanova-Voznesensk	—	1	—	1	2	3	—	—	—	2	—	—
Tula	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Saratov	1	1	—	1	—	—	3	4	3	4	—	1
Voronej	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	2
Tver	1	8	—	6	3	6	—	2	—	1	—	—
Tamboff	1	9	—	7	2	2	1	1	1	1	—	—
Minsk	1	2	—	1	—	2	1	2	1	2	—	—
Kaluga	1	1	—	4	2	6	—	1	—	1	—	—
Vitebsk	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	2	1	2	—	—
Tomsk	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	4	—	4	—	—
Total	12	31	2	31	16	51	16	38	15	30	2	7

munism offer a sound basis for a permanent social system; but he is a bold prophet who says that humanity will learn nothing from its apparently rash experiments.

Having reached the limit of my receptiveness of utilitarian matter I sought relief by proposing a visit to one of the picture galleries of Moscow. We went to the famous Tretyakov Gallery, which contained a magnificent collection of Russian paintings, including works by Shishkin, Verestchagin, Perov, Kramskoi, Ryepin, and Makovski, increased, I was informed, to some extent since the Revolution by pictures from private galleries, in which somewhat drastic way the collections of well-known artists had been completed.

The crowd passing through the gallery represented many and various classes of people. The galleries were well filled, and I permit myself a somewhat cynical speculation as to whether this could possibly be a set piece. But really there was no special reason for such a thought, beyond the natural caution of the detached observer. We stopped there until the building was closed, announced by the ringing of bells by the various attendants.

We then went home and had our meal. We generally had one substantial meal in the day, some time between three and five, according to our work. After this we proceeded to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Crossing the Krasnya (or Red Square), one sees lying under the northeast walls of the Kremlin the cemetery of the Red victims. Here I noticed eleven new graves profusely covered with flowers, and propped

against the walls were red banners. These were the victims of the counter-revolutionary effort which took place a few weeks ago when a bomb was thrown into one of the Moscow Soviets. Eleven workingmen were killed and over twenty seriously injured. The conspirators attempted to convey the impression that this was the work of Anarchists, and during the night pasted up posters in the town to this effect; but those who were acquainted with the organization of the Anarchists said that they could readily detect that the posters were counterfeit. I was told that the funeral of these victims was a wonderful sight.

In several places in the town of Moscow I noticed large-scale maps painted on canvas 10 or 15 feet square erected in the streets. On it every day the different fronts were accurately marked out.

A number of the famous restaurants, the scenes in pre-Revolution days of dazzling orgies, are now utilized as workingmen's clubs.

I think the horses are better fed in Moscow than in Petrograd. They receive a ration of oats, whereas in Petrograd they are fed on hay. I am inclined to think that the izvoshtchik drivers who have not been commandeered are making a good thing out of it, so far as profiteering is concerned.

I spent from six to seven with Tchitcherin. Tchitcherin as an individual does not fall under the heading of a proletarian, or a Jew, or a long-haired Bolshevik. He is a man of aristocratic descent, married to an aristocratic wife. He was at one time Military Attaché in Paris, and has not a little experience in diplo-

matic affairs both in official and unofficial capacities. After this conference we proceeded with Maxim Litvinoff to what used to be known as "Nobility Hall," and in one of the large annexes we found Trotsky addressing a gathering of young Communists. I suppose that this would correspond to the League of Youth and Social Progress we hear so much of in England! It was a very vigorous speech, with plenty of energy in it, and the words "Churchillo" and "Lloyd Georgio" were not infrequent; but, alas! my knowledge of Russian was inadequate to follow the gist of the discourse. After the address was over Trotsky left the hall, stopping on the way out to inquire of one of the boys how he had come to damage his arm, which was bound up, patting him on the shoulder as he passed on. The thought instantly flashed across my mind that this act of commonplace sympathy was entirely out of "character," but I leave it to biographers and psychologists to dissect it and evaluate it.

It was arranged that we should accompany Trotsky on a special inspection of troops at Tula, a large town a few hundred versts to the south of Moscow. Walking back to my house I passed three Chinese soldiers. Lack of knowledge of the Chinese language prevented me interrogating them as to their purpose. They were the only Chinese soldiers I saw. I am told there are a few thousand, and that they are used on those fronts where the Red Army are likely to be least loyal to the Bolshevik Movement. A car came to fetch me at my house at 11 p.m., and we drove to the quarters in which L—— was stopping, where we waited for a couple of

hours, as the departure of the train had been postponed. At 1.30 a.m. we drove on to the station in the suburbs of Moscow. There was a guard of honor at the station drawn up on either side between the entrance to the station and the train. We left Moscow at 2 a.m. in Trotsky's special train, which merits some description. Trotsky, the War Minister, spends a considerable amount of his life in the train, as a War Minister, conducting wars on immense fronts, extending across European and Asiatic Russia, might well be expected to do. His equipment as I saw it consists of two complete trains, carrying a total of over 350 persons. The coaches included his own special saloon, sleeping cars, accommodation for the Staff, offices for typists, etc., printing car, wireless station (the train is fitted with wireless telegraphy, and is by this means in continual touch with Moscow), machine gun section, and specially designed coaches containing motor-cars, all in perfect condition.

In the morning we received a neatly typed wireless press report, giving the messages received during the night from Poldhu, Paris, and other wireless stations. It reminded me of the War when, in command of H.M.S. *Ben-My-Chree*, we had to rely for weeks on end on what scanty news we could get through our aerial.

In addition to this, whenever Trotsky is on the move, he issues from his train a printed bulletin containing extracts from these radio messages, besides articles from his own pen and those of his colleagues.

CHAPTER V

TROTSKY AND THE RED ARMY

Monday, October 6th.

We arrived at Tula at seven o'clock in the morning, but did not leave the train until later. A large crowd had gathered in the courtyard outside the station. The streets were not officially lined with troops, and were filled with crowds controlled by scattered military sentries.

We left the station at 9.45 a.m., occupying eleven motor-cars. Several distinguished officials had accompanied us, including Rykoff, the President of the Supreme Council for Public Economy, Tsuriupa, the Food Controller, and Lunacharski, the Commissar for Education. During the journey on every possible occasion I drew these officials into conversation on anything which interested me. We drove through the rough cobble streets of the town, through the ramshackle suburbs out into the country, over a country land on to a common, a wide open stretch of grassland, utilized for the review. On arriving at the parade ground we witnessed a review of 7,000 troops, including infantry, lancers, scouts mounted and on foot, machine gun detachments with their guns transported on light country wagons, artillery, a kite balloon section with a motor winch lorry, armored cars, and usual

field equipment corps. The lancers were carrying a veritable Christmas tree of weapons, and I should have been sorry to meet them; they were well mounted, and appeared to be tough and sturdy fellows. Flying overhead I noticed two aeroplanes with the familiar lines of Sopwith one and a half strutters.

The troops were drawn up on three sides of a large square field, and the bands were playing the "Internationale." Trotsky walked ahead, accompanied and followed by his Staff and by myself and one or two other foreigners. Each "Battalion Commander Comrade" reported when Trotsky arrived opposite his battalion. Trotsky uttered an exclamation of greeting to each battalion by name, which they returned from the ranks. When this inspection was completed the soldiers were closed in, and Trotsky made a short speech from his car, in which he referred to the fact that he was glad to see so many troops so well clothed in American uniforms from the Koltchak front, and hoped to see them again soon, clothed the next time in British uniforms from Denikin's army. After this the troops marched past by companies in the ordinary military fashion, the drill being quite good. Trotsky took the salute standing in his car, in which I was accommodated with a place, and thus saw the troops at close quarters. They appeared cheerful and well fed, and I felt disposed to infer from the expression on the faces of a great proportion of them that they were inspired with something like hero-worship for Trotsky himself. Of the mounted troops, the horses were fit and well fed.

During the review a deputation of men from the local Trades Unions branch applied for permission to take part in the procession, which being granted, they took their place, and several hundred workers with the usual Labor Party banners, such as one sees in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoons, followed the review of the troops, accompanied also by their band. This seems to have been a signal to the spectators that they also had some right to take part in this display, with the result that the two or three thousand spectators present broke the lines and filed past us in the rear of the Trade Union procession.

The parade was accompanied by the usual camp following of Press cameras, cinematograph operators, and correspondents; one of the latter who spoke French asked me for an interview. When all this was concluded we left again by car. The cheering of the crowds followed us, and may be taken as evidence of the enthusiasm of the people. The crowds seemed to my eyes, accustomed by this time to some extent to Russian crowds, to be a typically rural gathering. In particular I failed to pick out any individuals with the square head of the German or the facial characteristic of the Jew. Although on my guard against the insincerity which permeates formal stage-managed events, I could not honestly repress the feeling that this was a really representative assemblage, with a definite national spirit, offering its representative chiefs spontaneous demonstrations of enthusiasm and support.

To my mind there is no doubt a certain amount of Trade Union esprit de corps about the whole business.

For instance, Soviet officials are sent for short periods to the different fronts to address the regiments to tell them what they are fighting for—namely, the aims of the Revolution. All this is a kind of war aims propaganda very far in advance to that adopted by us in the Great War, and as efficient as results have shown.

We drove right through the town, accompanied by a detachment of the mounted volunteer lancers, who caused no little excitement in the town by the clatter of their hoofs on the rough cobbled streets, the speed of our cars necessitating their progress at full gallop. However, presently they eased up and halted. We proceeded to inspect one of the most important groups of munition factories in the district, of which in all I saw three. At the first I visited something like 11,000 men and women were employed working in three shifts. I cannot claim to be an expert efficiency engineer, but I have seen a certain number of factories during the war, and to the best of my observation there did not appear to be any substantial difference in the running of this factory and those in England and elsewhere. Munitions of war were being turned out with the high speed which is made possible by the use of automatic machinery, tended as usual by female labor.

In various conversations with Trotsky the point which he seemed particularly anxious to impress on me was that the Russian people bore no malice against Great Britain and the British people. He said that he hoped for peace and the alleviation of the blockade, and was confident that the continuance of present conditions was only desired by a small section of the great

British public, and that the most despicable one. He was confident of eventually beating Denikin; said that Denikin's advantage lay in his cavalry, but that this advantage would be considerably reduced in the snow and mud which was already appearing. He admitted that he had made several strategic mistakes, had allowed the advance against Koltchak to continue too far, and he had underestimated the amount of munitions which Great Britain would supply to him. He did not attribute very much value or advantage to Denikin in the possession of tanks, except, of course, in the capture of specific tactical positions. The war is largely one of manœuver, and the tanks were lost in such large areas.

I asked him whether he thought there was danger of the Soviet Republic evolving into an Imperialistic Empire based on the increasing military spirit with which it was at present inevitably imbued. He said that the spirit of military energy was due to a revolutionary spirit, and not to military ambition, and he looked forward to the time when war would end, and this energy could be transferred to peaceful operations. He expressed no fears whatsoever as to Petrograd, and indeed the present attack on Petrograd seems to have been undertaken more with political objects than with real hope of complete success. He admitted the critical situation of Moscow, but expected soon to deal with Denikin as he dealt with Koltchak. Even if Petrograd and Moscow were both captured, he said, the danger to Great Britain would be even greater. He pointed out that the Bolshevik Republic now extends to Turke-

stan, and their organization would be simply squeezed eastward. Chinese communities were extraordinarily susceptible to the Soviet idea (as anyone who has been in China can affirm), and the danger to India and the East of an awakened China could be left to our imagination.

In my judgment the military situation is very critical. We have not helped Denikin and Koltchak wholeheartedly nor thrown all our resources into the anti-Bolshevik Army, and there is no love lost between Koltchak, Denikin, and the British Government.

As evidence of this we can see that the staff of these leaders contains many of the old officials, both high and low, and it would be contrary to the principles of human nature to expect that they have materially changed their views on life's outlook. As a confirmation of the fact mentioned above let me quote the following intercepted telegram which has been published by the Bolsheviks:

THE COPY OF A TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL DESINO TO THE CHIEF OF THE STAFF OF THE HIGHEST COMMANDER FROM LONDON.

The so-called Russian crisis, which is calming down, has very distinctly shown the real feelings of the Englishmen toward Russia. The distrust is reigning everywhere. They have been expressing openly it is not worth while to trouble now with Russia, that the Russian army is incapable to do anything, that Russia is betraying its promises. There have been several publications of enmity. Situation here was very difficult. I have seen Colonel Repington, and I have

expressed myself to him as an officer and to several other people in the War Office that our disorders, if they even have been an annoyance to our common cause, have caused less harm than their inactivity during two years. Generally, it is not worth while to take very much consideration of the Englishmen; only then will they be more considerate. It is very damaging that we are too polite toward their representatives in Russia; they are far from being as polite toward us. I have very good relations with them, and I know that they like me, but now we really feel our crisis. It is necessary that our agents here should be hard. It is impossible to trust England. She is good toward us when everything is well at home, but when something is wrong in Russia it would be impossible to calculate on her help, for that reason it is not worth while to give her too much consideration. Just now our policy should be stony and based on full consciousness of our national dignity.

DESINO,
General Staff.

On the other hand, we have practically been at war with the Soviet Government. It was represented as absolutely wrong to assert that the Soviet Government is supported by Germany. Much evidence was produced to show that the Soviet Government made every effort to come to terms with the Allies, that Lenin and Trotsky made every effort before signing Brest-Litovsk to bring about an alliance with Great Britain, and offered to continue to fight against Germany, and that this has been repeated by frequent communications and by radiograms which have not been shown to the British people ever since. Most of these documents are now available for perusal by the public. I hope

they will shortly be published, because the more enlightenment we can have on these matters the easier it will be to clear up the Russian tangle.

As conditions exist to-day, there is no reason why Soviet Russia should not combine with Germany if the Entente Powers permitted it. She has everything to gain and nothing to lose by co-operation with Germany and by the utilization of German engineers and skill to develop her untold resources. The only known communications that have taken place so far were a deputation that proceeded to Berlin in the early part of this year. No results accrued, as presumably the German Government had not either the strength or the temerity to undertake them, but the danger lies in front of us, and we may find ourselves faced one day with a great military alliance between Germany and Russia, and as before the War we were frightened by the phrase, "Hamburg–Berlin–Bagdad," we may yet live to fear "Hamburg–Moscow–Vladivostock." There is a military danger which is a very apparent danger. The Red Army is every day increasing in strength, increasing in technique, increasing in military efficiency. As testimony to that, you have only to ask General Yudenitch, or Koltchak, or Denikin. In fact, that cannot be disputed.

An example will illustrate this:

A few weeks ago there appeared in *Investia* the following letter addressed by Russian officers serving in one of the Red Armies in the South to their confrères of the White Armies. It was signed in full, with the names, ranks, and former positions in the old armies

of 137 officers. It is a valuable document as showing the effect on the military minds of this protracted struggle, and its moderation of tone commends it especially to consideration.

Officer comrades! We address this letter to you with the intention of avoiding useless and aimless shedding of blood. We know quite well that the army of General Denikin will be crushed, as has been that of Koltchak and of many others who have tried to put to their mercy a working people of many millions of men. We know equally well that truth and justice are on the side of the Red Army, and that you only remain in the ranks of the White Army through ignorance regarding the Soviet Republic and the Red Army, or because you fear for your fate in the case of the latter's victory. We think it our duty above all to write you the truth about the position made for us in the Red Army. First we guarantee to you that no officers of the White Army passing over into our camp are shot. That is the order of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of War.

If you come with the simple desire to lessen the sufferings of the working population, of lessening the shedding of blood, nobody will touch you. As to officers who express the desire to serve loyally in the Red Army, they are received with respect and extreme affability. We have not to submit to any kind of outrage or humiliation. Everywhere our needs are attentively supplied. Full respect for the work of specialists of every kind is the fundamental motive of the policy of the present Government and of its authorized representatives in the Red Army. Quite unlike the practice in the old Army, you are not asked "Who are your parents," but only one thing—"Are you loyal?" A loyal officer who is educated and who works advances rapidly

on the ladder of military administration, received everywhere with respect, attention, and kindness. Among the troops an exemplary discipline has been introduced.

From the material point of view we could not be better treated. As for the Commissaries, in the vast majority of cases we work hand in hand with them, and in case of disagreement the most highly authorized representatives of the power of Soviets take rapidly decisive measures for getting rid of the differences. In a word, the longer we serve in the Red Army the more we are convinced that service is not a burden to us. Many of us have begun to serve with a little sinking of heart solely to earn a living, but the longer our service has lasted, the more we are convinced of the possibility of loyal and conscientious service in this Army. That is why, officer comrades, we allow ourselves to call you such, although we know that the word "comrade" is considered insulting among you, because among us it indicates relations of simple cordiality and mutual respect. Without proposing that you should make any decision, we beg you to examine the question, and in your future conduct to take account of our evidence. We wish to say one thing more, we congratulate ourselves that in fulfilling obligations loyally we are not the servants of any foreign Government. We are glad to serve neither German imperialism, nor the imperialism which is Anglo-Franco-American. We do what our conscience dictates to us in the interest of millions and millions of workers, to which the vast majority of the company of the officers belong.

It was signed by 137 officers, with mark of rank in the old Russian Army.

I would ask people who seek a sign to read the history of the French Revolution and imagine what may

happen if the revolutionary spirit which infuses the Red Army becomes a military spirit, and out of Russia arises a Russian Napoleon.

We got back to the train about 3.30, when we had lunch, and at 6.45 started back for Moscow, where we arrived at 11.30 p.m.

Whilst in Tula I met Peters, who was connected with the Extraordinary Commission for suppressing counter-revolution in Petrograd. He is a quiet, meek, docile character, such a contrast to what he is generally portrayed. He now holds office in Tula.

CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRY

Tuesday, October 7th.

During the forenoon we went to visit Vinokurov, the Commissar for Social Welfare. His Department deals with all matters such as those which are covered by our Ministry of Pensions. It also deals with pensions and compensations for workmen. If disablement is permanent, a man is compensated at the average of the locality; if temporary, he continues to receive the working wage. The pensions for soldiers cover a wide ground. Pensions have recently been raised. A decree is now pending which will place the victims of the Great War on the same footing as the Red Armies.

At 2 p.m. we went to see the industrial Exhibition which has been organized by the Supreme Council of Public Economy. The exhibits are grouped according to the different trades, or professional alliances, as they are termed, and were intended to give examples of the different industries which were being built up in Russia, and one saw examples of flax, silk, glass, leather, electrical devices, aircraft, and so on. It must be remembered that Russia is now in direct communication with Turkestan, and the possible output of Turkestan cotton is very great indeed.

In the evening I went to the famous Moscow Art

Theater, and saw one of Maxim Gorky's plays, depicting typical peasant life in Russia. I think the striking feature of that evening was the notably "bourgeois" nature of the audience, many of the ladies in fact were wearing evening dress. Also, in order to prevent unnecessary disturbance, no one is allowed to enter the theater whilst any of the acts are in progress.

Wednesday, October 8th.

I spent some time in the morning writing up the notes which had been compiled from the interviews with various officials and from the documents which I had received, and at twelve o'clock I went to the Hôtel National, now known as the First Dom Soviet, where I met R——. He is in charge of a school for the instruction of Soviet workers.

His school has been in existence for about three or four months. The great building of the Moscow Merchants' Club was taken over and converted for this purpose. In it 700 students are being trained to act as Soviet workers in the provinces. The students are selected by the local Soviets, and are nearly all peasants. The courses last about four months. They learn theory in the school, and for practical work are taken out into the departments which are actually operating. The School of Soviet Work prepares students to act as secretaries of local Soviets and managers of the sections concerned with land, education, railways, and so on. In addition the school includes 600 students, who are being instructed in party work. The work of this party school is devoted to the indoc-

trination of the middle class of peasants, whom it is the aim of the Central Executive to lead gently into socialism as their number and position in Russia make them a fundamental political factor. The work is divided into sections corresponding to the various Commissariats, and a student enters the section of whose work in the provinces he wishes to labor. It is very comprehensive. Here are some notions of the synopsis covered: The agricultural course includes forestry, the land question, co-operation in agriculture and live-stock. The transport section tackles railways, permanent-way building, railway administration, and railway exploitation. The section of food control includes the coupon system, the Soviet food policy, organization of the supply of the population in connection with the nationalization of production, the participation of the workers in production, corn resources and the determination of the corn surplus, and the relation of transport to the supply of food. Let the reader draw a picture for an instant of the effect of this school on the country, sending out through the country, every few months, these trained organizers of the Government, pouring them out into every corner of Russia, all of them imbued with the communistic idea, working for the successful administration of Russia by the Soviet system, working for the conversion of the peasants to the ideals of socialism. There is something in the nature of a fiery grip behind an organization which is capable of working on these lines.

Later I telephoned to Captain Sadoul, who came round, and we had a long talk on the situation, lasting

for two hours. He was originally a French barrister, attached to the French Mission in Russia, and one time Chief de Cabinet to Albert Thomas. He was one of those who spent much time and a great deal of energy in trying to bring about peace between Russia and the Allies before the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. He gave me copies of the numerous letters which had passed from him to M. Albert Thomas. Their tenor certainly tends to disprove the statements that the Bolshevik Government was pro-German. As a reward for his labor in what he considered the interests of his country he has recently been court-martialed *in absentia*, and sentenced to death by a French Military Court. Captain Sadoul's effort was only one of the many attempts which were made between the time of the Revolution and the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty by numerous individuals in this matter, and I think it is quite definitely proved that the Soviet Government were willing and prepared to refuse to sign that Treaty, and to continue the war against Germany.

On the other hand, the policy of the Allies is not entirely misrepresented by the words, which I believe appeared in a reactionary London newspaper, "We would rather make peace with Germany than with a Socialistic Government."

The complete correspondence between the Soviet Government and the British, French, and American representatives, giving the chain of negotiations leading up to the time of breaking off diplomatic negotiations, has been published in accordance with the gen-

eral principles of the Bolshevik Government to abolish secret diplomacy and disclose all documents connected with the old régime of secret diplomacy. This, again, I think, is an interesting and important incident helping to bring before the public the true history of the Russian Revolution, and the part played in it by the Allies.

In Moscow there is a building which, for lack of a better title, I will call the "Secret Diplomacy Relics Museum." In it have been collected practically all the contents from the archives of the different Embassies and the Tsarist Government Departments. Here it is possible to scrutinize a collection of documents so multitudinous as to be obviously genuine, ranging from the Secret Treaties down to the Willy-Nicky correspondence, and correspondence showing all the negotiations between Russia and the Allies up to the breaking-off of diplomatic relations. In addition to this many instances, such as negotiations for bribing certain Ministers in order to obtain concessions in particular parts of Russia, and so on and so forth. All of these will be illuminating reading, and of immense historical value when time permits of their careful coordination and reproduction.

P—— came home with me that evening, and we had a long talk, among other things, about the Jewish question.

I feel sure that the Jewish question is one of the most important. A great deal of misunderstanding exists in this country in associating Jewry with Bolshevism, and it is a good thing to publish a frank

exposition of all the facts available in connection with this matter. How did Bolshevism originate? The secret details of this may perhaps never be known in full, but it is fairly certain that it originated as part of a big plan conceived by certain gentlemen whose interests cannot be said to be either preponderatingly pro-German or pro-British.

The inner history of the relations between Jews and the Russian Revolution is beyond unraveling by anyone outside the inner circle.

We know that Lenin passed from Switzerland to Russia without hindrance, and that Trotsky was translated from a British jail in Halifax (Canada) to Petrograd, and other Bolshevik leaders were conveyed to Russia with the assistance of the British and American Governments.

What conditions or instructions they carried with them must be guessed at, but once arrived at Petrograd they put their tongues in their cheeks and took their own line, the line that led through the Revolution as it took place to their present undeniable bureaucratic rule. The writer has heard that the original sponsors and financiers of the desired "limited" Revolution are making strenuous efforts to bring the present development to a stop.

Absurd attacks on Jewry have been made throughout the world for a long time, based on religious prejudices, jealousies, and other causes. Jews in Russia are now not at any rate subject to the persecutions of former days, and possibly on account of their big share in the inception of the Bolshevik movement a great

many Jews are in control in Russia. Actually in the Cabinet there is only one, Trotsky; compare this with the number of Jews and men of Jewish extraction in the British Government. These facts and the old anti-Jewish prejudice is used by the anti-Bolshevik forces to stimulate a "hate" in a manner which no Christian nation should tolerate. I obtained the original of a document which had been distributed by General Denikin's forces in the towns of Kozlov, Tambov, Yeletz, and of its authenticity I have no doubt whatsoever. Translated it reads as follows:

APPEAL

Peasants, arm yourselves and rise against the common enemy of our Russian land, against the Jew, Bolshevik, and Communists, drive out the diabolical power.

A large Cossack army and volunteers are moving on Moscow, and soon, soon, we shall breathe freely and be relieved of the grip of the devil's hands which chained us into bondage, destroying our religion, our Church, torturing our priests, old men, and children, and which cast our entire Motherland into starvation and poverty.

With God to arms!

Would that the power of the devil inhabiting the souls of the Jew Communists perish.

GENERAL MAMONTOV.

(And together with him sign all the rebellious peasants and populations of these cities.)

September, 1919.

This is what the British taxpayer contributes to! If the newspapers, who carry on this absurd rhetoric against the Chosen Race, realized all its effects they

might turn their force of propaganda to better effect. As anyone who is conversant with Jewish politics is aware there is a division in the Jewish world between Internationalist and Nationalists, between those who look upon their faith purely as a religion and those who look upon themselves as a race with national feelings and aspirations. Russia is no exception to this cleavage and therefore we find Jews divided between Jewish Communists and the Zionists or Nationalists. There is not a little enmity between these two sections. The Zionists are naturally opposed to the Bolsheviks, and it is not generally known that members of the Zionist Committee have been recently arrested by the Bolsheviks, the pretext being a trivial one. From the point of view of language the Jewish Communists utilize Yiddish, whilst the Zionists were anxious to employ Hebrew. The Communists were favored in this respect because official instruction in Hebrew has now been stopped by the Government in favor of Yiddish, and instruction in Hebrew must now be carried out in private schools.

I think that it is apparent that the progress and development of the Zionist movement will modify profoundly the constitution of the Soviet Government. It will weaken its importance and undermine its line of development. I believe also that many of the Jews who are now in high places supporting the Communistic régime are inwardly wobbling to the policy of the Zionists.

This is an instance, albeit an important one, showing the effect of Zionism on the constitution in Russia,

but there are other wider aspects from which we should discuss the relation of Zionism to the general settlement of world unrest.

First there is the racial question. When you have a great powerful intellectual race spread all over the world, permeating every country without any fixed home, without any vested interests save those of finance, and in no direct contact with the soil, does it not make for unsettlement and unrest? When you think of a father in Berlin, an uncle in Vienna, a nephew in Paris, and a cousin in New York, possibly all holding big financial positions, what more can you expect than international intrigues? Without any fixed center for orientation, their work is bound to be more destructive than constructive.

The ethnographical aspect is no less important. If the Palestine question and the problems of the associated countries of Syria and Armenia are decided, you will safeguard the integrity of Mesopotamia. Without such border States you may perpetuate, on the boundaries of Mesopotamia, frontier troubles analogous to Afghanistan and other countries on the Indian frontier. It would also lead to the settlement of the Turkish problem. Constantinople could be described as the solar plexus of European politics, the point where the cross-currents of Berlin–Baghdad, Odessa to the "open sea" meet—the heart of the Young Turk movement. The Turkish question has remained unsettled too long. With its settlement the remaining pieces of the large world jig-saw puzzle should fall into place, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, and so on.

It is difficult to discuss such a delicate question as the Jewish question without being classed in the category of those who discourse anti-Jewish rhetoric. Personally the writer is a pro-Jew and a pro-Zionist, and in penning these notes hopes that in a small way they may contribute toward enabling the public to comprehend the importance of the Jewish question to world-Peace.

Thursday, October 9th.

We arranged to-day to visit the power station about 60 versts east of Moscow at the town of Bogorotsk. Litvinoff called for me at 9 a.m., and after picking up the rest of the cavalcade at the Kremlin (I think there were about five motor-cars), we proceeded. We had the bad luck to have one puncture on the way there; the tire cover came off, and only good judgment on the part of the driver retained the car on the road. Whilst we were stopping replacing the tire a wood-cutting *artel* passed us on the road, a group of peasants combined together to cut and collect wood from the local forest. The power station at Bogorotsk supplies the town of Moscow with electric power. It is a 60 million kilowatt station, supplying current at 70,000 volts. There are 5,000 workers at the station. It is run on peat fuel, and in the vicinity there are extensive works for cutting up the turf. We went round the station; among the company was Krassin, formerly one of the managers of Siemens Schuckert's works, and now right-hand man to Rykoff. I believe he is really the most powerful man behind the scenes in Russia to-day; he has large con-

structive schemes for industrial development. Others present were Trotsky, Rykoff, L——, and Rutgers, the latter being a Dutch engineer, who has been in Russia for a number of months.

In the vicinity of the factory were a number of attractive log cottages for the use of the employees of the power station. The place was so peacefully situated in the center of a pine forest that one could wish for little better than a job in such a situation, with a cozy home out of touch with the worries of this world.

We had dinner in the log cottage of the manager of the works, by name Klassin, who for some years was a former manager. Afterward we went and inspected the peat fields, traveling on a small locomotive which ran across the swamps. There are three series of railway lines running parallel about half a mile apart through the peat fields. The peat is pumped up by an electric suction pump, and distributed over the surface of the ground in the form of ooze or mud. Here it is allowed to dry, and when dry a petrol cutter runs over the surface, cutting the peat into triangular-shaped pieces. This device is rather like a steam-roller, only much lighter, and on the rollers are triangular grooves, which cut the peat, on rolling over it, into oblong slabs about 15 inches long and 4 inches wide and 4 inches high, the cross-section being triangular. The development of the use of peat in Russia may assume large proportions, especially in those districts where there is a shortage of coal. In any case, for local purposes it is a valuable source of fuel.

The Workmen's Committee at this factory consists of five, two nominated by the workers, two by the technical staff, and one local representative of the Council of Public Economy, so it will be seen that the actual workers are in a minority, as in fact they are in all the factories which are running in Russia. It has been shown that it is quite impracticable to run factories on a purely electoral basis from the workers in that factory; other interests have to be considered. This is typical of one of the many concessions which have to be made in modifying the pure communistic intentions originally proposed, so by evolution they are gradually getting back to a position approximating closely in spirit to that aimed at in this country by the setting up of Whitley Councils. The constitution of the Management Committee described above bears some resemblance to a Trade Board.

I profess myself a firm believer in the method of the Whitley Council, and I claim this striking Russian development from the extreme position of the early revolutionary ideas as valuable evidence that a position of stability is possible, and that there is no question of our going down a slippery path of increasing steepness toward final anarchy and dissolution. Employers in Great Britain and Allied countries who imagine that they can retain worn-out ideas concerning the organization of industry and withhold the introduction of democratic principles should take warning; they are skating over thin ice, and a slip may bring about the collapse of our social fabric.

I was shown by Rykoff, the Commissar for Public

Economy (i.e. internal industry), the following list, which was being sent to America as a first inquiry for tenders for the supply of goods. American export houses will assuredly not be long in appreciating the possibilities of supplying Russia, and if British industry gets its fair share of Russian trade, there need be no unemployment for British labor for a long time to come.

The inquiry was as follows:

1,000,000 pairs of boots.
500,000 suits.
5,000,000 tons of soap.
10,000,000 tons of fat, eatable.
2,000,000 tons of conserves.
6,000 tons of nails.
5,000,000 tons of coal.
2,000 mallets.
15,000 hammers, small.
100,000 chisels.
300,000 files.
400 tons of steel cutters.
15,000 drills.
200 tons of tin.
1,000 tons of lead.

Further, immense supplies of rolling stock, gas-pipes, lubricating oils, traction engines, machine tools, instruments, and in fact the whole machinery of civilization are required.

I was also supplied with particulars of the amount of certain raw materials such as flax, lime, etc., which are ready for immediate export.

In addition there is the prospect of contract work in the actual development of Russia. I have a copy of the proposed concession to a neutral firm for the construction of a railway from Obi to Kotlas, traversing country abounding in wealth, and every economic student of Russia knows the boundless development

work awaiting Western enterprise in this kind. There is nothing new in these facts. But it is new, and significant, that they are emphasized by the officials of the Soviet Republic. Of such is their propaganda.

Whilst the war is on, naturally most of Rykoff's time is spent in supplying the Army, a sort of Ministry of Munitions.

We motored back late in the evening, and were stopped again by two punctures, which exhausted all our spare wheels. Luckily, however, we got back to Moscow at 7 p.m.

I saw an announcement in the Press to-day giving particulars of the arrests in Moscow for the month of September for speculation. During September 1,100 persons were arrested, 768 men and 332 women. When these people had been taken before the People's Courts, it was found that of these 110 were deserters from the Army, eleven were escaped criminals; 480 were sentenced to concentration camps, 240 received minor sentences, the sentences of 90 were pending, and the remainder were released.

Friday, October 10th.

I was now beginning to think of getting back to England, and how best to effect that journey with the greatest celerity and the minimum of risk, as I did not wish to be detained or waylaid on the way, carrying, as I did, such valuable documents. I understood that a conference was shortly to take place at Dorpat between the Baltic States and the Soviet Government, and it was suggested to me that the best plan would be

to accompany the Soviet delegates and cross the frontier with that Mission. However, no reply had yet been received from the Baltic States as to the date of this conference, and, as it will be seen later, this conference was postponed owing to the feint attack on Petrograd.

At noon I went to the headquarters of the Moscow Labor Union and had an hour's talk with Melnichansky, the Secretary of the Moscow Council of Professional Alliances. The building of the Moscow Council of Professional Alliances is situated in the former palace for the meetings of the nobility, a building where receptions and other social functions used to be held. It is a large building containing a great central oblong hall, one of the largest halls in Russia. The sides are lined with white marble pillars, supporting the cornices, behind them are two wide promenades, above them is a gallery which runs round three sides. It is little changed. The lighting arrangements were brilliant. It is not difficult to imagine the glittering throng of courtiers and nobles, jewels and diamonds, which used to fill it, and such a picture is a strange contrast to its present use—a hall for the workers. Its condition was rather dirty and somewhat untidy, for it had been used during the Great War as work-rooms for the making of uniforms. In the long galleries in former times coats-of-arms and other symbols of the nobility adorned the walls, but these have now been replaced by shields bearing the emblems of the Republic and the different Professional Alliances or Trade Unions modeled in plaster, and where formerly,

so I am informed, stood two Tsarist busts are now two busts of Karl Marx and Nicolai Lenin respectively. The contrast between past and present deserves a few minutes' reflection, so full is it of meaning, so symbolic of what has happened. In his conversation Melnichansky explained how the labor movement had been rendered easier by the fact that up to the period of the Revolution trade union organization was almost conspicuous by its absence. It was therefore possible to organize labor in industries and not in crafts, thereby eliminating the numerous sectional unions which are to be found in England and elsewhere, and which cut across industrial social revolution. There are now in Russia twenty-nine principal Professional Alliances or Trade Unions. They are as follows:

Chemical Trade.
Town Workers.
Bath Attendants.
War Workers.
Wood Workers.
House Employees.
Railway Workers.
Paper Workers.
Leather Workers.
Sanitary Workers.
Art.
Metal Workers.
Food.
Printing Trade.
Agriculture.
Hairdressers.
Glass and China.
Food Distributing.
Banking Institutions.
Building.
Tobacco.
Textile.
Transport.
Finance and Taxes.
General Trade Institutions.
Clothing.
Photography.
Pharmaceutics.
Water Transport.
Education.
Post and Telegraph.

They are united in one central organization, the All-Russian Council of Professional Alliances. They are also organized by localities, by provinces, and by National Councils. Co-ordination, so far as conditions of labor are concerned, culminates in the Commissariat of Labor, which is concerned with the enrolment and distribution of labor throughout Russia, with the fixing of the hours of work, of their duration, of factory extension, and so on, thus combining the functions of Labor Exchange and Factory Inspector. A comprehensive code of laws has been published dealing with this matter. Co-ordination, so far as industry and production is concerned, is carried out by the Supreme Council for Public Economy. This signifies that throughout the country every industry is amalgamated into great State Trusts, making for economy and intensive production. The question of strikes is interesting. It must be realized that in a communistic state a strike would be illegal. Whereas in England strike-breakers are considered as traitors to the cause of the workers, in Russia, under the Soviet system, people wishing to strike are deemed to be traitors.

Many times in the House of Commons, during the past year, have I suggested the sending of a Commission, representative of all parties, to Russia to find out the true facts of the situation. Needless to say this was opposed by the Government, who appeared to have no such desire, and I was very glad that on Monday, November 17th, the same question was again raised by Mr. Arthur Henderson. It is a pity that this was not done, the Bolshevik Government would willingly

have received such a deputation. It would have carried more weight and more authority than independent journalists and independent politicians, and would, in the long run, have allayed a great deal of unrest in connection with the Russian question.

There is much which the Western World can learn from these social experiments.

I spent the evening at the Foreign Office from eight to eleven typing out certain documents.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION AND WOMEN

Sunday, October 12th.

I spent this day in visiting the children's theaters. I am told that in Moscow there are thirteen theaters open on Sundays specially for little children. The plays are varied: dramatic, educational, humorous, and so on. I went to three of these to see that it was not all bluff. They were packed with enthusiastic juvenile audiences, and I could not help wondering, when I saw those little children so thoroughly enjoying this new experiment, which tended to give them such a fuller life, whether it was really necessary for them to undergo the terrible hardships in the forthcoming winter which will be necessitated by the Allied blockade.

After the usual late afternoon's meal we went to the famous Church of St. Basil, just outside the gates of the Kremlin. It is an extraordinary piece of architecture. The architect is supposed to have been shot by the Tsar soon after its completion. I hardly wonder. It appears to the observer as a conglomerate mass of minarets, towers, and domes, no two of which match each other, no two of which are of the same pattern or the same color. Still, it has its attractions. It is painted in all the colors of the rainbow, and they

are of the most varied forms. Some of them are shaped like bulbs or pineapples, some of them are twisted in strange spirals, some of them are serrated, some of them covered with facets or scales, and they bulge out over their supporting drums and are crowned with crosses. The general effect is quaint and fantastic in the extreme. The inside is very sepulchral, something like a series of vaults. A service was going on when we went in, and the church was crowded. I thought of the proclamations that I had so often seen, that the churches in Russia had been destroyed, and again state that this detail of the real visible national life was in such vivid contrast to my preconceived notions that I am conscious of strong mental rebound to the advantage of the rule of the Soviet Republic.

The Russian revolutionaries have repeated history by breaking with the State Church. The calendar of Russian orthodoxy has been replaced by the calendar of Western Europe.

Denikin has marked his position by restoring the obsolete orthodox calendar in the districts he has recovered.

The clergy are divided, the majority of the higher officials, the princes of the Church, may confidently be looked for on the reactionary side. But a sufficient number have made the distinction between ecclesiastical machinery and spiritual office, sufficiently clearly to accept the separation of Church and State, as witness the following statement which appeared in the Press on October 19th, 1919:

"On the 13th of September representatives of the Clergy and of the Petrograd Metropolitan Veniamin visited the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Zinoviev. They handed him a letter from the Metropolitan regarding rumors of contemplated arrests among the Petrograd clergy. The following is an extract of this letter:

The Petrograd Clergy strongly uphold the decree regarding the separation of the Church from the State. We are carrying on exclusively religious activity. Religion in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic is not persecuted. We who work in the center know this. The introduction of the decree regarding the separation of the Church from the State should not allow believers to be defiled or persecuted just because they believe. In Petrograd, the center of the Soviet, the decrees have always been put into force in a more or less perfect manner. The firmness of the Church policy of the political authorities has created among the Clergy and followers of the Petrograd Church a sincere and loyal feeling toward it, and we are sure that all these rumors, which are unnecessarily exciting the masses, will be refuted by the higher authority—the Executive Committees—as this would only insure the continuation of the relations toward the Church which we have always accepted with a feeling of satisfaction.

"Further, the delegation officially declares to Zinoviev that the Petrograd Clergy resolutely condemns the support given by the individual representatives of the Clergy to the 'Whites,' and that the Metropolitan has decided to deprive such representatives of their rights. In reply, Comrade Zinoviev assured the

delegation that no arrests among the clergy were ever contemplated, and he expressed the hope that the Clergy would strictly adhere to the decree concerning the separation of the Church from the State."

The true Revolutionary is a Rationalist, and the leaders of revolution in Russia now, as in other countries formerly, regard the ingrained religious habit of the ordinary man as a contemptible superstition.

The Russian revolutionaries are in the course of learning wisdom on the most firmly established fact of human history, that the average man's mind is not so self-contained and self-reliant as to enable him to live without some moral sanction from outside himself.

In my own observation the driver of the droshky crosses himself as he passes each church, the ordinary man and woman turns from his marketing for a few moments' religious exercise in the wayside chapel.

Russian churches are famed for their number and their decorations, and they still stand intact, from the great cathedrals of St. Isaac and the Saviour in Moscow down to the smallest shrine.

Ikons have not been abolished, they are seen everywhere, in cottages, factories, in the saloon of Trotsky's special train.

Monday, October 13th.

No news had yet arrived concerning the proposed Peace Conference at Dorpat between the Baltic States and the Soviet Government, and I was beginning to fear whether it would be possible to get back to Hel-

singfors in order to catch the steamer for Hull due to leave on October 23rd.

A Lettish Red Cross Mission had arrived, and was staying in my house. It comprised three delegates, the Mayor of Libau and two members of the Lettish Diet. It did not take me long to ascertain that this was not a Red Cross Mission, but a secret Peace Mission from Latvia, and the large Red Cross brassards which they wore on their arms were justified only in so far as these gentlemen, like others, were trying to bring about peace in this old world.

I arranged to see the British prisoners to-day, and accordingly drove that afternoon to the house in which they were accommodated. The prisoners, who were not volunteers to fight against Russia, are treated very considerately. They were living in a large house, about twenty-five of them together, with some French prisoners. They were generally healthy and contented, at least as contented as anyone who is a prisoner can be expected to be. They informed me that they had nothing to complain of with regard to the treatment they were receiving. They received the ration of black bread, etc., as much as ordinary civilians. Some of them had received no letters from home for twelve months. Their clothes were very scanty, and I believe the supplies which were sent over for them last winter have been held up in Finland owing to the absurd difficulties which have been put in the way of communicating with Soviet Russia. I promised to do what I could as a private Member of Parliament to expedite the conclusion of the negotiations which are proceed-

ing with a view to their exchange, and if not, hoped that it would be possible to arrange to send them warm clothes, boots, food, tobacco, cigarettes, etc., before the winter. Prisoners who are not volunteers have complete liberty in Moscow, but have to be in their quarters by 11 p.m., as the city is under martial law. Work is optional, but the majority have taken on manual labor to fill in the time, and occupy their thoughts, for which they receive 75 to 100 roubles a day. They have been offered the chance to join a trade union, and to go on a card system for clothes or food on the same basis as civilians.

After this I went on to the Foreign Office, and spent from 8.30 to 11 in assimilating my documents.

I asked if I might be allowed to take home a mail from the prisoners to their friends and relatives, permission for which being granted, instructions were given, and, in spite of the short notice, I was able to bring out some hundred or so of letters and deliver them safely to their friends and relatives in England. From a perusal of their contents, I thought it best to censor them, without a single exception all seemed as happy as could be expected. The letters from the naval prisoners gave illuminating particulars of the daring raid of Kronstadt, and of the injuries sustained by Lieutenant Bremner. I cannot help feeling that these gallant officers, who were doing their duty, were submitted to risks and engaged on war-like operations in which the Admiralty had no right to employ them. It is very regrettable that such a long delay has taken place in the exchange of British prisoners. The radio-

grams negotiating for the exchange of prisoners take up twenty-eight pages of typed foolscap, commencing on January 24th, 1919, and culminating in the despatch of Mr. James O'Grady to Copenhagen at the time of this book. I feel sure that direct negotiations could have been taken sooner, and I do not know whether the delays were due to a fear that the returned prisoners might have adopted Bolshevik ideas, or that the fact of discussing the matter with the Bolsheviks was tantamount to the recognition of Soviet authority. The telegrams are protracted and tedious and taper off at times into purely personal abuse between Lord Curzon of Kedleston and the Bolshevik Government. In one telegram Lord Curzon of Kedleston stated that he wished it clearly understood that Messrs. Lenin and Trotsky

and all other persons concerned would be held directly and personally responsible for the treatment accorded to all British prisoners and other British subjects.

Back would come the reply a few days later, or perhaps a few weeks later, according to the atmospheric conditions, which naturally delayed this tedious mode of communication.

Any repetition of such threats addressed personally to the Russian Government is characteristic only of the mentality of their authors, and will cause the Soviet Government to consider whether they can entertain any further negotiations with the present British Government even on questions like that of the exchange of prisoners.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEACE TERMS

Tuesday, October 14th.

I now found that an opportunity occurred of leaving Soviet Russia in company with the so-called Lettish Red Cross Mission, so there was not much time to lose in getting my things together, and making the necessary preparations. I borrowed a portmanteau in which to stow my documents, and took this to the Foreign Office in order to get it censored and sealed, to avoid trouble, so far as the contents were concerned, before crossing the frontier.

I was rather annoyed, because when later I came to open my bag I found that one or two documents had been retained. One of these was a bulky publication headed "Distribution of Property," another was a list which had carefully been prepared by the Foreign Office of the prisoners, military and civilian, in Soviet Russia, the third was a Bartholomew's map of Europe, showing new boundaries. In spite of the fact that all of these were approved by the Soviet Foreign Office—in fact the two former had been given to me by that authority—all three were retained by the Bolshevik Military Authorities.

The possibility of peace in Russia and the conditions on which it could be obtained were directly dis-

cussed and the resolutions crystallized in the form of the following statement, which I have since published in the Daily Press:

The Allied and Associated Governments to propose that hostilities shall cease on all fronts in the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, on a date to be set, to allow sufficient time for notification to be received by all parties, and that no new hostilities shall begin after this date pending a conference to be held in a neutral country, provided that either a radio or direct telegraph wire to Moscow should be put at the disposal of the Soviet Government.

The duration of the Armistice to be for two weeks unless extended by mutual consent, and all parties to the Armistice to undertake not to employ the period of the Armistice to transfer troops and war materials to the territory of the former Russian Empire. The conference to discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, which shall not be subject to revision by the conference:

1. All existing *de facto* Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to remain in full control of territories which they occupy at the moment when the Armistice becomes effective, except in so far as the conference may agree upon the transfer of territories, until the peoples inhabiting the territories controlled by these *de facto* Governments shall themselves determine to change their Governments.

The Russian Soviet Government and all other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, the Allied and Associated Governments, and the other Governments which are operating against the

Soviet Government, to agree not to attempt to upset by force the existing *de facto* Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and the other Governments signatory to this agreement.

2. The economic blockade to be raised and trade relations between Soviet Russia and the Allied and Associated countries to be re-established under conditions which will insure that supplies from the Allied and Associated countries are made available on equal terms to all classes of the Russian people.

3. The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right of unhindered transit on all railways and the use of all ports which belonged to the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, and are necessary for the disembarkation and transportation of passengers and goods between their territories and the sea; detailed arrangements for the carrying out of this provision to be agreed upon at the conference.

4. The citizens of the Soviet Republics of Russia to have the right of free entry into the Allied and Associated countries, as well as into all countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. Also the right of sojourn and circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of those countries.

Nationals of the Allied and Associated countries and of the other countries above named to have the right of free entry into the Soviet Republics of Russia, also the right of sojourn, and of circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of the Soviet Republics. The Allied and Associated Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland,

to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the various Russian Soviet Republics.

The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into all the Allied and Associated countries and into the non-Soviet countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire in Finland.

5. The Soviet Governments, the other Governments, which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire to give a general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, offenders, and prisoners, and to give their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia.

All Russians who have fought in or otherwise aided the armies opposed to the Soviet Governments, and those opposed to the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to be included in this amnesty.

All prisoners of war of non-Russian Powers detained in Russia, likewise all nationals of those Powers now in Russia, to be given all facilities for repatriation. The Russian prisoners of war, in whatever country they may be, likewise all Russian nationals, including the Russian soldiers and officers abroad, and those serving in all foreign armies, to be given full facilities for repatriation.

6. Immediately after the signing of this agreement all troops of the Allied and Associated Governments and other non-Russian Governments to be withdrawn from Russia, and military assistance to cease to be given to any of the Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Soviet Government and the anti-Soviet Governments

which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to begin to reduce their armies simultaneously and at the same rate to a peace footing immediately after the signing of this agreement.

The conference to determine the most effective and just method of inspecting and controlling this simultaneous demobilization, and also the withdrawal of the troops and the cessation of military assistance to the anti-Soviet Governments.

7. The Allied and Associated Governments taking cognizance of the statement of the Soviet Government of Russia in its Note of February 4th in regard to its foreign debts propose as integral part of this agreement that the Soviet Governments and the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, shall recognize their responsibilities for the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire to foreign States, parties to this agreement, and to the INDIVIDUAL NATIONALS of such States. Detailed arrangements for the payment of these debts to be agreed upon at the conference, regard being had to the present financial position of Russia.

(It must be remembered that the Russian debt amounts to 568 millions—no negligible quantity in these days of national economy.—C. L'E. M.)

NOTE.—The statement of the Soviet Government of February 4th, 1919, referred to above, is as follows:

(1) The Russian Soviet Government does not refuse to recognize its financial obligations to all its creditors, either States or individuals, belonging to the Entente Powers, whereas details of the realization of this point must become the object of special

agreement as the result of the proposed negotiations.

(2) In view of the difficult financial situation the Russian Soviet Government proposes an exchange with raw materials, which will be enunciated in the suggested agreement.

(3) In view of the great interest which has always been shown by foreign capital for the exploitation of Russian natural riches, the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to grant concessions upon mines, forests, and so on, to citizens of the Entente Powers under conditions which must be carefully determined, so that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia shall not suffer from the internal rule of these concessions.

(4) The Russian Soviet Government will negotiate with the Entente Powers on the question of territorial concessions.

8. The Soviet Government of Russia undertakes and accepts the foregoing proposal, provided that it is made not later than November 15th, 1919. The Soviet Government is most anxious to have a semi-official guarantee from the American and British Governments that they will do their utmost to see to it that France lives up to the conditions of the Armistice.

The Soviet Government hopes that it will not be necessary to transfer this offer (with the necessary modifications) to the Central Powers.

After completing other formalities, bidding adieu to Litvinoff and Tchitcherin and others, packing my scanty traps, I was ready to start at 10 p.m. Lit-

vinoff sent his car for us, into which we crowded, a tight fit, as the Letts were burly individuals. It was drenching rain. We drove to the station, and found that a special car had been attached to the train for our benefit. It was a small observation coach, comprising two double-bedded sleepers and a saloon. There was a good deal of cagging in regard to the allocation of accommodation. There was the Lettish Mission, consisting of three; three strangers homeward bound, Rutgers the Dutchman, L——, and myself; and our escort, consisting of two Bolshevik soldiers. I think that the trio with which I was associated did well in selecting the saloon. Although at nights we had to share a sofa and three chairs, we had a better time of it during the day.

There was a little display of heated words at the last moment between L—— and P——, who had come to see us off. It arose because letters from American Jews in Moscow had been left out of L——'s sealed luggage—the Jewish question again. Intelligent readers can well understand what the point at issue was.

We steamed out of Moscow at 11.15 p.m. The following days were perhaps the most irksome of the whole trip. It was a long journey, and we did not arrive at Veliki Luki until 8 p.m. on the next day.

CHAPTER IX

HOMEWARD BOUND

Wednesday, October 15th.

The train was comparatively comfortable. We had a certain amount of black bread and cheese, and it was possible to obtain the usual supply of hot water at the various stations. There was a young female attendant in charge of our saloon. I must anticipate the cynic by adding that she was plain and ugly, but she made it clear from the outset that her duties were solely to keep the car clean, and not in any way to attend to the commissariat. However, her work, so far as we saw it, consisted very slightly of the latter, and hardly at all of the former.

We arrived at Ryejitsa at 7 a.m. on

Thursday, October 16th.

I was surprised in the morning to receive a telegram from Moscow. It was addressed to—

COMRADE MALONE,
Carriage Number 2,
Lettish Railway.

and sent off at midnight on the 15th. It went as follows:

In your notes it is said that the first effort to conclude peace was the project worked out together with Bullitt. In reality, on our part, there was even earlier made—the whole series of peace offers to the Entente, beginning in August, 1918. The Sixth Congress of Soviets, of November, 1918, adopted resolution to the effect that peace be offered to the Entente, and in keeping with this proposals have been made by us. A full recounting of our offers is contained in our appeal to the workers' organizations of France, England, and Italy of July 17th, 1919. This appeal was delivered to you when you visited me the first time.

The English *Times* received by us refers, in addition to other charges, to a would-be article supposed to have been written by Comrade Latzis, and to discussion in the Soviet Press as to which means of torture should best be applied. I beg you to declare in England that this is absolutely false. Denikin fabricates our newspapers as if they were printed in Moscow in order to blacken us, which is the case in this instance.

TCHITCHERIN.

We appeared to miss our connection. I think there was some muddle in connection with the orders to the military authorities, and, owing to the officiousness of some local Commandant, we were detained for twenty-four hours, so we took the opportunity of stretching our legs, and walked up to the town in company with Rutgers, L——, and F——, where we found an apology for a restaurant, and had our first hot meal for some time, at a price of only 150 roubles.

This town, comparatively close to the frontier, presented a normal aspect. Such shops as existed were

open and comparatively well stocked with local produce. We walked about unmolested, and apparently unnoticed.

In the evening we were lucky in finding that a train was proceeding to the front, to Veleni. However, we had learnt not to expect anything until it had commenced to happen, so we were very glad indeed when, about 10.30, we felt the shock of the engine coupling up our carriage.

Friday, October 17th.

The train arrived near the frontier in the early hours of the morning. At 6.30 our guard woke us, and instructed us to get ready. We left the train at seven o'clock, and found that three light farm carts and a cavalry escort were awaiting us. We were not far from the frontier, so bid adieu to the guard, and, in the gray, chilly dusk, started off to leave the Soviet Republic.

What strange feelings, what strange impressions!

The road followed within half a mile or so of the railway line, which I noticed had been blown up in one or two places, although it appeared that repairs would not take very long. Most of the road lay through a thick pine forest, a newly-cut track, our carts jerking over the protruding stumps of the felled trees. A fourth cart tried to join up in our cavalcade. I suppose a local farmer, who thought that in the dusk he might take the opportunity of crossing the frontier. He was, however, soon spotted by the escort, who diverted him from our rough track through the forest.

When we arrived at the Bolshevik frontier there were some dozen or more soldiers, who removed the barbed-wire entanglements on the track. We were rather surprised by one of these coming up to us and conversing in fluent English, which he informed us he had learnt while spending two or three years of the Great War in a German prison. We were not submitted to any examination as we had anticipated. We had been afraid that we should lose everything that we had in our pockets and had omitted to have sealed. Luckily this was not the case. Lenin's long arm evidently reached this remote frontier picket. The escort left us, and we drove across the neutral zone, an extent of about 6 versts. And so we left behind us the test tube of one of the world's greatest social experiments. The Letts had mounted a large white flag on a stick, and L—— had a decorative American flag, should emergency necessitate it. It was an uneventful transit. The neutral zone had nothing in common with that on the Western Front. There were not even shell-holes. I think I had heard one or two rifle shots, but they are more likely to have been accidental, or for game, than with military intention.

There is really no personal enmity between the Letts and the Russians. The peasants, all those whom we passed in the neutral zone, were entirely occupied with their farm labors, and they appeared to be going about their work undisturbed.

In places across the neutral zone the road had been blown up, but in each of these cases the cavity in the road was circumvented by a track passing through the

adjoining field, the worn track giving evidence of pretty regular traffic.

After 6 versts figures appeared on the crest of a hill, and we were eventually confronted by three Lettish soldiers; the number was soon doubled. We had promised not to take the three carts any further, so we dismounted our baggage and proceeded on foot, a distance of a further couple of versts, to a cottage, apparently the headquarters of a very subordinate Commandant. Our Lettish friends carried on an animated discourse with this officer, discussing the situation in Latvia in general, in Riga in particular, also reading the most recent newspaper aloud. The conversation drifted to the Jewish question, until they finally appreciated the fact that L—— was present, and concluded the conversation. The Commandant telephoned through to a higher authority, and at eleven o'clock a locomotive and flat open truck arrived. The railway ran close by. We mounted this very crude conveyance, and were taken to the first station from which a train started. Here we transferred from the open flat truck into a closed cattle truck—comparative luxury! I think there were about thirty-seven occupants of the car; however, their animal warmth made up for the deficit in heating units.

The majority of passengers in the train were people who were refugees from Russia. Amongst them was the wife of the Minister of Communications of the Latvian Government—rather a coincidence. I hope she informed her husband about our experiences on the Latvian railways. She accompanied us to Riga.

We arrived at Kriesberg at 1.30 p.m., a comparatively civilized place. There is noticeably more food on this side of the frontier, but pitiful lack of railway rolling stock. We stowed our baggage and ourselves in an ambulance car that was lying in a siding of the station. Our Lettish friends had several colleagues who were anxious to help them, and, for obvious reasons, it was undesirable to give too much publicity to our visit. There were in the vicinity a number of the semi-German Landswehr troops, and in view of the advance of Von der Goltz, anything might be anticipated from them.

At 6 p.m. we left, but only for another short stage, again in a cattle wagon, as far as Shtokmanshof, where we arrived at 7.30 p.m. Our Lettish colleagues had long conferences with the Lettish military Commandant. The difficulty was that the town of Riga was being bombarded by Von der Goltz; some reports even stated that the town had fallen. In any case, there was no communication by railway, and if the Government had retreated to the north we should have to spend probably another two days proceeding by a circuitous route via Marienburg and Walk. There was a buffet at the station, filled during the night with between fifty and sixty soldiers, but able to supply tea and coffee, though at an exorbitant price. We also heard that it was possible to proceed by train to within 18 miles of the town (which we ultimately decided to do), and travel the rest of the way by cart or horse. Unpleasant weather for this crude form of conveyance. Everything seemed to be completely disorganized; no-

body seemed to be in command; so different from the bureaucratic orderliness in Soviet Russia, was a thought that would not be repressed.

As far as I could make out, there are only about ten locomotives in the whole of Latvia, and pretty inferior machines at that. So we passed the night in a small waiting-room adjoining the stationmaster's office. I started the night on a wooden trestle in that room, then on the floor, but eventually shifted into the stationmaster's office, and rigged up a sort of bed with our suitcases, which were a little softer than the floor. It was a cold night, raining, and in the morning changed to snow. The stationmaster, seated at his desk in a little office, was busy writing all night, at least whenever I woke up. He certainly could not have been filling up returns of the trains which passed, because there weren't any. Possibly he was making a return of the number of questions stupid people asked him.

Saturday, October 18th.

At about eight in the morning we made a scratch meal out of some tinned food we had, remnants of our black bread from Moscow, and coffee which we obtained at the refreshment-room. There was a good deal of discussion then between the military and our Lettish Mission, and it was difficult to see whether we should get to Riga or not. Some still asserted that the Government had evacuated to the north, and that we should have to proceed to that town by a circuitous route via Walk.

At nine o'clock a train arrived at the station composed entirely of cattle wagons. We appropriated a wagon, and by standing at the door and gesticulating "Special Mission" managed to keep it for ourselves. At ten o'clock the train backed out of the station, and deposited our carriage and four other carriages half a mile down the line at a siding, and went back to the station. This struck us as rather a stupid proceeding, because it necessitated a hurried dismounting from the train, a walk up to the station with our heavy baggage through deep snow to the live part of the train, which was now bisected. We mounted the half of the train which carried the engine, but no sooner had we done this than the engine left us and went to the other part. We followed in hot pursuit, and eventually settled in an empty wagon, the three members of the Lettish Mission, Rutgers, L——, and myself, two Lettish soldiers who were accompanying us as escort, and some hangers-on who were bent on getting into Riga. The train eventually started at 10.30. It was a cold journey, and we did not have the natural heating of human beings to keep the wagon warm as we sat huddled on our luggage in the bare cattle wagon. L—— had one refill for his petroleum-wax stove remaining, which we utilized to prepare some soup, and finished off our rations, as we hoped to be in a civilized town that night.

At 4 p.m. we arrived at a town, or rather a small village, some 14 versts to the east of Riga. We were told the train could not proceed any further, because the line ran in full observation along the banks of the

Dwina from Von der Goltz's German and White Russian troops, who were in command on the south bank. The redoubtable F——, however, got busy on the telephone with the military in Riga, and ere long we got permission for the Mission and ourselves to take the locomotive and our wagon along the remaining 14 versts into Riga. I was glad of this, because it obviated a long journey in the snow in open carts, even if we could have obtained them. We were not shelled on the way through. A substantial bundle of roubles seemed to incite the engine-driver to sit on the safety valve. The railway bore the scars of the Great War, nearly every bridge was new, of temporary timber construction, and ran beside the wreck of the old permanent bridge. And along the railway line were the scars of shell-holes, great and small, barbed-wire entanglements, dugouts, and other symbols of intensive strife. One has seen so often during the War those brief communiqués headed "The Dwina Front," which I now saw for the first time. What fighting had not taken place in that neighborhood?

We were not allowed into the railway station of Riga (presumably it was well under the fire of the enemy), but stopped about 2 versts outside. We walked along the railway line to the nearest road-crossing and held up the first two carts which came our way, to the intense disgust of the aged peasants, who were bringing in their market produce to Riga market; but our Lettish military escort prevented any protest on their part. When we got into the town we transferred into a more civilized form of conveyance, the proverbial

izvoshtchik. We drove to the Intelligence Department of the Lettish Military Headquarters there, being sent to the wrong address first. Here we were examined by two young Lettish officers. They did not seem to worry very much about us or our luggage, I am glad to say, although I had been careful to melt the Bolshevik seal on my suitcase and impress it with a new King George's halfpenny. As already stated, our luggage was sealed in order to make sure that it was not examined inside Soviet Russia after leaving Moscow. We informed the Lettish officers that we were *en route* to our respective countries, England, America, and Holland. They gave us military passes for the town, which was, of course, under military law, giving us freedom of circulation for twenty-four hours. The Lettish escort we then discharged, and we bid adieu to our Lettish Peace Mission. We asked the Intelligence Officers as to the best hotel to go to. They advised us to go to the Hôtel de Rome, which is near the banks of the Dwina, and being practically right opposite the German forces, was likely to be safer, because the shells passed over the hotel (instead of through it?). I thought this was rather temerarious reasoning. However, we accepted the advice, drove to the hotel, and took the precaution of securing three rooms on the off side. We dined, the first civilized meal for a good many weeks, and after a hot bath, turned in. However, our well-earned rest was not to be allowed to us yet, for at midnight the bombardment commenced. There was a good deal of noise in the hotel, and a certain amount of panic from the female

sex, and most people seemed to be going downstairs. L—— was fast asleep, so we did not disturb him, but Rutgers and I went down below to see what was happening. However, as the noise, and I think the risk, was hardly more than a good London air-raid, we decided that we would not miss the opportunity of a night's rest in bed.

Sunday, October 19th.

We got up at 8.30 in the morning. We had now ascertained that no boats were sailing from Riga. Rutgers and L—— had originally hoped to make their way south through Germany to Holland and Copenhagen respectively, so they now definitely decided to accompany me to Reval. I was very glad indeed of their company on such a journey. As is to be expected, when traveling under such conditions, and passing through such experiences, hitherto unknown acquaintances are drawn into comparatively close ties of friendship. Our first effort was to find a responsible Esthonian Government representative and get a permit which would enable us to cross the frontier from Latvia into Esthonia. We started off at ten o'clock in an izvoshtchik, with an inferior horse. First we went to the telegraph office and sent telegrams to our respective countries, notifying those who cared about our safe return. We found that these got through in two or three days. We found that the Esthonian Consul had evacuated the town and settled at Wenden. It was obviously impossible to go to Wenden, about 100 kilometers out of Riga, to get our passports viséd

and come back again and catch the train, so we drove then to the Esthonian Military Mission. We were told that they were situated at the Kaiser Hof Station. The izvoshtchik driver drove us over what were supposed to be roads to a station 3 miles outside the town. This turned out to be the wrong station, and we drove back 2 miles to another station, where the Headquarters of the Esthonian Military Mission were situated in an Esthonian armored train. One of the reasons for our misdirections on many occasions was due to the fact that names were constantly being changed. For instance, in Riga the names of the streets and towns were originally Russian. When captured by the Germans the names were changed to German. Now, under the Lettish Government, the names of the streets are exhibited in Lettish. This is all very confusing. Here we found that the Esthonian Military Mission had shifted to offices in the town. Next door almost to the Consulate we had left three hours previously we found the Esthonian Mission. They would not give us a visé without an endorsement from the British Mission. I anticipated trouble, as I had no British credentials beyond my passport now carrying the Bolshevik visé, but I thought we might manage to get through by tact, and drove to the British Military Mission, where we found that the office hours were ten to twelve, and it was now one o'clock; however, this did not deter us. We went in, and I eventually saw Major ——. I explained our position, and that of my two foreign colleagues. He very kindly endorsed all our passports, and went further, and sup-

plied us with rations for the two days' journey up to Reval. We then went back to the Esthonian Mission, showed our British endorsements, obtained the Esthonian viśé from Captain ——, a young Esthonian officer, and were now ready for the fray. We had just time to catch our train at three o'clock. We had some discussion as to whether we had time for a meal or not, but I opposed it, and the motion was rejected by two to one. We settled our bill at the Hôtel de Rome, and added another izvoshtchik to our cavalcade. We found that during our absence in the morning F—— had called, and left an urgent message for me to go and see him, or ring him up, so on the way to the station we stopped at his flat. He showed us the remains of his flat, of which the night before he had arrived a German shell had demolished the front half, just leaving his wife, who was alone in their room at the back, unscathed. I told him that we had only just time to catch the train, so took him along with us to the station. The train left from the goods station as already mentioned, the other station was under fire. Since our absence last night he had been in touch with various authorities, not neglecting those underground, and was able to give me a summary of the situation, both political and military. This place seems to be one of the hotbeds of intrigue in Eastern Europe. What with the influence of the Baltic Barons, the associations of Von der Goltz and the Young Turks, the secret conventions and the open declarations from Paris to Von der Goltz, and the action of the British Authorities, one obtained data concerning international politics which would fill

a book, and would give the public clues to many of the apparent anomalies in our Russian policy. He showed me the Lettish paper of that morning, which I must confess amazed me. It contained two declarations: the first from Von der Goltz to the British Admiral, asking why he had dared to open fire, and threatening to report the matter to Admiral Koltchak. The second statement was a reply from the British Admiral. He said he had only fired at Von der Goltz because a stray shell had fallen near his ships, a virtual apology indeed. So we have got to keep in with both sides through all this dirty business.

At the station we purchased tickets for Walk. The train was a little better than those we had already experienced in Latvia. We found there were two coaches which had once been second-class sleepers. We appropriated a four-berthed compartment, and by means of bluff and rope on the door maintained it more or less to ourselves until the congestion in the corridor forced us, out of sympathy, to let other people in. After a hearty farewell to F——, who had seen us through so much, we left at 4 p.m. Our compartment had once been a second-class sleeper, but it had been completely stripped of all upholstery, the springs of the beds alone remaining covered with canvas, and there was no glass in the windows, and of course there was no lighting.

Later, a Russian soldier, a youth of about twenty-three, with only one leg, came into our carriage. He had been captured in the first year of the War, been in a German hospital and subsequently prison ever

since, and had only recently been released—twelve months after the Armistice. He had no idea where his family were, whether they were in Soviet Russia, whether they were alive, or whether they were dead. He knew of no authority to go to, he had no prospect before him, he had no money. We gave him a few hundred roubles before we left. I am inclined to think that this youth is rather symbolic of a race for whose good nobody at present appears to care.

We reached Stakeln at one o'clock in the morning, where we had to change. This is supposed to be the Lettish Esthonian front. We only waited here about an hour, and changed into another train, where we obtained a seat in a third-class compartment of the usual wooden variety. Shifting our luggage at these changes presented considerable difficulties. We had to leave one person to watch the luggage in one train, one to guard it in the new train, and one to do the carrying. It was lucky there were three of us. We arrived at Walk at 5.45 a.m. the next morning.

Monday, October 20th.

The town of Walk is one of the few points of discussion between the Lettish and Esthonian Governments as to whose territory it should be included in.

Here another change was necessary. We had missed the connection to Reval on the direct line via Dorpat, and we were just reconciling ourselves to a twenty-four hour wait when someone informed us that a light railway ran from Walk to Reval, via Ruin, and Vekhma. We had some tea at the buffet, at an exorbi-

tant price, and proceeded to catch the train on the light railway. We found an engine had run off the line, but luckily this did not cause a delay of more than an hour. The train was a wretched little affair. We were not too sweet-tempered at that hour in the morning. There was only one second-class coach, and one third-class coach, and in the second-class coach only one closed compartment, in which two people were already seated. However, we forced our way in with the magic word "Mission." I think we must have caused some suspicion; anyhow, we annoyed the two occupants, and I think that, in order to give us a little bit of annoyance in return, they went out and fetched the Military Commandant of the station, and made him ask for our passports. Luckily, of course, they were quite in order, and we had railway tickets, but I think they must have been surprised to find that all our passports bore the bold red Bolshevik visé, and I could see that they were obviously suspicious after that. However, we had a long journey before us, and bully beef and biscuits speedily bridged over any gulf between us.

We steamed out of Walk about eight o'clock. A small gauge line, about 2½ feet, ran across the country through fields and meadows, up and down hills. It was a tedious journey, with many stops, at least three to every one marked on the map. The country was not very interesting, pine woods and cultivated land, flax, grass and tilled. Later other passengers came into our carriage. There was no light in the train, and our candles had run out. We purchased, at an enormous price, a tallow candle at one of the stations,

but it melted as soon as it was lit, and it was only by retaining the remnants in a match box and rigging up a wick with a piece of string that we managed to maintain illumination. Our friends left us at Fellin.

Eventually we got to Reval at half an hour after midnight. There were no cabs at the station, but we finally found a man who produced a barrow, and we started a tramp around the town looking for rooms. Every hotel was full. At the fourth hotel, however, we decided to take a desperate course and insist on accommodation, and holding a pistol in the shape of a bunch of paper money at the head of the night porter, we commandeered the only available sitting-room. I had taken the opportunity of our calls at the sundry hotels to scan the visitors' lists for Arthur Ransome, whom I was looking for, but without success.

I noticed, however, in one of the hotels the name of General Desino amongst the list of names.

It must have been now about two o'clock, but there seemed to be a good many people still about in the hotel. Three Russian ladies were giving tongue in their private sitting-room, so we were not too late for supper—civilized, at no sensational price. Luckily, before turning in we made inquiries about the boat. I found there was a boat to Helsingfors at ten the next morning, which I decided to attempt to catch. Rutgers and L—— had fears of being detained in Finland, and waited to make quite sure with their own Consuls before proceeding further, and they had hopes of getting a boat direct to Stockholm from Reval, or even

perhaps direct to Copenhagen. At nine o'clock we obtained a droshky and drove down to the boat, Rutgers and L—— coming down to see me off. I realized that our difficulties were not yet passed, but a certain amount of penetrative persuasion enabled us to pass the Customs Officers without opening our luggage.

The boat left at ten o'clock, and I arrived at Helsingfors at 3.30. I was not allowed off the boat because I had not got a doctor's certificate, a document I had not heard of before. There was a doctor on board the boat, who gave me a piece of paper. He asked me if I was suffering from any epidemic, and gave me the necessary certificate, which enabled me to pass down the gangway. The next difficulty was the Passport Office. The Finnish Passport Office was a little bit perplexed because I had a visé allowing me to enter Finland, which had already been marked, but there was no sign on the passport to indicate that I had left that country. However, by means of acute diplomatic pressure, leaving not a little suspicion on his mind, this obstacle was circumnavigated. Next came the difficulty with the Customs Officers and the examination of luggage. The imprint of His Majesty's halfpenny on the top of a Bolshevik seal allowed my heavy suitcase, containing valuable documents, to pass unopened. I did not hesitate to open my haversack and lay bare the full details of my toilet requisites.

From Helsingfors it is not necessary to go into further details, that part of the journey which is of interest to the reader is passed, and from there to

England is a matter of routine. I took the quickest route, by train to Abo, by boat from Abo to Stockhohn, across Sweden to Gottenburg, and thence by boat to Newcastle, arriving at King's Cross, London, at 9.35 p.m. on Monday, October 27th.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

THE history of Allied negotiations and transactions with Russia appears to have been a chain of catastrophes and mistakes. Read the documents which have been published concerning the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the Allies and the Bolshevik Government. But in addition to this it seems that there was a culpable lack of foresight in visualizing the forces behind the Revolution. Every effort was made by Lenin and Trotsky to bring about peace with the Allies. They were prepared to refuse to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, and instead to continue the fight on the side of the Allies, but the Allies refused to recognize them. As mentioned previously, in the words of a well-known London journal, "It is better to make peace with Germany than to recognize a Socialistic Republic." These negotiations were conducted directly and indirectly through many sources, notably by Colonel Robins of the American Mission, and Captain Sadoul of the French Mission. This correspondence is all available. The sequence is well known. Various interventional operations, mostly carried out on the plea of protecting Russia against the invasion from Germany, were inaugurated, but really, as we now see, they were carried out in the interests of the capitalist class in Russia. It seems incredible that

such slender excuses for intervention should have been allowed to hold good for so long. Many peace proposals were also made. It appears that the radiograms of the Soviet Government have never been published by any of the Governments who received them. The other attempts at peace are known vulgarly as the Prinkipo proposals,[1] the Bullitt draft, and the efforts made by Doctor Fridthof Nansen,[1] and now we find ourselves supporting partisan leaders in Russia by the supply of arms and munitions at the expense of the British taxpayer, and in addition we find our Government carrying on an inhuman and illegal blockade against the Russian people, the result of which during the coming winter months will indeed be terrible.

Atrocities.—Strong partisans on both sides endeavor to work up feeling by appealing to that side of human nature on which they hope to make an impression. I refer to the propaganda and counter-propaganda concerning atrocities. No open-minded observer who visits Soviet Russia can shut his eyes to the black side of affairs. Certainly I did not. There have been a good many executions in Russia, far more than I would like to see in a civilized country, but I forced myself to remember that the Government has been faced with well-organized and desperate attempts at counter-revolution, and had to use stern measures to repress them. I was told that these active and passive plots, and in particular the active attempt on the life of Lenin, aroused such a feeling among the people that a wholesale Red Terror would undoubtedly have occurred if

See Appendix.

certain exemplary executions had not promptly taken place. It is probable that few people noticed the declaration by Savinkoff which appeared in *Le Matin* on August 30th, 1919, in which he claims the credit for having organized the murder of Lenin.

So far as actual atrocities are concerned I am convinced that the anonymous stories published broadcast in official White Papers and in the Press present a distorted view of the whole case. Remember the vast extent of Russia, the uncivilized nature of some of its wide tracts, do not forget that strange things used to happen even under the Tsar, and it is easy to see that in a country wrought by a civil war such events are bound to happen in outlying districts.

The question of atrocities is one of the hardest to view dispassionately. No man whose civilization and humanity are real can picture to himself the scenes carried by the baldest tale of torture and mutilation without reaction on his emotions, the more violent if suppressed outwardly.

As a safeguard we do not allow such details into print in the ordinary course of things, and where they are discovered under British jurisdiction, in however remote a corner of the Empire, they are put down with an iron hand.[1]

Under the Tsarist régime the knout was the ultimate reason of the autocratic Government. What tears flowed unseen, what groans were uttered unheard, no man outside the Okhrana of Old Russia can guess.

[1] This was written before the publication of details concerning Amritsar.

Yet we did not accuse Englishmen who lived in Russia before the War of shaking hands with murderers and torturers, because the Russian people as a whole, by force or interest, acquiesced in the system, and personal action by foreigners was utterly impracticable.

When the Revolution overthrew first the old system, then the moderate Duma, the machinery of law and order fell completely to pieces. The fanatic, the criminal, the depraved had their day.

I think that any ordinary Englishman who had been present at a scene where gently nurtured women and children were exposed to the fury and passion of coarse, brutal, fanatical elements, would instinctively and without hesitation have disregarded all question of personal safety and of political philosophy, and would rightly and promptly have defended the weak.

Though the excuse is offered that this is vengeance for the oppression of these same classes, such scenes disgrace for ever their individual authors, brand them as dehumanized, and put them outside the pale of humanity.

But if the French Revolution is any guide, the great mass of normal men and women will be more and more sickened of blood-shedding. In fact, fear of a counter-revolution, and of counter-atrocities is the only fuel that can keep the witches' cauldron boiling.

As to the reality of the counter-atrocities I unwillingly publish a selection of the Soviet Government's reports on this dreadful subject as a makeweight to the charges published by the other side. I do not vouch for them in any way, but let them carry such

weight as their internal evidence of truth justifies. But I am justified in remarking that before the War the Cossacks were for Englishmen a notorious instrument of oppression.

Every refusal of intercourse with the Soviet Government throws them back on the extreme and violent section, every channel of intercourse with ordered democratic Governments offers them overwhelming motives for thrusting back the extremists and for establishing their rule in moderation and civil peace.

A Letter from Yeletz

The Cossacks made their onslaught at four o'clock in the afternoon of August 31st. Taken completely by surprise, a part of the Communists and poor people fled from the town, whilst others sought refuge for themselves in the town. No mercy was shown to those who tried to escape, as the Cossacks hunted them at every step and shot them without making the least inquiry. For a long time afterward the district around the town remained strewn with the corpses of persons shot and cut to pieces. The killed were deprived of their boots and clothes and left to lie in their underclothing. Those who had fled were hunted for on all the highroads, pathways, and in the villages, whilst a careful search was made in the town, and when the fugitives were found, they were shot on the spot or else taken away somewhere outside the town where they were murdered. Not only the Communists and Jews were murdered, but also the poor people who

were neither the one nor the other. They were murdered for not wearing a cross round their neck, for making use of the word "comrade," and, for no reason whatever. For instance, on August 31st on the Uspenskaya Street the Cossacks started to take away the goods from the workshop of the bootmaker Schneker. When Schneker told them that they had no right to take away his goods, they flogged him, collected the goods, and conducted him and two other Jewish workers away with them. A week later the wife of Schneker found all three disfigured corpses in the Jewish cemetery, where they had been sent from various localities of the district. Mamantoff's Cavalry completed their work of destruction very thoroughly. No sooner had the Cossacks made their appearance in Yeletz than the center of the town was ablaze and burnt to ashes; the best edifices of the town were burnt down. Although the Mamantoff "gold epaulets" claim that they fight only against the Jews, nevertheless the most valuable property of the people was ruthlessly destroyed. The two Yeletz railway stations, including the Yeletz main station, were burnt to ruins. Railway workshops in which 5,000 people were employed were likewise set on fire.

Kerosene, sugar, butter, salt—in fact everything that was found on the station or had been stolen during the fire were sold by the Cossacks to the inhabitants themselves or were burnt up. The pillage took place exclusively in the quarters of the poor people. Only a part of the Jewish bourgeoisie were subjected to searches, on which occasion valuables were confiscated,

ransoms demanded, and had it not been for the officers with the detachment the Cossacks would have taken everything up to the last shirt, in spite of the fact that they were dealing with the bourgeoisie. There were one or two instances of outrages of the daughters of the Russian bourgeoisie.

During the retreat of the Cossacks from Yeletz and their advance upon Voronej, about forty railway shop-workers were subjected to the most horrible treatment and violence. Under threat of immediate shooting they were driven into the line of fire of artillery in order to go over and repair the railway line.

During this work some of them were killed by the shells bursting around. They were treated like cattle, not allowed to talk, and starved, whilst the Cossacks were pillaging the peasants of the villages through which they passed, taking away their horses, bread, and food products. Of course, nobody was paid anything for this, in spite of the fact that much of what had been plundered in the town was sold for money. The villages were in general thoroughly plundered.

In order to take away what they had stolen, the Mamantoff troops stole very many horses from the peasants, and in addition to this bread, food products, and boots. Whosoever wore good boots was deprived of them on the way, and the boots were divided among the Cossacks. The 1st Detachment of the Yeletz Proletarian Commune was located in the building of the late monastery, and the Cossacks surrounded the high stone walls of the monastery on three sides. Having with them two cavalry guns and three or four machine

guns, at eight o'clock in the evening of August 31st the Communists, who had fought well but were badly armed, were forced to surrender. Afraid to enter, the Cossacks shelled the building, causing a great deal of damage. When morning came they entered. The pillage at once started. Everything they could lay hands on was taken, but there were no murders, for the Communists had got away.

After the Cossacks had left the town and the Communists had again occupied the monastery, they found that the monks had been amongst the most active participants to the pillage of the Commune, having converted the chapel into a warehouse for goods. Having searched the chapel, the Communists discovered that it was heaped with the property of the Communists, with portmanteaux; the altar was surrounded with feather beds, pans of coal, horse collars and saddles; trousers and shawls were lying on the communion-table, whilst in the cell of one of the saints fifteen sacks of wheat and a bag of apples were found, samovars, petticoats, clothes, and so on. This is a mere scanty description of the most striking horrors, and forms only an insignificant part of the terrible deeds performed by the Cossacks during this bloody week.

On the same day at two o'clock in the morning some Cossacks broke into the apartment of citizeness Zakeim, on the Cemetery Street, and tried to outrage her. She induced them to leave her on the condition that at eight o'clock on the same morning she would pay them the sum of 1,000 roubles in Nicholas money. The Cossacks left her. Later on in the morning

Zakeim tried to make her escape, but was captured by the Cossacks on the street.

After, that is to say on the same August 31st, the father of the Communist Zarkina, a girl of sixteen years of age, who succeeded in getting away, was taken from him on the Staroskolsky Street. On the corner of the Tergovol and Orlovsky Streets he was beaten with the knout until he bled, because he refused to give the address of the Communist party. On this occasion they let him off, and he returned home covered with blood. On the day following, however, the Cossacks took him a second time, and after this he was seen no more. His corpse was found one week later, and could be recognized only by the clothes. In one house, in which many Jews lived, located on the route followed by the Cossacks when they entered the town, six young Jewish girls were violated. On the same street, after devastating the house of the Jew Feldman, the latter and his little son of four and a half years were conducted away and did not return. After endless searching the wife of Feldman succeeded in finding the corpses of her husband and son. She was able to recognize them only by their clothes.

According to the report of the shoemaker Kareva, on Monday, September 1st, Cossacks appeared at the house of the Communist Zelukovsky, living in Sloboda Argamach, outside the town. Having first flogged Zelukovsky with the knout until he had lost consciousness, they violated his wife, knocked the teeth out of the younger daughter, aged seven years, and beat the other, aged thirteen, with their sabers. The house was

laid bare from top to bottom. On the same day, on Monday, Cossacks arrived at the milkshop Rappaport, and conducting the owner of the shop outside the town they murdered him. After they had devastated the house, they put a notice on the door written in red pencil, which read: "Please don't open the door. Korunjy Popoff."

In the evening of the same day the Jewish doctor of the Tuberculosis Sanatorium near the "Izmalkoff" station was taken prisoner and hung in the forest close by.

A part of the Cossacks, billeted in the village 35 versts from this station, caught a pregnant peasant woman, violated her, and then strangled her.

When morning came the mobilized peasants were put to work on the breaking up of the railway line. All the morning horses were being taken away from the peasants, bad horses being exchanged for better, and afterward bad horses were taken away altogether with their wagons. About twelve o'clock the Cossacks distributed cisterns filled with kerosene, and having moved them along to a little distance from the railway station, set fire to the whole. A tremendous blaze went up, which lasted three whole days, and during which wagons were burnt almost to ashes. At one o'clock the Cossacks rode off, while the peasants continued to plunder the station, taking everything that was there—chairs, window frames, telephones and telegraph apparatus, etc. A wagon standing at the station containing shovels was rifled before the departure of the Cossacks.

In the town the orgies and the pillaging of the Jewish and Communist houses continued. The Jews, according to the report of their neighbors, were plundered for the simple reason that they were Jews. It was not permitted to make searches and to bury the dead, and only on September 7th did the funerals of the victims take place. Fifty-three corpses of men and women have been buried at the Jewish cemetery. Amongst them are two girls of seventeen and nineteen years, who were first violated and then murdered. Corpses were lying about everywhere in the woods and ravines, along the rivers and down wells. Amongst them were a number disfigured to an extent that it was necessary to bury them unrecognized. Altogether about 200 people have been registered as missing, that is to say, those who were in the town at the moment of its occupation. Their corpses are being searched for.

On the same day, Monday, September 1st, in a suburb of Yeletz, called Bugar, six Cossacks came to the Communist Schamonin, and before the eyes of the old mother, sixty-five years old, violated his daughter, aged seventeen years. Whilst two Cossacks held the old woman, the others outraged the girl. After this the wife of Schamonin and the wife of a Communist Lutrovosky were brought up on the cart of the local peasant ostensibly for the purpose of being questioned. Having conducted them into the wood the Cossacks separated the two parties and set upon violating the unfortunate women. On several occasions the women lost consciousness from pain, but coming to themselves again were confronted ever and ever with the bestial-

ized faces of the Kalmuks. How long this awful business lasted the unfortunate women were unable to state. The houses of both Communists were devastated.

On September 25th a detachment of Cossacks made an onslaught on the village Sukotinofka, Voronetzky Volost, and, upon the information of Kulaks, went to the Communist Psenichnikov, shot the latter, put his house to ruins, stole his corn, and sold a part of it to the peasants. The wife of Psenichnikov was lying ill with typhoid; his daughter, aged nine, went mad from horrors inflicted on them. The father of Psenichnikov was driven into the streets. The Cossacks gave him a shirt "for his funeral."

On the day of their departure the Cossacks broke into the house of the Jew Zeitlin, on the Staroskolsky Street, took away his son aged six years, and murdered him in the Jewish cemetery. The Cossacks demanded the names and addresses of Jews and Communists from all whom they met, and those who did not furnish them with such addresses were beaten with sabers.

Mamantoff's cavalry stopped for six days. When it left, a quiet of the grave reigned everywhere. When the Red troops arrived pleasure was written on the faces not only of the poor but of the bourgeoisie themselves, especially of the Jews who had undergone and had been obliged to look upon all the horrors of the Mamantoff rule.

In the village Cherkassak, the sister of a Communist was violated by a whole detachment of Cossacks.

Many of the inhabitants were flogged. In the town, close to the River Sosny, three Jewish corpses were found after the departure of the Cossacks, one of them being mutilated. It was impossible to recognize the corpses. The Greek shoeblacks were careful to keep out of sight whilst the Cossacks were in the town for fear of being mistaken for Jews.

A Letter from Voronezh

The inhabitants of Voronezh will long remember September 11th and 12th, the days when their town was at the mercy of Cossack gangs. What took place there was a literal repetition of what takes place everywhere where the Cossacks penetrated. During the brief hours of their supremacy they carried out their work of ruin and destruction to its fullest possible extent. Plunder, incendiarism, destruction, and devastation, the slaying of the Jews, and the ill-treatment of the unprotected—all these signs of the presence of the Cossacks were fully manifested. It turned out that nearly all the food and provision shops have been completely ransacked. The results of one-half year's hard unrelenting work on the part of the local food organizations have been practically nullified . . . with the object of apparently augmenting the panic and of facilitating the work of plunder, they set fire to a number of shops. The Jews were an object of their particular attention. About 200 persons were robbed. They took everything they were able to lay hands on, not disdaining even shirt buttons and suspenders.

Rings were withdrawn so savagely as to break the fingers. Two Jewish families were wiped out completely. This is what is told of one of the families: when the Cossacks had removed everything of value and demanded where the money was hidden, the housewife happened to speak to her husband in Jewish, telling the latter where the money had been placed. This "insolence," that of using an unknown language before them, "offended" them greatly. "We meant well with you—to plunder and away—but . . . go and stand up against the wall. . . ." And in this manner five persons, including little children, were shot.

Kharhov and Ekaterinoslav in the Power of Denikin

A few days ago, prior to the occupation of Kharkov by the Cossacks, Denikin made the following appeal to the Kharkov proletariat: "I promise to scatter all your 'Sovdeps,' 'Markoms,' and all the rest of the revolutionary scum. Instead of Jews and escaped convicts, I will place people into power with a knowledge of affairs, and I will restore the right of property. If this will not satisfy you, please come to me in open fight; but mark you, General Denikin does not like joking."

Such were the promises of the White Guard General, and, may it be said in all fairness to him, that within a few weeks after the occupation of the town the

Kharhov proletariat realized full well that Denikin does not really like a joke.

The White Guards took Kharhov on June 25th. General May-Maevsky entered the town at the head of the White troops. The bourgeoisie met him triumphantly, and the pompous procession passed through the town to the sound of the church bells. In front were the priests and church officials, with banners, lanterns, and ikons. After them followed the litter, in which was seated the "hero" himself, General Maevsky, who was followed by a military band and troops, while around were "ladies" in silks and "gentlemen" in dress-coats, throwing flowers into the litter and shouting "hurrah!" The bourgeoisie rejoiced. (Izvestia of July 19th.)

The General smiled, and at the same time, not forgetting the promise of his patron, Denikin, to the Kharkov workmen, gave orders to the Commander of the 3rd Division, General Vitkovsky, upon which the terrible Kharkov massacre of thousands of workmen, Jews, and Intellectuals began. Part of the Kharkov garrison, having been unable to evacuate in time, was dealt with first. The Red troops, surrounded by the Denikinites, were brutally massacred. Those who had not had time to take off their caps with the Red Star were branded by the ferocious mob with hot irons, after which they were told they could go to all the four corners of the earth, and that no decent merchant would give them employment. The Jewish Red troops were separated into a special group and handed over to the volunteers, who shot them all with machine guns

on the spot. Having finished with the Red troops, the Whites turned their attention to the workmen. For the latter four gallows were erected in the center of the town in the "Rosa Luxembourg" Square. The unfortunate men were brought here by the White spies, who had absolutely flooded Kharkov a few days before the Red troops left the town. A big reward had been offered by the White Guard Command for the head of every workman suspected of being in sympathy with the Communists. Four gallows were found to be insufficient and in view of this the workmen were hung on lamp-posts. More than 200 workmen were executed in this way. These were but the first episodes in the Kharkov pogrom. The massacres spread and developed and reached their height on July 6th, i.e. on the eleventh day after the occupation of the town. On this day the Denikinites decided to make a great public execution. They were not satisfied with the executions which had taken place during the first days of their reign. They were too monotonous, being limited only to the gallows. Now, on July 6th, the hangman attempted to arrange a "beautiful" spectacle, killing workmen in various ways. Those condemned to death, numbering thirty-four, were divided into two groups, each being subjected to a different death. Fifteen members of the Metal Workers Trade Union and two workmen of the war munition factory were hung. The other seventeen, among whom were two Menshevik leaders, Grossman and Babin, well-known workers in the Trade Unions, were shot near the gallows. Such was the truly "beautiful" spectacle with which the

White Guards astonished the Kharkov population, who were overwhelmed with terror. After these public executions the terror subsided, but did not altogether cease. The All-Russian Telegraph Agency in their wire of July 19th states: "The terror in Kharkov has not ceased. Mass arrests are taking place daily. The prisoners are taken away and never return. The White Terror on the part of Denikin is so great that whole workmen's families simply abandon their households and flee from the town." This took place nearly a month after the occupation of Kharkov by Denikin. This is the manner in which General Denikin punished the Kharkov proletariat. The "open fight" to which the workmen were invited was in reality a public execution, with lines of gallows and lamp-posts with the hanging bodies of the executed.

After Kharkov, Denikin succeeded in capturing another important center of the Don basin—Ekaterinoslav. Denikin made no promises to the workmen of Ekaterinoslav, nevertheless he dealt no differently with them than with those in Kharkov. As in Kharkov, the White Guards were met with great rejoicings on the part of the bourgeoisie. The White Guard Generals entered the town in triumph. They were bestrewn with flowers, and magnificent banquets were held in their honor. After the banqueting the gay generals were very magnanimous, and allowed their "valiant troops" to amuse themselves, the amusement being pogroms on workmen. The drunken Cossacks and Ingushees, who joined the Denikin troops solely for the purpose of plunder, scattered all over the town,

crying "Death to the Jews and Intellectuals." Thereupon mass shootings commenced. The pogrom lasted a day and a night. People who were ill or asleep were dragged from their beds and killed. Whole workingmen's quarters were demolished. In one quarter, Tchechemovka, over 1,000 workmen were arrested during the first night. Not only men, but women and children were arrested. They were led to the Alexandrovsky Square. Here they were separated into groups and taken to the Monastery steps, where they were shot. Such searches, arrests, and massacres took place in other workingmen's quarters. Hundreds of unburied bodies were lying about near the Alexandrovsky Hospital. A doctor of the Alexandrovsky Hospital was shot because he ordered the bodies to be taken to the mortuary. During the first two or three days over 3,000 workmen were killed. Among these were the Commissary for Public Health, Gurzin, Political Commissary Epatzin, Regimental Commander Trupoff, and an official of the Special Department of the N. N. Army, Gulkov. Even the Menshevik and Socialist revolutionaries who previously openly struggled against the Soviet were shown no mercy. The late President of the Ekaterinoslav Town Duma, for instance, the Menshevik Padowsky, was arrested and shot.

Such is the fragmentary news received by us of the Denikin atrocities in Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav, from the word of refugees who witnessed only single incidents. But even this is sufficient to give a clear idea of the character of the White Cossack Army under the leadership of Denikin.

NOTES FROM THE TOWN OF TAMBOV, DATED SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1919

(Delivered by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.)

In compliance with the order of the President of the Revolutionary War Council, Comrade Trotsky, the Soviet of Ukraine hereby gives a report of the victims of the raid carried out by General Mamantoff's cavalry upon the town of Tambov. The following persons were killed:

Rattman, Lubitz (both shot), Meijerovitch, Telamel, Rahiv, Schulman, Aaron, Drankina, Fikelstein (tortured before death, one eye knocked out), Vainer, Sarah Vainer (these two were buried alive), Yosselson, Bard, Kankeliv, Arnstein, Rizikov, Yermakova, Kamensky, Brokker, Malishkin, Bark, Hirov, Akrem, Hatzkelev, Bank, Pornich Arnstein, Fankenstein, Ribov, Konstchine, Reich, Petropavlosky, Tihonov (killed for protesting against the looting), Kisell, Sviatski, Berntsoff, Gutkovitch, Frankin, Livshits, Lubitch, Kolupaev, Destitch.

Besides these one citizen was hanged and a woman killed, whose names have not been identified. About fifty women were violated; all these were of the poorest class. The private dwellings of the following persons were looted:

Anna Geskovitch, Leiziv, Singer, Keldman, Gutkoff, Nadzas, Kellman, Grigoriev, Zazetsewey, Sonos (disabled soldiers), Sofia Moroz (buffet looted), Zeya Bender, Catherine Netchayeva, Jatoff, Vassar, Laiva Gavrofov, Netlenova, Golemena, Tzelness, Babina, Maslikoff, Tarasov, Satin, Pein, Kreinburg, Gailin, Horkoff, Trifonov, Kortonin, Rutenburg, Turuyanofskaya, Popova.

The peasants of the villages Povarino, Kalmik, Ulianovka, and others had all their horses carried away without payment being made. Provision and other depots that were intended for the general use of the civil population have been looted.

Commandant ZENKOVITCH,
Soviet Member, SHIDAREV.

NOTES FROM THE TOWN OF KOSLOV, DATED

SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1919

(Delivered by the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.)

Over 120 Jews have been killed and atrociously tortured in the town of Koslov; of these until the present time only 82 were properly buried, the remaining victims remaining roughly interred in various places in town, in the outskirts, and in the villages. Prior to being put to death all the victims were robbed of their money, valuables, and other property, they were then insulted and tormented; beaten with whips, the butt-ends of rifles, and stabbed with daggers; following this they were either hanged or killed. The following victims were atrociously treated:

(1) Garb Hersch, an ecclesiastic, 48 years of age, with wife, and daughter aged 18. Garb was killed, his daughter violated in the presence of her mother, her breasts were cut out; her mother, who lost her reason, was killed. The girl was killed on the following day. (2) Shapiro Neamadev, 24 years old. She was defended by her fiancé from being violated; they were shot down in each other's embrace. (3) Name unascertained, found killed, with sexual organs cut out, a nail knocked into its place. (4) Shapiro, father, mother, one blind son, one mentally defective, killed.

(5) Dobrinsky Mendel, the whole family wiped out, the youngest member 7 years old. (6) Kleinard, a girl of 13, killed. (7) Freedman Gezer, hanged. (8) Klug Feiga, 72, cut to pieces by saber. (9) Feifer, mother killed, three daughters, 18, 16, 14 years old respectively, cut to pieces by saber. (10) Savalov, down with spotted fever, driven from bed into the street, he and his wife killed. (11) Abramson, brothers, 1 and 8 years old respectively, shot. (12) Hack, an ecclesiastic, 69 years old, defended his daughter from being violated, daughter aged 26, both killed. (13) Reshanski Alexander, a student 22 years old, was driven all over the town in underwear, was tormented by being beaten with whips, subsequently his head was cut off. (14) Krasko Mordko, 56 years old, blind, was killed. (15) Gurevitch Reinus, a workingman, 38 years old, was killed for refusing to give addresses of Jews.

Rachel Tainman was lying in a mother home, but on Sunday, August 24th, on the third day after confinement, was thrown on the street with the new-born babe. Dr. Langberg, with a belt round his neck, was driven to execution through the town, with an order to be silent. With revolvers pointed at his head he was brought back to his flat, and here his tormentors over a bottle of spirits shared his money and valuables, threatening to shoot him at any moment; he was, however, left alive. Over twenty children, ranging from two to five years of age, were killed and mutilated. Very young girls were violated by a number of Cossacks in turn. For evident reasons the sufferers as well as their relatives refuse to confirm this, but eye-witnesses and others testify to the truth of these statements. Out of 180 Jewish families living in Koslov, 116 were robbed and ruined. A great number became so poor that they had not the means to buy a piece of bread the day following the pogrom.

Besides the Jews the death is established up to date of eight Communists; three Communists are missing. Out of those buried in a common grave, the names of thirteen have not been ascertained. Four male corpses were found who belonged to no party, twelve non-party men were killed and three are missing. Of peasants ten men were killed. In the village of Ozerki three men were killed; their names have not been ascertained. In the village of Ilovay the following were killed: Rozdesvensky, Kolosvetovy, Nicholas and Vassili brothers, non-party men. Parushkov Nikita, a former member of the Committee of the Poor, Guriev, Fedor and Semion, brothers, non-party men, shot; Michail, Communist, shot. All these were killed on the outskirts of the town, in various places, singly and in couples, under circumstances not yet ascertained. Further information concerning the killed is coming in, and will be forwarded accordingly.

President of Military-Revolutionary
Committee of Koslov,
ARTEMOV.

Member of the Military-Revolutionary
Committee,
METELEV.

Further, the communiqués often show that the Red Commissars are shot.

Every statesman must deplore the civil war raging through a country whose population numbers 180 millions. The feeling in an Imperial war runs high, but the bitterness and animosity of internal strife dwarfs that feeling into insignificance. Propaganda is now one of the recognized instruments of war, and civil war

is no exception. Personally, to be fair and impartial in this matter, I am convinced that the leaders of neither side really desire atrocities. Certainly the Soviet leaders do not. Actual analogous conditions in other countries go to prove that the White Terror is more horrible than the Red Terror, that the results arising out of the revenge of the governing classes when they return to power belittles the blood shed by the workers in their strife for freedom.

Take the case of Finland. The victims of the Red Terror amount to between 600 and 700; the Whites claim that this figure should be nearer 1,000. In the White Terror the Whites admit the deaths of 12,000 Reds, and the Reds have proved by an exhaustive inquiry the deaths of over 18,000. If the civil war continues in Russia it is not difficult to imagine that there would be a White Terror in Russia eclipsing all previous massacres in history. The Jewish population in Russia has been estimated at between 6 and 7 millions. I wonder how many would remain alive? though this would be a comparative incident.

Another form of propaganda widely spread is that concerning the position of women. Revolutions have always produced advocates of "free love," in the sense that no legal or social or moral restraint is admitted on indiscriminate relations between the sexes. Sometimes these relations are advocated on Rationalistic grounds, sometimes cloaked with religious ritual. Examples are found in the history of Cromwell's sectaries at the one extreme, and in the early orgies of the French Worship of Reason at the other.

It would not be strange if a similar phenomenon has appeared among the hangers-on of the Russian Revolution, but the fact remains more deeply fixed in Russian character probably than in other nationalities that the average man and woman are individualists and particularists, and will have nothing to do with what are for them unnatural relations.

The Soviet Republic as a Government officially repudiates any such doctrine as having a place in their philosophy of government.

I saw the documents from which the whole story appears to have arisen. A single independent individual in the south of Russia wrote an article in his local paper suggesting nationalization. It was repudiated at once, and has never been considered by the authorities. A Government would indeed be very stupid to attempt to introduce regulations which would obviously be repugnant to the great majority of ordinary men and women. My own observation is that prositution is conspicuous by the absence of such scenes as are afforded by any Western Capital.

In arriving at a calm judgment on this the whole matter of atrocities we must disassociate ourselves from the happenings at the time of the Revolution. No doubt at that time deplorable incidents occurred, but so far as one is able to ascertain these were due to the liberation of hooligan and anarchical elements during the transition stage when the power of government passed from one body to another. But everything goes to prove that the officials did everything in their power to restore law and order as soon as possible.

It seems to me that there have been two chief motives underlying the forces working for intervention. The first of these are those people who for financial, social, or other reasons have been endeavoring to restore the old order in Russia. They have been assisted by the Press official and unofficial, in working up this propaganda and coloring it to the highest possible extent. The history of revolutions shows the difficulty of putting back social developments. A defunct social structure is like the tale of Humpty Dumpty.

All the Monarchist forces and all the Monarchist men
Could never put Humpty Dumpty into his place again.

In respect of revolutions, prevention is better than cure. Democratic government is the best panacea for revolutions. No country which has a good, honest, straightforward basis of government should be subject to a revolution.

Another apparently vital motive prompting intervention in Russia is the fear that the success of the Bolshevik Government will cause the spread of Communistic principles and Socialistic propaganda throughout the world. If there are good points in the Socialistic program, it is best for them to be known at large; if they are kept pent up within the blockade, there is danger that one day they may cause a serious detonation. It can only be hypocrisy on the part of a Government which forbids knowledge of them to its people. As to the bad points, there could be no objection even from the point of view of the strongest reactionary to

widespread knowledge of them. I do not believe that propaganda can really be stopped by means of a blockade. If the social and economical conditions of a country are bad, the soil is fertile for revolutionary movement, and revolutionary movement will flourish whatever artificial barriers you attempt to erect. The Government, by its legislation, must keep step with social evolution.

In attempting to form some notion, however general, of the Soviet Republic as it is, and as it will be in the near future, it is impossible to get away from the striking analogies of the French Revolution.

The social system under the old régime was unstable in the sense that high explosive is unstable. It withstood many severe shocks, many rises of political temperature, but the Kerensky Revolution proved to be the appropriate detonator for the most violent social explosion since the French Revolution.

Now that the political elements have been rearranged in a more naturally stable order, it seems unnatural, and certainly it is against political common sense, to attempt to rebuild a social body so explosively unstable as the Russian bureaucracy has proved itself to be.

History confirms the view, that where privileged classes use their superior education and organization to absorb so great a share of production as to give the non-privileged mass the conviction that they have no solid stake in their own country, then the political stability of the system is what I have called explosively unstable.

The inference I would draw is that any attempt to set up again the Russian bureaucracy in its old form, accompanied by restoration of lands to the great landlords, and reduction of the landowning peasants to paid laborers, is against political sense and against the real interests of the Russian Nation.

It may be objected that the great towns made the Revolution. But if they had not carried the peasant population with them, the Revolution would not have lasted over the first winter.

Peasant ownership is the most stable social system in history. Without it the French Revolution could not have stood the strain of the Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, nor could the present French Republic have stood the strain of the recent War.

The fact that it was the basis of Napoleon's military power at once raises the anxious question as to whether we may fear the rise of a Russian Napoleon. Before Napoleon was possible, international war on the largest scale was nourished by the efforts of autocratic neighbor States to put down the dangerous revolutionary doctrines and to restore the old French aristocracy.

Had the French been left to settle their own affairs internally, it is possible that the levées *en masse*, and the large scale fighting of the early period would never have happened, and that the revolutionary generals would not have obtained the training in the art of war that carried them later across Europe. It is not to be forgotten that in the first flush of zeal the French revolutionaries by no means desired to be left alone, and were anxious and willing to spread their doctrines

in the neighboring countries. But after a certain period of disillusionment it is probable that they would have settled down to internal development and to increase production if they had been left to themselves.

Our statesmen are faced by a problem which is strikingly similar in its broad details.

Trotsky's revolutionary armies are going through the identical stages of the French revolutionary armies. They have already left far behind them the period where a council of soldiers debated whether the regiment should fight or no.

They are in the intermediary stage where discipline is cloaked with the name "comrade" attached to the executive rank. Presently the new recruits will find a discipline awaiting them in no respect less inflexible than in any other veteran army.

They will accept it unquestioningly, and the first stage will be completed.

Foreign war is the only requisite for the second stage, the training of armies and Staffs.

The third stage is foreign adventure.

What is to be the Orientation of our Policy?

To avoid the surgence in Russia of a military dictatorship living by foreign wars, only two policies appear to me possible.

The one is to make war on the grand scale of the past four years, spending thousands of millions of pounds, and placing every available man in the field, in an attempt to wipe out the Soviet Republic, and re-establish the old bureaucracy—an unthinkable policy.

The other is to make every effort to give the Soviet Republic internal and external peace, and to establish commercial bonds with them, to the great blessing of mankind and to the prospering of all countries.

As a last word I quote General Smuts' wise advice to his fellow-countrymen:

> Leave Russia alone, remove the blockade, adopt a policy of friendly neutrality and Gallio-like impartiality to all factions. It may well be that the only hope for Russia is a sobered, purified Soviet system; and that may be far better than the Tsarism to which our present policy seems inevitably tending. If we have to appear on the Russian scene at all, let it be as impartial benevolent friends and helpers, and not as military or political partisans. Be patient with sick Russia, give her time and sympathy, and await the results of her convalescence.

APPENDIX

PRINKIPO AND NANSEN

In spite of what may have been advertised, the Prinkipo proposals, about which such widespread controversy has taken place, were never actually communicated to the Soviet Government, who obtained them indirectly from a Press radio. The following is a copy of their reply:

[*Copy.*]

RADIO

4/2/1919
Carnarvon British Government
Forsyth British Government
Carnarvon for Washington Secretary of State
Lyon for Washington Secretary of State
Karlsborg Tekegrafagentur.
To 11 Stations.

The Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States of North America *stop* The Russian Soviet Government has learnt from a Press radio about an alleged invitation from the Entente Powers to all the *de facto* Governments in Russia calling upon them to send delegates to a conference to the Prînces Island *stop* Having received no invitation and learning from Press radios as before the fact that it has given no answer is being interpreted as a refusal to answer the invitation the Russian

Soviet Government wishes to remove from its line of action every possibility of misrepresentation *stop* Taking into consideration further that its acts are being systematically presented by the foreign Press in a false light the Russian Soviet Government takes this opportunity to state its attitude quite clearly and openly *stop* Although the situation of Soviet Russia is becoming every day more and more favorable both from a military and interior point of view the Russian Soviet Government evaluates so highly the conclusion of an agreement which will put an end to the hostilities that it is ready to enter immediately into negotiations to that end and even as it has so often before declared to pay the price of serious sacrifices under the express condition that the future development of the Soviet Republic will not be endangered *stop* Considering that its enemies derive their force of resistance solely from the help given them by the Entente Powers and that these are consequently the only real adversaries with whom it has to deal, the Russian Soviet Government states herewith to the Entente Powers the points on which it would esteem possible such sacrifices in order to put an end to every difference with these Powers seeing the special importance assigned in the Press and also in the repeated declarations made by the representatives of the Entente Governments to the question of the Russian State loans, The Russian Soviet Government declares itself in the first place (1) ready to make a concession on this point to the demands of the Entente Governments *stop* It does not refuse to recognize its financial obligations toward its creditors belonging to the Entente Powers whereas the details of the realization of this point must become the object of special agreement as the result of the proposed negotiations *stop* (2) Further seeing the difficult financial situation of the Russian Soviet Republic and the unsatisfactory state of its credit abroad the Russian

Soviet Government proposes to guarantee the interest with raw material which will be enumerated in the suggested agreements *stop* Thirdly seeing the great interest which has always been shown by foreign capital for the exploitation of Russia's natural riches the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to grant concessions upon mines, forests, and so on to citizens of the Entente Powers under conditions which must be carefully determined so that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia shall not suffer from the internal rule of these concessions *stop* The fourth point upon which the Russian Soviet Government finds possible to negotiate with the Entente Powers is the question of territorial concessions seeing that the Russian Soviet Government is not determined to exclude at any price from these negotiations the discussion of eventual annexations of Russian territory by the Entente Powers *stop* The Russian Soviet Government adds further that in its opinion by annexation is understood the maintenance in some regions formerly making part of the old Russian Empire with the exclusion of Poland and Finland of armed forces of the Entente or maintained at the expense of the Entente or enjoying the military technical financial or other support of these same powers *stop* As regards the second third fourth points the extent of the concession that can be expected from the Russian Soviet Government will depend upon its military situation toward the Entente Powers which at the present period is ameliorating itself every day *stop* On the northern front the Soviet troops have just reconquered Chenkoursk on the eastern front having temporarily lost Perm they have recaptured Oufa Sterlitamak Belsby Orenburg and Ouralsk the railway communications with Central Asia being now in their hands *stop* On the southern front they have recently taken the important railway stations of Peverine Alexikeve Ourieupine Talovaya Kalatch

Begutchar the railways of the region thus passing into their power whilst from the southwest the Ukrainian Soviet troops moving from Lougensk are Krasnoff's *stop* In the Ukraine the Soviet troops of that viet troops of that republic have taken Kharkoff Ekaterinoslav Poltava Krementschoug Tschernigoff Ovreutch as well as numerous other less important towns *stop* While Russia Lithuania Lettland have almost completely passed into the hands of the Soviet troops of these republics together with the large towns of Minsk, Vilna Riga Dvinsk Mitau Windau and others *stop* The remarkable consolidation of the internal situation of Soviet Russia is shown by the negotiations with the Russian Soviet Government begun by members of the previous Constituent Assembly whose representatives Rakitnikoff Chairman of their Congress Sviatitzky Secretary Volsky Chmelov Bourevoy Tchernenkoff Antonoff all members of the Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionary Party have arrived yesterday February third in Moscow these well-known social revolutionaries having with great force pronounced themselves against Entente intervention in Russia *stop* The amelioration of the relations between the Soviet Government and these elements of Russian society hitherto hostile is being illustrated by the change of attitude of the Mencheviks whose Conference has likewise protested against Entente intervention and whose paper the *Vpered* appears now in Moscow *stop* The growing internal quiet is shown by the suppression of the district extraordinary commission *stop* As to the false news of the foreign Press concerning alleged disorders in Petrograd and elsewhere these are from beginning to end only fiction *stop* Emphasizing once more that the situation of Soviet Russia will necessarily influence the extent of the sacrifices to which it will consent the Russian Soviet Government nevertheless maintains its proposition to negotiate upon the points enumerated above *stop*

As to the frequent complaints of the Entente Press about the Russian revolutionary international propaganda the Russian Soviet Government whilst pointing out the fact that it cannot restrain the liberty of the revolutionary Press declares its readiness in case of necessity to include in a general agreement with the Entente Powers the pledge to refrain from any immixion into their internal affairs *stop* On the indicated bases the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to begin immediately negotiations whether on Princes Island or elsewhere with the Entente Powers collectively or else with some of them separately or else with some Russian political groups according to the desires of the Entente Powers *stop* The Russian Soviet Government asks to name without delay the place to which its representatives are to be sent as well as the date of the meeting and the way to be followed *stop* The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs Tschitscherine Moscow the fourth of February 1919

It is useful at the same time to publish here the reply of the Soviet Government to the proposals of Dr. Fridthjof Nansen, which was as follows:

To Mr. Fridthjof Nansen.

HOTEL CONTINENTAL, PARIS.

7/5/1919

SIR,

Your very kind message of April seventeenth containing your exchange of letters with the Council of Four reached us only on May the fourth by way of the Nauen wireless station and was at once given to the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare for thorough examination. I

wish in the name of the Russian Soviet Government to convey to you our heartiest thanks for the warm interest you manifest in the wellbeing of the Russian people. Great are indeed the sufferings and privations inflicted upon the Russian people by the inhuman blockade of the associated and so-called neutral Powers and by the incessant wars forced upon it against its will. If left in peace and allowed free development Soviet Russia would then be able to restore her national production to regain her economic strength to provide for her own needs and to be helpful to other countries. But in the present situation in which she has been put by the implacable policy of the Associated Powers, help in foodstuffs from abroad would be most welcome to Russia and the Russian Soviet Government appreciate most thankfully your human and heartfelt response to her sufferings and considering the universal respect surrounding your person will be especially glad to enter into communication with you for the realization of your scheme of help which you emphasize as being purely humanitarian. On this basis of a humanitarian work of help to suffering people we would be desirous to do everything in our power to further the realization of your project. Unfortunately your benevolent intentions which you indicate yourself as being based on purely humanitarian grounds and which according to your letter must be realized by a Commission of wholly non-political character have been mixed up by others with political purposes. In the letter addressed to you by the four Powers your scheme is represented as involving cessation of hostilities and of transfer of troops and war material. We regret very much that your original intentions have thus been fundamentally disfigured by the Governments of the Associated Powers. We need not explain to you that military operations which obviously have in view to change the external or internal conditions of

the involved countries belong wholly to the domain of politics and that likewise the cessation of hostilities which means preventing the belligerent who has every reason to expect successes from obtaining them is also a purely political act. Thus your sincerely charitable intentions have been misused by others in order to cover such purposes which are obviously political with the semblance of an action originally humanitarian only. Being ready to lend every assistance to your scheme so far as it bears the character you ascribed to it in your letter we at the same time do not wish to be the objects of foul play and knowing that you in the same degree as ourselves mean business and wish really to attain the proposed aim, would like to ask you whether this intermixion of heterogeneous purposes has been finally adopted by yourself. We expect that we will be able to make it clear to you that in order to realize your intentions this intermixion must be carefully avoided. You are no doubt aware that the cessation of the wars forced upon the Russian people is likewise the object of our most ardent desire. It must be known to you that we have many times proposed to the Associated Governments to enter into negotiations in order to put an end to the present bloodshed and that we have even agreed to take part at the Conference at Prinkipo notwithstanding the extremely unfavorable conditions proposed to us, and also that we were the only party to accept it. We responded in the same peace-loving sense to the overtures made by one of the Great Powers. The Prinkipo Conference was frustrated not by us but by our adversaries, the protégés of the Associated Powers, the counter-revolutionary Governments of Koltchak, Denikin and the others. These are the tools with the help of which the Entente Governments are waging war upon us and are enedeavoring to attain our destruction and wherever they are victorious their victory means the triumph

of the most extreme barbarity and bestiality, streams of blood, and untold sufferings for the laboring masses, domination of the wildest reaction. Koltchak from the East, Denikin from the South, the Roumanian feudals, the Polish and Finnish most reactionary militarists, the German Barons, the Esthonian White Guards from the West and Russian White Guard bands from the North, these are the enemies whom the Entente Governments move against Soviet Russia, and against whom as against Entente troops we are carrying on a desperate struggle with ever-growing success. The so-called Governments of Koltchak and Denikin are purely monarchical, all power there belongs to the wildest adherents of Tsarism. Extreme Tsarist papers are in every way supported by them, Tsarist hymns are constantly sung at their ceremonies, the so-called constitution of Koltchak is in reality monarchical among their soldiers they distribute only Tsarist literature under the domination of Denikin the adherents of the constitutional Government of Bytch are persecuted, and under the domination of Koltchak the Constituent Assembly are imprisoned or shot. Pogrom making literature is widely distributed by these so-called Governments, and whenever Jews come under their domination they are the object of the most horrible bestialities. In the West the Polish legionaries and troops of the Ukrainian counter-revolutionary Petlioura who are both supported and even directed by the Entente officers have perpetrated such massacres of Jews which by far surpass the most horrible deeds of the black hundreds of old Tsarism. The Russian Red Cross in its appeal to the International Red Cross on April the twenty-eighth elaborately states whole villages whole towns were turned to ruins neither sex nor age was spared and in numerous places the whole Jewish population was literally wiped out by these troops headed by Entente generals and officers. In the realm of Koltchak and Denikin

everything that was gained by the peasants by the Revolution is being taken back from them. Koltchak declares solemnly in his manifestos that peasants must not have in their possession land taken by force from the nobility, he orders in his decrees that the seizure of the land of the gentry by the peasants should be prosecuted as a serious crime he crushes the resistance of the peasants by wholesale massacre during which in some parts of Siberia many thousands of peasants were killed *en masse*. For the workers his domination means every possible persecution, oppression, wholesale arrests and in many cases wholesale shootings so that in some towns the workers were simply wiped out by the enraged ex-Tsarist officers who are at the head of Koltchak's troops. The horrors perpetrated by these Koltchak officers defy every description and their victims are innumerable including all that is progressive, all that is free thinking in Siberia. Inebriated officers are torturing, flogging, tormenting in every way the unfortunate laboring population under their dominion and to be a worker means to be predestined to be the object of their brutalities. These are the adversaries against whom we are engaged in a desperate struggle and whom the Associated Governments are in every way supporting providing them with war materials foodstuffs financial help military commanders and political advisers and on the North and East fronts sending their own troops to help them. In the hands of these barbarous bands Entente rifles and Entente cannons are sending death to the Russian workers and peasants struggling for their life and liberty. The same Entente Governments are the source of the military supplies with the help of which our Polish Roumanian Finnish and other adversaries from the West are uninterruptedly attacking us and it was officially declared in the French Chamber of Deputies and in the British House of Commons that the policy of the

Entente is now to send against Soviet Russia the armies of these nationalities. An American radio of May the sixth sent from Lyons says most emphatically that the Entente encourages the movement of the troops headed by the Russian counter-revolutionary General Youdenitch which presumably threaten Petrograd that the Entente expects that the Bolsheviki will be forced to withdraw to Moscow and that the Associated Governments intend in connection herewith to abandon thought of re-victualling Russia. While declaring that they have abandoned the idea of intervention the Associated Governments are in reality carrying on the most reckless interventionist policy and even the American Government despite all the statements to the contrary published in the American Press seems at present to be wholly dominated by the implacable hostility of the Clemenceau ministry against Soviet Russia. This being the case we are in position to discuss the cessation of hostilities only if we discuss the whole problem of our relations to our adversaries, that is in the first place to the Associated Governments. That means to discuss peace and to open real negotiations bearing upon the true reasons of the war waged upon us and upon these conditions that can bring us lasting peace. We were always ready to enter into peace negotiations and are ready to do it now as before and we will be glad to begin discussing these questions but of course directly with the other belligerents that is with the Associated Governments or else with the persons empowered by the latter. But it is impossible for us to make any concessions referring to these fundamental problems of our existence under the disguise of a presumably humanitarian work. This latter must remain purely humanitarian and non-political and in this sense we will welcome every proposal from your side made to us in the spirit of your letter sent by you to the Council of Four on April third. To these wholly non-

political proposals we respond most gladly we thank you most heartily for your good intentions, we are ready to give you every possibility of controlling the realization of such a humanitarian scheme, we will of course cover all the expenses of this work and the cost of the foodstuffs and we can pay if you desire by Russian goods, but seeing that your original plan has been so unfortunately disfigured and considering that the most complex and difficult questions thus created must first be thoroughly elucidated we would suggest that you must take the necessary steps to enable delegates of your Government to meet you and your collaborators abroad and to discuss these questions and we ask you to kindly indicate the time and the place for this Conference between our delegates and the leaders of your Commission and what guarantees can be obtained for the free passage of our delegates through countries influenced by the Entente.

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs,
TCHITCHERIN.