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They Are Still There!

By John Reed

AT the present time the Allied armies in Russia—American troops among them—are supporting three "Governments" at Archangel, Vladivostok and Omsk. These "Governments," which are said to be "supported by the majority of the Russian people" (whoever they may be), have one characteristic in common; they stand for the return of Czarism. So that the Allies, who started out with the scarcely-disguised intention of "restoring the Constituent Assembly," and thus setting up a bourgeois Republic, now find themselves in the position of gendarmes of the Counter Revolution.

According to official statements of the American and Japanese Governments, the objects of intervention in Russia were, protection of military supplies in Archangel and Vladivostok against German and Austrian war-prisoners, and assistance to the Czecho-Slovaks, who were presumably trying to leave Russia. The most "solemn and public" promises were given by both Governments that they had no intention of "interfering in the internal affairs of Russia." But the British Government, which was associated with the Americans and Japanese, stated through Lloyd George that the purpose of the intervention was to create "a center for the elements opposed to Bolshevism." And the French Government, whose aims in Russia can least bear the light of liberal scrutiny, did not deign to publish them.

As soon as foreign troops landed on Russian soil the Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherine, addressed a note to the Allied and American Governments, asking why no notice of intervention had ever been given to the Government, and demanding a bill of complaint.

"If the Allied and American Governments have any cause for complaint against the conduct of the Government of the Russian Republic," he said in effect, "we respectfully ask why it has not been called to our attention, that we may satisfy it. . . ."

When the armistice with Germany was signed by the Allied and American Governments, Tchitcherine asked for an armistice with the Soviet Government also.

Both these communications were ignored. It may be urged that neither the Allies nor the United States recognized or now recognize the Russian Government. But for months all these Governments carried on semi-official relations with Russia, have made demands on it again and again; and in March, President Wilson publicly addressed the Fourth Congress of Soviets as representatives of the Russian people. . . . Is the only conclusion possible from all this that the aims of intervention are so frankly imperialistic that any statement of them would be extremely compromising. . . . ?

Even those persons who were persuaded by the Sisson documents and other forgeries, and the subsidized propaganda of Miliukov's Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Bakhmetiev, that Lenin and Trotzky were German agents, must now be considerably puzzled. If it were true that the Bolsheviks in Russia were a tyrannical minority supported by German gold and German bayonets, the collapse of Imperial Germany would necessarily entail the collapse of the Bolsheviks—just as it entailed the collapse of the Ukrainian dictatorship, and the "National Council" of the Baltic

provinces. But the defeat of Germany has merely strengthened the Russian Soviet Government. Only the most credulous will be able to swallow the accusation of the capitalist press that the Kaiser, defeated in Germany, is still ruler of Russia!

One of the armistice terms imposed upon Germany requires that the indemnity paid by Russia to Germany must be surrendered to the Allies—to hold in trust for some future Russian Government. This Government, of course, must be acceptable to the Allies. There remains in Russia no force with any power except the force of the Black Hundreds—the Dark Forces against which the Russian people revolted in March, 1917, to the applause of the liberal world; any other Government set up in Russia must immediately fall, for the Russian "moderates" and "liberals" have no following whatever.

This is clearly shown by the history of the

Famine in Russia

A striking light is thrown on the cause of food difficulties which are experienced by Soviet Russia, by a letter written on September 4th by M. Rene Marchand, the well known "Figaro" correspondent in Russia, to M. Poincaré, the original of which has been discovered during a search made in his house by the agents of the Extraordinary Commission for Fighting the Counter Revolution, and which is now published by the Moscow "Izvestia." In the course of his letter, M. Marchand deplors the fact that—"Of late we have allowed ourselves to be drawn exclusively into a fight against Bolshevism thus engaging, without any advantage whatsoever to the interests of the Entente, in a policy which can have no other result than intensifying unnecessarily the sufferings and despair of the Russian people, to aggravate the existing anarchy and to accentuate the famine and civil war as well as the party feuds."

M. Marchand then reports a secret conference at the American Consulate-General at the end of August last, which was attended, in addition to the American Consul-General Poole, by all the other representatives of the Allied Governments and by himself.

"I then learnt that the British Agent was preparing the destruction of the railway bridge over the river Volkhoff. A glance at the map will show that the destruction of this bridge would be equivalent to the delivery of Petrograd to death by starvation. The British agent added the information that he had already made an attempt to blow up the Tcherpoff Viaduct which would have had the same disastrous effect on the food supply of Petrograd. The conversation then turned on the subject of the destruction of the various railway lines. One of the agents mentioned that he had secured the valuable assistance of the railway employees, who, however, were opposed to destruction on a large scale; the corrupted employees were only prepared to assist in the blowing-up of trains carrying war materials. I do not want to dwell upon details but I am profoundly convinced that these were not isolated acts on the part of individual agents. But even if they were isolated acts their effect would be equally pernicious; they are calculated to draw Russia into an endless and even bloodier political fight and to deliver it to inhuman sufferings by death and starvation. Moreover, the sufferings would affect almost entirely the poor and the middle classes of the population, while the richer people and the bourgeoisie would always be able to find the means of escaping to the Ukraine or abroad."

M. Marchand notes that throughout the conference, not a single word was uttered about fighting Germany and expresses his profound conviction that the Soviet Government would not call in Germany to its assistance.

various so-called "Governments" which have been set up and supported by Allied troops. These Governments—the Government of the North, at Archangel, the All-Russian Provisional Governments at Ufa and at Omsk, and the Siberian Government at Irkutsk, centered about certain reactionary delegates to the Constituent Assembly—Tschaikovsky, Avksentiev, Zenzinov and others; men who were too conservative even for the "moderate" Socialist parties to which they belonged under Kerensky's regime.

It is a proof of the power of the Bolsheviks over the masses of the people, and a justification of the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, that these "liberals" and "Socialists" were forced to depend for their fighting forces upon renegade Cossacks and Chinese mercenaries under outcasts like General Semionov, Horvath and Gurko, and Admiral Kolchak; upon the Czecho-Slovaks, the Japanese, and the Allies. . . . And as was natural in such a situation, even the Allied and American troops could not save these "governments" from being overthrown by the Russian riff-raff they had evoked to fight their battles.

The pressure upon the Russian Soviets has been terrible. The Allied diplomatic representatives in Moscow, it seems, made use of their diplomatic privileges to plot counter-revolution and even the blowing up of bridges and munitions work, after the pattern of the Kaiser's hirelings in this country. Armed attacks having failed, deliberate and concerted efforts are being made to starve the Russian people into submission. In answer to this the Russian Soviet Government, while Allied troops were actually shooting down Russian peasants by the thousand in the North and on the East, treated subjects and citizens of the Allied nations and the United States with the greatest consideration. And in all this time they have left no stone unturned to make peace—even, according to dispatches offering reparation for property confiscated or destroyed in Russia, and for repudiated debts.

Shall the United States be a party to what, after all, has inevitably taken on the significance of an attempt to restore the Russian Czar?

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in London the other day, came out very strongly against militarism. "Gigantic armies must not be permitted in the future," he said. Of course, being only tyros in the game, we very naturally were making mental enquiries as to how and by whom was the forbidding to be done if some nation took it into its head to have a lot of soldiers, but when we scanned the pages of our newspaper a little more thoroughly we found that on the same day that Lloyd George made his speech Winston Churchill had written an article advocating a gigantic British navy.

So it's really quite simple, after all. The gigantic navy will not permit any gigantic armies. Thus is peace made secure.

There seems to be quite a storm about whether or not the Kaiser's letter of resignation is explicit enough, but this would appear to be an unimportant detail in view of the fact he was fired quite definitely.