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WHY HAVE YOU COME TO MOURMANSK?

**THIS APPEAL WAS PRINTED AND CIRCULATED AMONGST THE BRITISH TROOPS IN RUSSIA,
BY THE RUSSIAN WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' REPUBLIC.**

COMRADES!—

Why have you come to Mourmansk? You have been told in England that the demand for men on the Western front is greater than ever. You know that in England men of 45 and over are being called to the colours because of the urgent need of men in France. Yet you are brought here, right in the Arctic Sea, a thousand miles from the battle front.

For what purpose? Your Government tells us that it has no hostile intentions towards us. That it does not desire to occupy our territory. That it will not interfere with our internal affairs. That you have been sent here only for the purpose of defending our Mourman railway against the Finns and the Germans. Comrades, it is not true!

When anybody offers to put himself to considerable trouble and expense on your behalf, unasked, you get a little suspicious of his motives. We have not asked your Government to help us to defend our country. We know that their intentions are quite other than those they express to us.

The Mourman railway is in no danger either from the Germans or Finns. If you look at a map you will see that the railways and roads from the West of Finland end hundreds of miles short of the Mourman railway. If the Finns want to approach our border they must traverse hundreds of miles of marshy forest land, and you know how difficult it is for an army to do that.

Neither can the Germans threaten the railway.

If the Germans want to attack the Mourman railway they must first take Petrograd, and march through our country hundreds of miles, from Petrograd to Petrozavodsk. We are no longer at war with Germany. The Germans cannot advance on Petrograd without first declaring war on us again. There is no likelihood of this happening. Except this, that if you come south, the Germans may use this as a pretext to advance further into our country.

Therefore you are not required to defend us. On the contrary, your presence here increases our danger. Why then have you been brought here? We will tell you.

You have been brought here to occupy our country in the interest of Allied capitalists.

You have been brought here to overthrow our revolution, and bring back the reign of Tzarism!!!

You cannot believe this. You say that the British Government would never do such a thing. Let the facts speak for themselves.

The English capitalist newspapers, *Times*, *Morning Post*, *Daily Telegraph*, are writing every day about erecting a "strong resolute government" in Russia. Do these papers represent the views of democracy, or do they represent the views of the financiers, capitalists, and profiteers of England? These papers also constantly refer to the wealth of timber contained in our northern territory, which they say would be sufficient to pay for the loans which the financiers, capitalists, and profiteers lent to a corrupt and tyrannical Tzarism. Capitalists and financiers are not the friends of English workers, nor Russian workers, nor the workers of any country. Who controls the Government of England to-day? The workers or the financial oligarchy? The financial oligarchy. They are ordering and directing your landing in Mourmansk. You are being used in the interest of the

profiteers, who are profiting out of the lives and labour of the working people.

Your Government is interfering in our internal affairs. It has established its own control in the district you occupy. It has cut off our telegraphic communication with outside. It is attempting to seduce our citizens into fighting against us. At Kem your Government shot four members of our local Soviet.

Your Government denies that it did so, but we have positive proof that it did.

You know that on the Volga, right in the heart of our country, the Czecho-Slovaks are openly striving to crush our Revolution. They said they wanted to fight the Germans, but they have remained here, and are fighting us. They say they are fighting for liberty, but they are fighting to bring back the Tzarist régime. They are extending into Siberia. Wherever they go they suppress our Soviets (Councils of Workers' Delegates), hang its members, and put Tzarist officers in its place. These Czecho-Slovaks are gathering around themselves the corrupt and reactionary officials of the Tzarist régime. It is the same crowd that betrayed Kitchener, that sold the guns and munitions made in British factories to the Germans, that disorganised our army, and who were just about to sell Russia to the Germans when we made our Revolution.

The one object of the Czecho-Slovaks, and this crowd, is to crush our Revolution and bring back Tzarism. They have officially declared that to be their object. And this has the unconcealed, nay outspoken support of the Allied Governments.

The Allied Governments and the Allied Press are applauding the deeds of the Czecho-Slovaks. The French Consul made a speech in which he congratulated them on the task they had undertaken. They are financed by the Allied Military Mission. Their operations are directed by French officers.

Your landing in Mourmansk is part of the scheme to co-operate with the Czecho-Slovaks.

You will be fighting, not against enemies, but against working people like yourselves.

For the first time in history the working people have got control of their country. The workers of all countries are striving to achieve this object. We in Russia have succeeded. We have thrown off the rule of the Tzar, of landlords and of capitalists. But we have still tremendous difficulties to overcome. We cannot build a new society in a day. We desire to be left alone.

We ask you, are you going to help to crush us? To help to give Russia back to the landlords, the capitalists, and Tzar?

You in your Trade Unions have been fighting capitalists, you know what it is.

Comrades! Englishmen! You who pride yourselves on your love of liberty!

Comrades! Descendants of the great Chartists! You who have always expressed sympathy with the Russian revolution, are you going to assist in crushing the first effort of working people to free themselves from their sweaters and exploiters?

Remember this! If the Russian revolution is crushed, then the power of the capitalists will be enormously strengthened in every country, and the fight for economic freedom will be put back for a hundred years.

N. LENIN,

Pres. Council Peoples' Commissaries.

G. TCHITCHERINE,

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

PROGRESS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN EUROPE.

A keen observer of events, whose opinions on men and movements during the war very generally turned out to be correct, said the other day it would not be surprising if Workers' Committees and Soviets were in power and in full working order in Britain before the end of 1919. It would not be nearly so surprising as a like view would have seemed about Russia one week before the revolution broke out, or about Germany the day before it broke out there. When the March revolution in Russia broke out, Milyukoff watched from his study window the fighting by the workers and soldiers in the streets, and he says he had no doubt the Government would succeed in putting it down in a few hours, and that by the next day order would be restored and things would go on again as usual. And yet by the next day the revolution had almost bloodlessly overthrown this apparently strong Government; and some splendid achievements stand now to the credit of the multitude of unknown men and women who nearly two years ago started the revolutionary wave that is sweeping around the world and is everywhere undermining Capitalism and Government.

At a Congress of the Bavarian Social Democratic Party, held at Munich in the middle of October, their prominent speakers thought the time had certainly not yet come for a Socialist Revolution of any sort. But within three weeks from that day the revolution was over, Bavaria was declared a Socialist Republic, and the Social Democrats were in power headed by a man who just before was safely locked up in prison.

And the whole gigantic military, bureaucratic, and police machinery of the German Empire, that seemed so all-embracing, so invincible, so deeply rooted in the very habits of the people, vanished like some nightmare, and people are already beginning to wonder however the illusion about its inevitableness and strength could have lasted so long. Dutch correspondents have reported that the predominant feeling in Berlin when news of the revolt of the sailors at Kiel first came through was one of complete stupefaction that such things could happen in Germany, and when on the following day the same news came through from Hamburg and other cities the astonishment only deepened interest in this wonderful new phenomenon, and quite overshadowed the news of the Kaiser's abdication and the armistice which came the same day. The military commander of the district stopped all communication by railway, telephone, or telegraph between Berlin and the rest of the world and hurried troops into Berlin to prevent any "disorders." As battalion after battalion marched in with machine guns, field kitchens, and all the usual campaigning equipment, and occupied various positions about the city, it still looked like running one's head against a stone wall to attempt to overthrow the Imperial Government, and that anything done in this direction would only involve a frightful and useless loss of valuable lives. In the morning this huge apparatus of coercion stood solid and overwhelming in defence of exploitation and mastership. In the afternoon it had disappeared. All power was in the hands of the Soviet, and Workers' and Soldiers' Councils sprang up and took control throughout the Empire, and were working as naturally as could be wished, and as though these institutions had always been familiar to the population of the different States, in which one after another, in an astonishingly rapid succession, crowns were rolling in the roadway side by side with other outworn and useless things. And all this was accomplished almost bloodlessly.

When the turn of the English Social Revolution comes we should be able to carry it out even more completely and easily if we learn from the experience of our comrades in other countries what to do and what to avoid. Several points stand out very clearly; amongst them are two which we can see both in Russia and in Germany are of the greatest importance. In the first place to take steps to prevent as far as possible, from the very beginning, the movement getting into the hands or under the control of the ordinary professional politicians; and in the next place to see that the Soviets are not packed with the old stagers of the Trade Union world, the professional labour leaders and officials, but that through the Shop Stewards' Movement, Workers' Committees, and similar organisations they do faithfully represent the changing needs and aspirations of the rank and file, and see the widest possible scope is secured for free initiative, to welcome everywhere boldness of thought and action both in destroying old institutions and constructing others more suited to the new day, fearlessly grappling with the real problems of the time, and frankly facing facts, whatever they may be, and a steady adherence through all that may happen to the highest ideals we can conceive; they are quite likely to fall short of the true and the possible.

In Russia eight precious months were wasted through allowing politicians of various schools to carry on their coalitions and compromises and make-believes, and generally to expose their barrenness in ideas and timidity in action. If we compare this with the first eight months' work done by the Bolshevik Soviets we can realise what a loss it was and how many dangers and obstacles might have been avoided if only that first stage could have been omitted. In Central Europe the same thing is repeating itself, but there are grounds for hoping this period will prove shorter in the German case. A description by the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* of the Soviet Congress in Berlin should cause every revolutionary workman furiously to think. He says, "The overwhelming majority were staid Trade Union officials who had kept the working masses well in hand." The soldiers' delegates included 25 officers. "The Congress resembled more an assembly of worried city fathers than a revolutionary Parliament." Max Cohen, one of the Moderate Socialist "leaders," said: "A continuance of the present state of disorganisation and exaggerated labour demands will lead straight to a catastrophe. Only a strong Central Government can bring salvation. Only a National Assembly will be recognised . . . as expressing the national will; the Soviets never. The socialisation of certain industries might certainly be done, but care must be taken not to deprive employers of incentive, which was never more indispensable." Others, probably with an eye to middle class votes at the National Assembly elections, explained that Germany in her present position is "a quite unfit object for Socialistic experiments," they only want "to overcome the present crisis with the minimum of injury" (to profiteers and politicians?).

Compare this with the general strike of the coal miners to compel immediate socialisation of the mines, the determined strike movements at Berlin and elsewhere to secure thorough-going Socialist changes, and the extensive measures of socialisation that have already been carried out in districts where the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils are composed of the actual rank and file workers, or where the devoted propagandists of the Spartacus and other genuine Socialist groups have been able to secure a hearing for their ideas. The Spartacus Group includes in its immediate programme repudiation of all war loans without compensation, expropriation of all banks, mines, industries, large and medium sized estates. Spartacus ideas are so attractive that the General who was called with his troops to Berlin from Finland to support the Moderate Socialist Government against the Liebknecht Party complains that within a week his former "loyal" troops are melting away, some going home and others openly joining the Spartacus Group. And it is now announced that this Government can probably not depend upon any of the Berlin troops, and they do not know what others can be had, and every day Bolshevik ideas spread farther and take a deeper hold amongst working men and women.

Any day the German Revolution may enter upon its second stage, the Bolshevik one, and the creation of another Federation of Soviet Socialist Commonwealths in Central Europe will be seriously taken in hand. This, united with the Russian Federation, would almost certainly prove too strong for the remaining Capitalist Governments in the world to overthrow, and by its example to the remaining exploited section of the world's proletariat or its attraction to emigrants from other countries would definitely mark the speedy end of Capitalism and Parliamentary Government everywhere. It would immediately bring into view what seems to be the only real alternative to either endless wars or the League of Capitalist Governments, a League of Brigands to put down brigandage. We may almost see this latter at work in the way the Allied Capitalist Governments have treated the Socialist Revolution in Russia and Germany, and in their villainous cold-blooded starvation of women and children, the old and the sick, over a great part of Europe after the war was known to be over. The blackguard peace they seem to be preparing will be worth no more than the paper it is written on, and will probably not last so long as the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

A probably unique incident in proletarian revolutions took place at the end of December, when large bands of workmen from one of the great munition works in Berlin suddenly marched in good military order into the courtyard of the police headquarters and demanded rifles and ammunition, which were supplied. They wanted to assist the Spartacus sailors at the palace, against whom troops and artillery were being used by the Ebert Government. News had spread that the chief of police was on the sailors' side; but by that time the Government had given in.

French and Russian prisoners of war in Berlin joined the revolutionists, and at the very beginning worked hard to secure their success.

In Russia the Soviets seem trying to arrive at economic equality by establishing a standard wage for all. An eight hour day has been adopted for the present, with double rates for overtime, but no workman must work more than four hours overtime in two consecutive days, and no woman or boys under eighteen are allowed to work overtime.

In educational matters the Soviets are doing great things. On October 1 all schools came under the authority of the National Commissaries for Education. Class privileges in education are abolished; one class of school and one standard of education is open to all alike. All schools receive the regular attention of a doctor. All scholars receive a free hot breakfast daily. Classes are limited to twenty-five children; examinations and the old methods of discipline are abolished; and every effort is being made to encourage the child's free development. The education given is secular, and includes manual and technical training. Co-education is adopted. There are two divisions, one for children from eight to thirteen and the other from thirteen to seventeen, and an opening for all children to the Universities, of which six new ones have been founded during the year.

The organ of the Petrograd Soviet said on October 2, the Soviets have constructed for all the workers of the country such a wide approach to knowledge, to the schools, to science and art as the world has never before known. It will be much easier in the second year of the revolution. We shall ourselves become intellectuals, and will quickly and easily realise a full, enlightened and joyous life freed from all oppression." Madam Lenin says schools are being established for adults which aim at giving them a knowledge of the various forms of human culture, including all forms of mental and manual activity; a complete artistic, physical, and technical education. Popular universities are being organised with lectures, excursions and visits to museums. The Soviets are establishing circulating libraries with a big central purchasing station, and are preparing subject catalogues containing short explanatory notes about the best books available on any subject. They are also developing sections for Music, Theatricals, and Decorative Art, and are getting ready for Russian audiences some of the best foreign plays. Six million roubles have been voted for the preparation of educational cinema films. People's halls, libraries, and schools are springing up in all directions.

The main difficulty has been the inadequate number of teachers available, but this is being gradually got over. Gorki took part in a special appeal to the intellectuals last autumn which succeeded in inducing large numbers of them to help with the result that the plans for some hundreds of schools which were hanging fire were at once proceeded with.

The Allies' attitude to all this is steadily becoming more contemptible as facts begin to leak out. The *Manchester Guardian* published a speech by Leslie Urquhart, a prominent promoter of mining companies in Russia, to the shareholders of one of his concerns, on December 16. He talks of the immense value of these gold, copper, zinc, lead, and coal mines. He dangles before his shareholders the prospect of getting £13,000,000 net profits at pre-war prices from one of these mines alone. Of course, all must help to get Allied military intervention on a big scale, and supreme power must be in one hand. His nominee is his friend Admiral Koltchak, the military dictator who has established himself at Omsk, incidentally arresting the members of the Constituent Assembly who supposed themselves to be running a kind of democratic Government there. He seems to depend largely for his revenues on the re-establishment of the sale of vodka. His financial minister, a former high official under the Tsardom, turns out to be the same person as the Russian manager of Mr. Urquhart's mining companies!

The *Nation*, a New York weekly, has published some details about how American intervention was engineered, which the Government considers it is not in the public interest to discuss. It seems a week or two before the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Lenin and Trotsky handed to Raymond Robins, the representative in Russia of the American Red Cross, a communication for Wilson, stating they would refuse to sign it if the U.S.A. would assure them of its moral support in breaking off the negotiations and would send food and arms. At least two copies were at once cabled to Washington, but Lansing prevented Wilson knowing of its existence until after he had announced his decision in favour of intervention. When Robins returned to America he tried in vain during several weeks to secure an audience with Mr. Wilson, and was warned both by the Government and the Red Cross authorities that he was not to make any public statement on the subject.

But another mine manager who had just returned from Russia urged in *Humanité* on December 8 that the Allies should stop their "march in the dark" against the Soviet Government while there is still time.

Captain Sadoul was sent to Russia at Albert Thomas's

request to gain information about the actual position in Russia for the French Government. He writes to a friend in Paris on September 1: "I have now come to the conclusion that Lenin and Trotsky have a clearer vision than we opportunists and conciliatory Socialists, and that they are greater realists. Facts seem already to prove them right . . . in all fields, administrative, military, and economic, the amount of creative work is immense . . . if the Soviets had not been cut off from their granaries, their industrial centres, their iron and coal mines, and their petroleum wells; if they had not been ruined, starved, and blood-soaked by the foreigner; if they had only had to fight against the Russian bourgeoisie . . . and the counter-revolution, who knows but that they would already have successfully carried through the first stage of the Communist organisation. The Socialisation of Russia will become more profound. The depression and then the revolt of the masses of the people in enemy countries will become more threatening. The nations of Europe will turn their eyes to a democratic ideal purer and more fraternal. . . . Thus will humanity change the bloody nightmare which has tortured it for four years into a wonderful dream."

F.C.C.

AN ANTI-BOLSHEVIK ALLIANCE WITH GERMANY?

The following letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of January 3:—

Sir,—I find the following in *Vorwärts* of December 6, printed at the head of its columns:—

Neue Nachrichten—a paper published at Berdiansk, on the Sea of Azoff—publishes the following manifesto of the Allies, who are about to intervene in Russia:—

"We inform hereby the inhabitants of Odessa and neighbourhood that we have arrived on the territory of Russia with the object of restoring order and freeing the country from the Bolshevik usurpers, for which reason the reports spread by the Bolshevik provocators that the Allied troops have come to South Russia in order to drive out the Germans are absolutely false. Both the Germans and ourselves have come here not as conquerors but as champions of right. Hence their objects and ours are identical. The reports of impending fights are not true, and are being circulated with the object of sowing a panic. All the unhealthy elements in Russia—that is, the Bolsheviks and their adherents—are hereby placed outside law, and persons harbouring them will be handed over to court-martial. We do not recognise any organisation except those fighting the Bolsheviks—the Volunteer and Cossack armies, as well as the troops of the Constituent Assembly. Hence all organisations which are in possession of arms are ordered to deliver them to the specially appointed representatives of the international army section."

The manifesto is signed—Sir Nevile (?), for England; Hours, for France; Gajani, for Japan; S. (Z.) Holinsky, for Russia; Saniti, for Italy; O'Reimann, for Belgium; Silitch, for Serbia; Kargit, for Greece; Grinesku, for Rumania.

I cannot imagine that *Vorwärts* should have invented the manifesto, nor that the *Neue Nachrichten* should have dared to fabricate such a document under the eyes of the Allied Army of Occupation. The manifesto is a puzzle to me. I know that we are no longer at war with the Germans, but I did not know that we had concluded an alliance with them against the Bolsheviks.—Yours, etc.,

CURIOUS.

London, January 1.

TO LABOUR.

Shall you complain who feed the world?

Who clothe the world?

Who house the world?

Shall you complain who are the world,

Of what the world may do?

As from this hour

You use your power,

The world must follow you!

The world's life hangs on your right hand!

Your strong right hand!

Your skilled right hand!

You hold the whole world in your hand.

See to it what you do!

Or dark or light,

Or wrong or right,

The world is made by you!

Then rise as you never rose before!

Nor hoped before!

Nor dared before!

And show as was never shown before

The power that lies in you!

Stand all as one!

See justice done!

Believe, and Dare, and Do!

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

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NOTES.

The Elections.

There is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth in Labour circles because "the little Welsh wizard" has managed to wangle the General Election in his favour. Really, one would imagine that it was quite unusual to do such things; that the Parliamentary game was always played in a strictly honourable manner, simply with a view to finding out what the electors wanted. As a matter of fact, it never has been so. Every party seeks to force an election at the time most suitable for itself, and Lloyd George's opponents have "got it in the neck" strictly according to the rules of the game. Speaking at the Central Hall, Westminster, on November 16, Lloyd George said:

"There are times when an Opposition is essential to good government. But those are times when political events are so dull, so unexciting, that if it had not been for party no one would have taken the slightest interest, and therefore you have to get the artificial stimulus which party fighting gives to make people think that there is something big happening when really there is nothing at all."

Now, however, when "the air of Europe is quivering with revolution," and when "two-thirds of Europe have been swept by its devastating plague," capitalism must rally to its standard all who can be relied on to guard it safely, and now the Old Guard have swept aside or smashed up all those who would not swear loyalty to it.

The Simple Way Out.

But it matters very little to the workers who sit in Parliament. As we pointed out last month, the rules of procedure there have been drawn up in such a way that it is impossible to bring about any great changes by Parliamentary methods. The election of such an overwhelming majority of reactionaries is the best thing that could have happened, as many workers will now realise how hopeless it is to expect anything from that rotten and corrupt institution. As we Anarchists have so often pointed out, the workers hold all the weapons with which to gain their freedom, if they will only use them. Their masters are really helpless by themselves, their strength lying in the fact that they have always been able to rely on one section of the workers to oppress the rest. Suppose the workers (and in this word we include everyone who does useful and necessary work) decide to work the land, mines, railways, etc., solely for the benefit of the people, without paying tax, rent, or interest to parasitic landlords and shareholders, who is there to prevent them? No one, except those members of the working class who have put on uniforms as soldiers or policemen. And if they refuse to shoot their fellow-workers, the Revolution is brought about without any bloodshed. The landlords and shareholders would see the game was up, and in a few months would settle down on a basis of equality and become quite decent men. It is all so simple. The Houses of Parliament could then be used as a museum in which to exhibit those relics of a bygone age, the ballot-box and the policeman's baton! Of course, the place would have to be disinfected first.

Work—Who For?

The *Daily Mail* is very much concerned at the fact that so many people are still holiday-making, and have not settled down to serious work since the Armistice. "It is time that the holiday-makers, even those who have most deserved holiday, set to work again." There is so much to be done. "For every willing worker, in almost every sphere of life, there is work waiting, high

pay waiting, and a land of promise waiting." That last phrase is delightful. "A land of promise." During the election campaign the land (and the Press) was full of promises. A million new houses, land for soldiers, a war with Russia, the hanging of the Kaiser, Germany to pay all our war loans—enough to make the electors' mouths water. But we always remember the old proverb, "Promises are like pie-crust—made to be broken." And Northcliffe knows it. What he really means is, get back to work so that he and all his pals can draw interest on the money they lent the Government. He knows the Russians cannot pay, and it looks as though Germany will not. So he wants Tommy Atkins to take off his khaki and get back to the mines and factories and workshops and slog away harder than before. Somehow, we seem to have an idea that Tommy sees through the game and will not be such a simple fool as Northcliffe thinks him. Tommy has found out that though they lost the war, the Germans have gained their freedom. He will be a fool, he is thinking, if he wins the "war for freedom," but still remains a wage slave. It looks as though there may be a surprise in store for Northcliffe and his pals.

THE ALLIES' INTERVENTION CANT.

At last the British Government has broken its long silence upon the all-important questions of intervention in Russia. Lord Milner's statement on behalf of the War Office is the usual jumble of lies and inaccuracies which we have so long been led to expect from a Government department. We note with much interest that he commences by depreciating the number of British troops actually in Russia at the present time. This is evidently intended as a sop to those working women who are continually asking when their soldier men are to be demobilised.

The statement issued by Lord Milner in its attempt to justify the Government's action in continuing war with Russia can find no other justification than that: (1) The Russian people insisted on signing peace with Germany; (2) That they handed over the Black Sea Fleet to Germany (as a result of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which forced this surrender upon them); (3) That they attacked the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia. (The attack was started by the Czecho-Slovaks.)

As an addition to the above-mentioned, Lord Milner very generously waives aside the question of the enormous quantities of military stores lying at Archangel and Vladivostok, stores which the Russian Bolshevik Government were not even asked to pay for before the Allied troops took the law into their own hands by treacherously seizing Vladivostok and Archangel. He gives as a further reason for the Allied intervention that it is a question of honour with the Allied Governments to support the reactionary elements in their fight against the Workers' Republic. "How can we," he asks with characteristic British hypocrisy, "simply because our own immediate purposes have been served, come away and leave them [the reactionaries] to the tender mercies of their and our enemies before they have had time to arm, train and organise so as to be strong enough to defend themselves? It would be an abominable betrayal, contrary to every British instinct of honour and humanity. . . . If the Allies were all to scramble out of Russia at once, the result would almost certainly be that the barbarism which at present reigns in a part only of that country would spread over the whole of it." Here we have the capitalists' recognition of the class war. So much for Lord Milner's official declaration, which we heartily welcome because in it he openly declares it to be the intention of the Allies to support the monarchists and capitalists who are intent upon destroying the Bolshevik régime so that the international financiers may receive their pound of flesh.

In order to understand something of the true condition of affairs in Russia it is necessary to turn to the accounts of travellers who have just returned from that country. On every side we learn that not only have the Workers' Republic organised relief work, fed and clothed the starving population, but that education has been promoted, new universities founded, art and literature encouraged, and last, but not least, the peasants have taken the land and the industrial workers are becoming something a little more human than under the old capitalist régime of the late Tsar.

In the *New Statesman* of December 21 it is declared to be authentic that: "Order in Russia is more thoroughly established than at any time since the fall of the Tsardom, and food distribution is better organised than at any time during the whole war. Factories are rapidly restarting work so far as raw materials can be obtained. . . . The Bolsheviks are, although they have been hampered by undesirable tools, cleaning the country of bribery and corruption. . . . The great mass of the professional and petty bourgeoisie have gone over to the Bolsheviks during the autumn. In the large towns the workmen are almost

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unanimous supporters of the Soviets, and the anniversary demonstrations in the first week of November created everywhere scenes of extraordinary popular enthusiasm. The peasants were for a long time hostile. But . . . the great majority being now keen supporters of Bolshevik rule."

In the light of this and other testimony to the good results that have followed the Bolshevik revolution of a year ago, Lord Milner's statement appears as a class plea for vengeance on the part of the Allied financiers against the mass of the Russian people, who have had the courage to free themselves from all the horrors of capitalist rule. So we can be quite sure in our minds that it is the re-institution of the old régime that is contemplated by the Allies. Already the name of the Grand Duke Michael has been mentioned in connection with the new so-called Russian Government that the Allies have formed in Siberia. Already the necessity of carrying out operations on a large scale against the Bolsheviks has been emphasised in the New York papers. The New York *Sun* disposes of the matter by declaring that "though the expedition will necessarily be of a military character, it will be in *no sense a war waged against the Russians*, but rather an extension of the idea of police duty to protect foreign interests as well as the interests of civilian Russians." Our capitalist enemies know that in order to arrange the necessary "spheres of interests" for the purpose of subsequent exploitation it will be necessary to make some show of procuring Russian peace delegates who can be trusted to support the financial interests of the Allies.

Prince Lvoff, speaking recently upon the necessity for having Russian representatives at the Peace Conference, wound up his plea for continued intervention by stating that "Russia began the war with the same *aims and ideals* with which the Allies have won the war"—that is, the capitalist idealism that prompted the Secret Treaties and caused the massacre of millions of Russians in order that Constantinople should be secured for Russian Imperialism. Prince Lvoff's statement is neatly put when he speaks of the "aims and ideals" with which the Allies have won the war. It is the idealism of brigandage which has used, and is still using, the workers of one country to murder the workers of another.

The whole of the recent Allied statements on the Russian situation breathe the spirit of the Class War. They remind us that the position which we took up at the outbreak of war has been more than justified. They show us more forcibly than ever that the workers of one country have no real quarrel with the workers of any other. That the one war upon which all workers should unite nationally and internationally is the Class War. But the workers of this country have yet to learn that at present our Government of exploiters occupies all the strategic positions. It has refused to abolish the press and postal censorships or repeal D.O.R.A. It carefully prepares and "cooks" all the information the masses receive from their daily newspapers. It has postponed the meeting of the Peace Conference in order to endeavour to crush the Russian Workers' Republic in the spring, and, in its contempt for Labour, asserts that the Labour peace delegates will be allowed to attend *some* of the meetings of the Peace Conference. Thus is organised Labour repaid for its great services to the capitalist Governments in the war!

May it be demonstrated to them in the near future that the cause of the Russian people is theirs, and that the fate of the workers of all Europe depends upon the fate of the Russian Socialist Republic. Let them remember that just as the workers of this country helped to betray the great French Revolution by their support of the Napoleonic war, just as their apathy then helped to rivet the fetters of slavery upon all the European workers, so may their inaction now help to secure the "spheres of influence" for which the Allied financiers have been fighting.

Let the workers realise this and get on with the only war that counts—the Class War.

REPORTED MURDER OF PETER KROPOTKIN.

A telegram from Bergen to Stockholm says that "Prince Kropotkin, the well-known Communist, has been murdered. The Bolsheviks deny responsibility for the crime." No details were given, and as so many lies about Russia appear in the press we must refuse to believe the above telegram, hoping it will eventually turn out to be simply another effort to discredit the Bolsheviks.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA COMMITTEE.

A Mass Meeting to demand the immediate withdrawal of the British Expeditionary Forces from Russia will be held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London (near Ludgate Circus), on Saturday, January 18. Doors open at 6-30 p.m., commence at 7-30. All seats free.

RECENT NEWS FROM RUSSIA.

The following letter is from the correspondent who sent the interesting notes on "Life in Moscow" which appeared in the September (1918) issue of FREEDOM.

ODESSA, December 12, 1918.

I have only been here from Moscow about four weeks. The journey took a week and a half, a journey which should only take three days. I had to cross the frontiers in the dead of night, and undertook the journey with an experienced Russian friend who had done this journey many times. The reason I left Moscow was the hunger, which I could stand no longer. Food could not be secured for love or money. It became so acute for me that I found I could not stand at work, and the winter was coming along, and, mind you, it is some winter, and to stand the winter you must have plenty of food. As some idea of what food cost without cards, this is the price just lately: Bread, 9s. a lb.; butter, £2 a lb.; potatoes, 2s. a lb.; and so on; this was the price one paid if the food could be got. The Government took very strong measures against anyone speculating in food, and consequently there was very little except that supplied by cards. Food is served by categories; that is, hard labour men are in the first class. I was in the second, and received $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of black bread for two days, 15 lbs. of potatoes for a month, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of meat for a month, and 3 eggs. As for sugar and butter, I had not seen any during my last three months in Moscow. Just imagine, for supper, two apples, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread, and about 4 glasses of Russian tea. There was no nutriment in any of the dinners one had. I used to have two in order to keep me satisfied for a little while. They cost me 15 roubles, almost half a day's pay. Horse meat was sold at 4s. a lb., and I had my share of it. It was like living in a besieged fortress. Conditions would have been worse had it not been for the wonderful organisation of the Bolshevik, or, better still, the Communist Government.

I must admit that I did not like leaving Moscow. Although one is practically starving, one lives the ideal life there. Capitalism and speculation are almost done away with; everyone has to work, otherwise they do not get the little food that is to be got. The finest hotels have been turned into Soviet buildings; the finest cafés (and there are some nice ones, too) are now only for the workers. One has to show his Union card before he can enter, and then he can obtain coffee and other things cheap and listen to classical music. Wonderful concerts are arranged for the workers, and I have listened to some of them. Then there are the theatres: the workers get the first seats. I went to the Opera House and the Art Dramatic Theatre, two of the best theatres in Russia, and the performances were the most wonderful I have ever seen. Wonderful ballet dancers are the Russians, also their dramatic acting wants beating.

Now as to the political situation. The Communist Government are going very strong, overcoming all their opponents in every part of Russia. They have a very strong army consisting of over two million men, well armed and trained; they carry everything before them. The Allies have a big job before them, and I should not be surprised if the Allies do not succeed. The Bolsheviks do most strategical fighting with paper. To my knowledge in Moscow they issued newspapers and pamphlets in almost every language under the sun. For instance, they issued a newspaper in English, three in German, and three in Polish. The Bulgarian, Austrian, Turkish, and finally the German revolutions were brought about mainly through their propaganda. A few weeks before the German Revolution I heard two of the best men on foreign affairs speak in Moscow. These two men are Steklov and Radek. The former is the editor of the Bolshevik daily newspaper, a paper superior to the *Times*; the latter is the leading and shining light in the Foreign Office under Tchitcherine, and really the brains on foreign affairs. They said that just before Wilson stated his peace terms the German military class were offering to overthrow the Bolsheviks if the Allies would allow them to retain Alsace-Lorraine. The Germans knew the Allies wanted to do this themselves, but it was not in their power then. Radek and Steklov told the Germans their offer had come too late, and in a month's time—well, everybody knows what happened in Germany.

In this part of the world, especially Odessa, nothing is normal yet. As you know, a year ago the Bolsheviks were in power here. Another party, known as the Social Revolutionaries, who are slightly more Right than the Bolsheviks, wanted to gain the Government of the Ukraine, and having no support amongst the people or soldiery, invited the Germans to come in and drive out the Bolsheviks, which they did. The Germans did not mind occupying the Ukraine, as they knew the country is very rich in food, especially sugar. They used the country as a convalescent home for their soldiers off the Western Front. As soon as the

Germans were masters here they arrested all these Social Revolutionaries—known as the Rada—and put them in jail, and then formed a new Government consisting of the worst autocrats they could find. When the Austrian and German Revolutions took place, the Austrians opened the prisons and let out all the political prisoners. The leader of the Social Revolutionaries, Petloor by name, soon gathered some soldiers and armed men around him, and with the aid of the Bolsheviks started active work. He took the capital, Kieff, and was working his way on to Odessa, taking every town and village with very little opposition from the existing Government. This evening, as I am writing this letter, the Petloorists, as they are called, have entered Odessa with very little opposition; but I am sorry to say that just a few minutes ago very heavy firing took place in our neighbourhood. Thank goodness, it has ceased, as there are a tidy few children in this house. But it is not unusual to hear firing here day or night. One dare not go in some streets in Odessa in the evening for fear of thieves, who would take away all your clothing. There is no coal, no light, nor well-manufactured goods to be had for love or money, though food can be got here, thank goodness for that!

I ought to mention the way they carry out strikes here. Last week a two days' general strike was proclaimed against the Government simply by passing the word round. There were no trams, no light, no gas, no water—simply a city of the dead. We have in the port English and French battleships. Thanks to the sailors we have some recent English newspapers.

Will write you again at first opportunity.

WHEN THE REVOLUTION COMES.

There is now no doubt that the Bolshevik Revolution begun in Russia has already extended itself to Germany and Austria. It is a monstrous and unthinkable thing that English and American soldiers are being used to smash up the Bolshevik régime in Russia, and we can only hope that the same fate will attend their efforts as that which befell the allied forces in their attack on the great French Revolution. But Capitalism has neither a sense of justice nor has it any bowels of compassion. The explanation of the expeditionary forces in Russia may be found in the statement of that country's indebtedness to this and other allied countries.

If the Revolution is to become English also we shall be obliged to confess at the same time the unpreparedness of the organised working-class movement for any such event. It is too often assumed by Marxians and others that working folk have one interest and that it is sufficient to unite them in one army for the war of the classes. But this view of things is neither clear sighted nor scientific. In this country working people are divided into two classes. There are those whose labour-power is expended in the production of necessary-to-life commodities, and those the products of whose labour go to satisfy the craving for luxury of the rich. In this latter class must be included also those whose business it is to help in the continued suppression of the democracy by the providing of munitions and men—of course, for "defensive" purposes only. The "parasites" have their lackeys and upholders, and they are to be found in every working-class organisation that exists. Yet they are not regarded as traitors or blacklegs; indeed many of them style themselves revolutionists.

In plain English, my thesis is this: That the man who forges a bayonet has not the same interest as the man who forges a ploughshare, though both may be members of the same union. The purpose of the product in each case marks the point of separation. It is "useless toil versus useful work," as Morris puts it.

Let us imagine the thing has happened, the Revolution has begun. On which side, think you, will be found jewellers and bank clerks and men milliners, commercial travellers and jockeys and the sporting fraternity generally, soldiers and sailors (naval) and makers of munitions of war—all of them being regarded as belonging to the working class? It is to the interest of such people that they should support those out of whose funds their wages are paid. Exceptions there will be—must be—but they will by no means prove the rule. Why, the Trade Union movement has got its accumulated funds securely fastened up in its enemies' money chests. The story of the Paris Commune is forgotten in these days. In Russia the Revolution began about land, which means food; no revolution ever began about munitions or jewellery or racehorses. The Russian people were in desperate earnest to set about the production of food. I have not yet heard of any get-back-to-the-land desire on the part of English working folk.

And I am going to clinch my argument with the statement that the number of "useless toilers" is greatly in excess of the "useful workers." Out of every three working-class individuals

two are engaged in the production of superfluities or in hawking them about. This is the problem which faces the revolutionaries. There is a class war, but Marx did not analyze it properly.

In the event of a Revolution the first thing to do would be to seize the food stores in town and country. If the enemy was able to hold these for any length of time the revolution would be defeated. Having seized the food, the next step would be to organise its distribution. If this is done efficiently it would bring many waverers over to the revolutionary side. This is obvious enough, surely!

But about the practical side of carrying through a revolution. Kropotkin in his "Conquest of Bread"—a pity that the other people read it first—has said all that can be said. What ought chiefly to concern us is the supineness of the average working man and woman. As individuals they do not exist—individualism has never existed—though we try hard enough to hope that they are individuals in the making. When the Military Service Acts ordered them to become soldiers why they became soldiers, and, what is worse, they proceeded to insult and illtreat those who stood out as individuals and refused to don the khaki. They have submitted to the exactions of the Defence of the Realm Act, they swallow the falsehoods of the *Daily Mail* and the comic press generally. "We have a darned long row to hoe."

In a previous article I have endeavoured to indicate in what manner the capitalist octopus will try to fasten itself still more on the community, and I shall be glad indeed to find these warnings of mine to have been unnecessary. Man will yet master the universe I firmly believe; and in this belief will be found the stimulus to keep our weary feet still on the march.

JOHN WAKEMAN.

OUR APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

The following sums have been received to January 3: Two Belgian Comrades, 5s.; R. Peddie, 2s.; T.S., 5s.; B. Lewis, 4s.; E. C. Round, 2s. 6d.; W. Brooks, 1s.; F. Goulding, 2s.; Gateshead Sympathisers, £1; R. Marquez, 5s.; V. Garcia, 2s. 6d.; E. Michaels, 5s.; M. Bleirs, 1s. 6d.; A. Golub, 1s.; Jensen, 2s.; G.D., £2; T. Foxall, 1s. 6d.; José, 10s.; J. E. Collins, 2s. 6d.; W. H. Benson, 1s. 6d.; J. Colton, 2s.; J. R. Armstrong, 2s. 6d.; E. Ratcliffe, 5s. In December list J. Osborne's donation was £1—not 1s. as printed.

We are still greatly in need of money and hope comrades and friends will do all they can to help us.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (not otherwise acknowledged). (December 6—January 3.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—T.S. (2), E. C. Round, R. Marquez (2 years), V. Garcia, S. A. Perry, F. D. Mahony, H. Bertoli, G.D. (2), J. Blundell, A. Smith, F. Le Pla, J. E. Collins (2), W. H. Benson, J. Beskin, J. R. Armstrong.

I.W.W. NOTES.

The fur workers have organised under the auspices of the I.W.W. as the Clothing Workers' Industrial Union, Fur Workers, Local 10. Many members have been enrolled. Members' meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m., at 3, Great Garden Street, Whitechapel, E.7., when new members are accepted.—H. Frankel, Secretary.

A Soiree and Ball will take place at the Crown Hall, 40, Redmans Row, Stepney Green, E.7., on Saturday, January 25, in aid of the I.W.W. Propaganda Fund. Doors open 5-30.

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