necessity for respecting the nationalist egotism of the British imperialists and capitalists who had returned him to power. Into the secrecy of that council went President Wilson with the very noblest aims for his newly discovered American world-policy, his rather hastily compiled Fourteen Points, and a project rather than a scheme for a League of Nations.

"There can seldom have been a statesman of the first rank more incompetent than the President in the agilities of the Council Chamber."[1] From the whispering darknesses and fire-side disputes of that council, and after various comings and goings we cannot here describe, he emerged at last with his Fourteen Points pitifully torn and dishevelled, but with a little puling infant of a League of Nations, which could die or which might live and grow—no one could tell. But that much, at least, he had saved. . . .

§ 3

Constitution of the League of Nations.

This homunculus in a bottle which it was hoped might become at last Man ruling the Earth, this League of Nations as it was embodied in the Covenant of April 28th, 1919, was not a League of Peoples at all; it was, the world discovered, a league of "states, dominions, or colonies." It was stipulated that these should be "fully self-governing," but there was no definition whatever of this phrase. There was no bar to a limited franchise and no provision for any direct control by the people of any state. India figured—presumably as a "fully self-governing state"! An autocracy would no doubt have been admissible as a "fully self-governing" democracy with a franchise limited to one person. The League of the Covenant of 1919 was, in fact, a league of "representatives" of foreign offices, and it did not even supersede embassies at every capital.

The British Empire appeared once as a whole, and then India (!) and the four dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand appeared as separate sovereign states. Later, Ireland attained a separate status. The Indian representative was, of course, sure to be merely a British nominee; the dominion representatives would be colonial politicians. But if the British Empire was to be thus dissected, a representative of Great Britain should have been substituted for the imperial representative, and Egypt should also have been given representation. Moreover, either New York State or

[1] Keynes.

Virginia was historically and legally as much a sovereign state as New Zealand or Canada. The inclusion of India raised logical claims for French Africa and French Asia. One French representative did propose a separate vote for the little principality of Monaco.

There was to be an assembly of the League in which every member state was to be represented and to have equal voice, but the working directorate of the League was to vest in a Council, which was to consist of the representatives of the United States, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, with four other members elected by the Assembly. The Council was to meet once a year; the gatherings of the Assembly were to be at "stated intervals," not stated.

Except in certain specified instances the league of this Covenant could make only unanimous decisions. One dissentient on the council could bar any proposal—on the lines of the old Polish *liberum veto*. This was a quite disastrous provision. To many minds it made the Covenant League rather less desirable than no league at all. It was a complete recognition of the unalienable sovereignty of states, and a repudiation of the idea of an overriding commonweal of mankind. This provision practically barred the way to all amendments to the league constitution in future except by the clumsy expedient of a simultaneous withdrawal of the majority of member states desiring a change, to form the league again on new lines. The Covenant made inevitable such a final winding-up of the league it created, and that was perhaps the best thing about it.

The following powers, it was proposed, should be excluded from the original league: Germany, Austria, Russia, and whatever remains there were of the Turkish Empire. But any of these might subsequently be included with the assent of two-thirds of the Assembly. The original membership of the league as specified in the projected Covenant was: the United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, the British Empire (Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India), China, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czechoslovakia and Uruguay. To which were to be added by invitation the following powers which had been neutral in the war: the Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela.

Such being the constitution of the league, it is scarcely to

be wondered at that its powers were special and limited. It was given a seat at Geneva and a secretariat. It had no powers even to inspect the military preparations of its constituent states, or to instruct a military and naval staff to plan out the armed co-operation needed to keep the peace of the world.

The French representative in the League of Nations Commission, M. Léon Bourgeois, insisted lucidly and repeatedly on the logical necessity of such powers. As a speaker he was rather copious and lacking in "spice" of the Clemenceau quality. The final scene in the plenary session of April 28th, before the adoption of the Covenant, is described compactly by Mr. Wilson Harris: the crowded Banqueting Hall at the Quai d'Orsay, with its "E" of tables for the delegates, with secretaries and officials lining the walls, and a solid mass of journalists at the lower end of the room. "At the head of the room the 'Big Three' *diverted themselves in undertones* at the expense of the worthy M. Bourgeois, now launched, with the help of what must have been an entirely superfluous sheaf of notes, on the fifth rendering of his speech in support of his famous amendments."

They were so often "diverting themselves in undertones," those three men whom God had mocked with the most tremendous opportunity in history. Keynes gives other instances of the levities, vulgarities, disregards, inattentions and inadequacies of these meetings.

This poor Covenant, arrived at in this fashion, returned with President Wilson to America, and there it met all the resentful opposition of the republican party and all the antagonism of the men who had been left out of the European excursion. The Senate refused to ratify the Covenant, and the first meeting of the League Council was held, therefore, without American representatives.

The close of 1919 and the opening months of 1920 saw a very curious change come over American feeling after the pro-French and pro-British enthusiasms of the war period. The peace negotiations reminded the Americans, in a confused and very irritating way, of their profound differences in international outlook from any European power, that the war had for a time helped them to forget. They felt they had been "rushed" into many things without due consideration. They experienced a violent revulsion towards that policy of isolation that had broken down in 1917. The close of 1919 saw a phase, a very understandable phase, of passionate and even violent "Americanism," in which European imperialism and European socialism

were equally anathema. There may have been a sordid element in the American disposition to "cut" the moral responsibilities the United States had incurred in the affairs of the Old World, and to realize the enormous financial and political advantages the war had given the New World; but the broad instinct of the American people seems to have been sound in its distrust of the proposed settlement.

§ 4

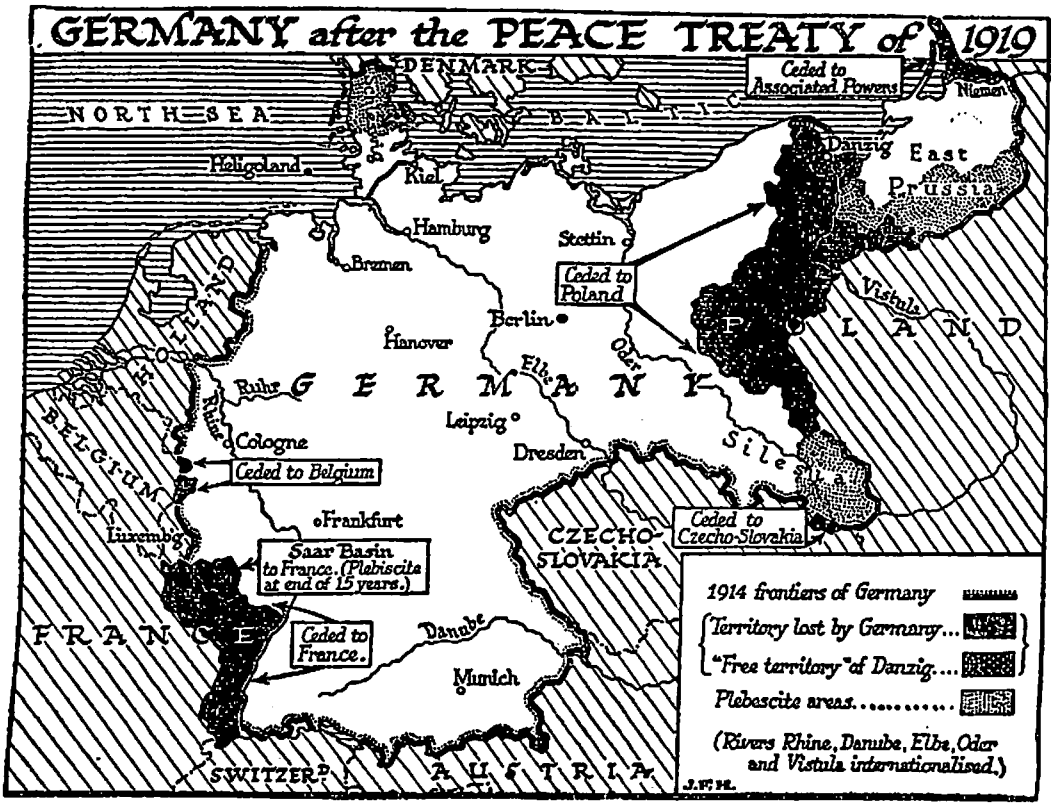
The Treaties of 1919–20.

A group of treaties embodied the decisions of Versailles. We give here first a map of the territorial aspects of the Peace Treaty with Germany. Mr. Horrabin's lucid pen gives the essential facts much more plainly than any dissertation can do. In addition it was stipulated that Germany should be extensively disarmed, should surrender her fleet, pay a great war indemnity, and great sums for the reparation of war damages. An allied commission was to observe the disarmament. The fleet was to have been handed over to the British upon June 21st, 1919, but the officers and men aboard could not endure to do this, and instead scuttled and sank their ships at Scapa Flow within sight of the British.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up altogether. A little Austria was left, pledged not to unite with Germany; a clipped and mutilated Hungary; Roumania expanded far beyond its legitimate boundaries into Transylvania; Poland received most of Galicia; Bohemia, with Slovak and Moravian extensions, reappeared as Czechoslovakia. The Serbs, Croats and the Montenegrins (these latter feebly protesting) became a new Yugoslav state, and at once fell into violent conflict with Italy over the port of Fiume, which the Italians quite unrighteously claimed.

Bulgaria survived, with the loss to Greece of recently acquired territory in Thrace. Greece, in spite of her betrayal of the Gallipoli expedition, was for a time the pet child of the diplomatists at Versailles. She was given territory taken from Bulgaria, she was allowed to advance close up to Constantinople, and a large piece of country round Smyrna fell to her share. She was not, however, given back Rhodes and the other islands of the Dodecanese, in spite of their purely Greek character. These were to be part of the Italian loot; and the British stuck to Cyprus.

The Turkish treaty was hard to make and impossible to


GERMANY after the PEACE TREATY of 1919
DENMARK
NORTH SEA
BALTIC
Heligoland
Kiel
Hamburg
Stettin
Bremen
Berlin
Hanover
Ceded to Associated Powers
Memel
Danzig
East Prussia
Ceded to Poland
Vistula
POLAND
Elbe
Oder
Ruhr
GERMANY
Leipzig
Dresden
Silesia
Cologne
Ceded to Belgium
Frankfurt
Saar Basin to France. (Plebiscite at end of 15 years.)
Ceded to France.
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
Ceded to Czecho-Slovakia
Danube
Munich
SWITZERL.
AUSTRIA
1914 frontiers of Germany
Territory lost by Germany...
"Free territory" of Danzig....
Plebescite areas.....
(Rivers Rhine, Danube, Elbe, Oder and Vistula internationalised.)
J.F.H.

enforce. A nominal Turkish government in Constantinople signed it, but a second real Turkish government established itself at Angora and refused to sign. A Greek army invaded the Smyrna district, and a second Turkish treaty, the Treaty of Sèvres (August, 1920), replaced the first. Complicated shiftings of control followed. An Interallied Control was set up in Constantinople (January, 1921), the Constantinople Turkish government evaporated, and the vital Turkish government at Angora opened up relations with the Bolsheviks in Moscow. The Greeks became more and more aggressive, with all sorts of vague encouragement behind them. The Greeks in this period of inflated ambitions made an attempt to seize Constantinople. They embarked upon a great offensive against Angora that was to end the Turk for ever. It got near to Angora and it staggered and collapsed. From August, 1922, onward there was nothing but retreat and flight from before the Turks. A terrified population of Asiatic Greeks fled with the armies. Nothing was held in Asia. Smyrna was evacuated before the end of September, and nearly a million fugitives of Greek race and language left Asia, never to return.

The vitality of the Turk in this phase was remarkable. He was not only driving back the attacking Greek, but he was, after his age-long tradition, massacring Armenians, and he was driving the French out of Cilicia. Among other startling intimations of modernity, the Turks got rid of the Sultan and adopted a republican form of government. They showed fight in the zone of the Straits and recovered Constantinople. It was clearly a source of strength to them, rather than weakness, that they were cut off altogether from their age-long ineffective conflict with the Arab. Syria, Mesopotamia, were entirely detached from Turkish rule. Palestine was made a separate state within the British sphere, earmarked as a national home for the Jews. A flood of poor Jewish immigrants poured into the promised land and was speedily involved in serious conflicts with the Arab population. The Arabs had been consolidated against the Turks and inspired with a conception of national unity through the exertions of a young Oxford scholar, Colonel Lawrence. His dream of an Arab kingdom with its capital at Damascus was speedily shattered by the hunger of the French and British for mandatory territory, and in the end his Arab kingdom shrank to the desert kingdom of the Hedjaz and various other small and insecure imamates, emirates and sultanates. Unity was to come to Arabia not from the West but from a revival of Moslem puritans, the Wahhabis, led by a desert king, Ibn Saud.


Map to illustrate the TURKISH TREATY, 1920
Territory remaining Turkish...
Turkish territory acquired by Greece...
Bulgarian territory to Greece (by Bulgar. Treaty)
RUMANIA
Belgrade
Danube
Bucharest
SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE Kg (JUGO-SLAVIA)
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
ALBANIA
TURKEY in Europe
Adrianople
Bosphorus
Constantinople
Eregli
Samsun
Trebizond
Salonika
Zone of the Straits (Allied Commission)
ARMENIA
Independent State. Frontiers to be fixed later.
GREECE
AEGEAN
Smyrna
TURKEY
Greek administration
Provisional Turkish frontier
CILICIA
Adalia
MESOPOTAMIA
Aleppo
SYRIA
Euphrates
Dodecanese
By the Treaty, to Italy
Crete
CYPRUS
British annexation recognised
Provisional independence ('assisted by Mandatory Powers.')
J.F.H.

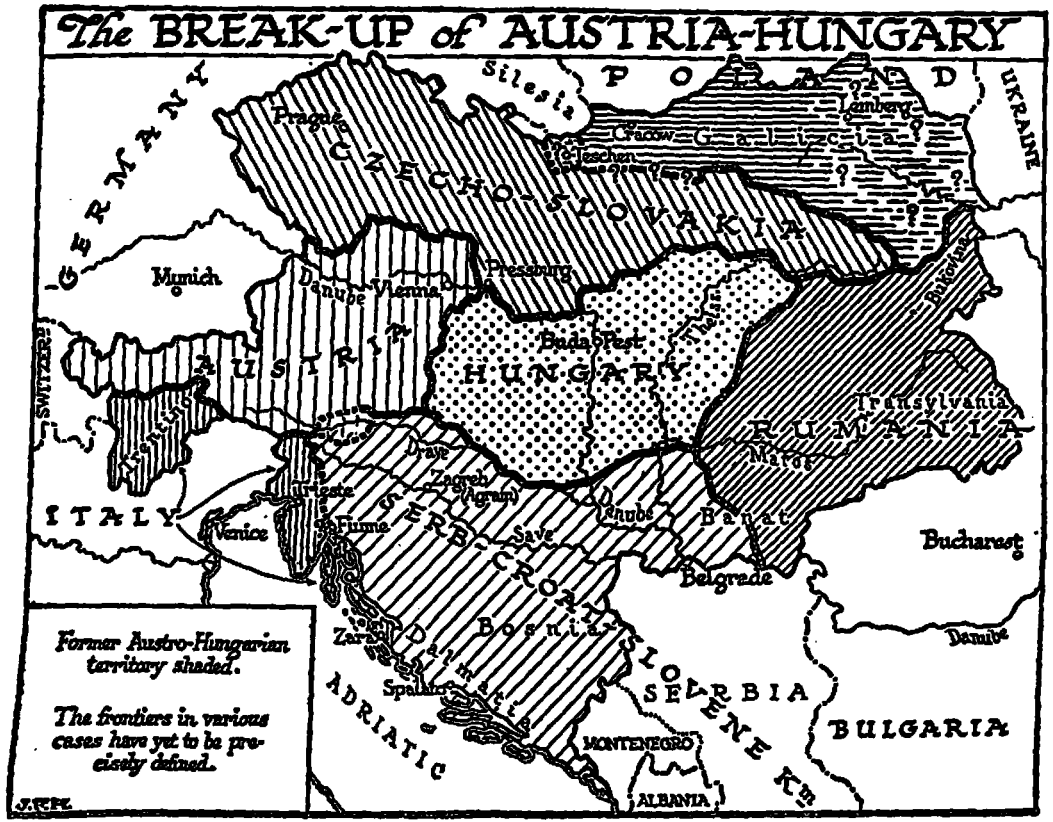
When we consider the transitoriness of the settlements effected by the diplomatists, we are impressed at once by the feebleness of their diplomacy and the realization of the strong intractable forces that defeated their manœuvres and arrangements. We are still more impressed by the uninstructed ineffectiveness of the new international idealism imported into European interchanges by President Wilson. His Fourteen Points were left by these treaties like a row of ruined and tattered houses in a bombarded village. Some had gone altogether; others were twisted out of recognition. The first attempt to produce a world law had passed away like a burst of laughter in a tavern.

Chief among the fixed obstacles that for a time brought the great project of world unity, the world-wide desire for an organized peace, to nothing, was the complete unpreparedness and unwillingness of that pre-existing league of nations, subjected states and exploited areas, the British Empire, to submit to any dissection and adaptation of its system, or to any control of its naval and aerial armament. A kindred contributory cause was the equal unpreparedness of the American mind for any interference with the ascendancy of the United States in the New World.

Neither of those Great Powers, who were necessarily dominant and leading powers at Paris, had properly thought out the implications of a League of Nations in relation to these older arrangements, and so their support of that project had to most European observers a curiously hypocritical air; it was as if they wished to retain and ensure their own vast predominance and security while at the same time restraining any other power from such expansions, annexations, and alliances as might create a rival and competitive imperialism. Their failure to set an example of international confidence destroyed all possibility of international confidence in the other nations represented at Paris.

Even more unfortunate was the refusal of the Americans to assent to the Japanese demand for a recognition of racial equality.

Moreover, the foreign offices of the British, the French, and the Italians were haunted by traditional schemes of aggression entirely incompatible with the new ideas. The French view and the Italian view were far behind even the British and American in the intensity of their national egotism. A league of Nations that is to be of any appreciable value to mankind must supersede imperialisms; it is either a super-imperialism,


The BREAK-UP of AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
GERMANY
Silesia
POLAND
UKRAINE
Prague
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
Lemberg
Cracow
Galicia
Teschen
Munich
Danube
Vienna
Pressburg
Bukovina
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
Theiss
SWITZERLAND
Transylvania
RUMANIA
Maros
Drave
Zagreb (Agram)
Trieste
ITALY
Venice
Fiume
SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE Kgdm
Danube
Banat
Bucharest
Save
Belgrade
Zara
Dalmatia
Bosnia
Danube
SERBIA
Spalato
ADRIATIC
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
Former Austro-Hungarian territory shaded.
The frontiers in various cases have yet to be precisely defined.
J.F.P.L.

a liberal world-empire of united states, participant or in tutelage, or it is nothing; but few of the people at the Paris Conference had the mental vigour even to assert this obvious consequence of the League proposal.

They wanted to be at the same time bound and free; to ensure peace for ever, but to keep their weapons in their hands. Accordingly, the old annexation projects of the Great Power period were hastily and thinly camouflaged as proposed acts of this poor little birth of April 28th. The newly born and barely animate League was represented to be distributing, with all the reckless munificence of a captive pope, "mandates" to the old imperialisms that, had it been the young Hercules we desired, it would certainly have strangled in its cradle. Britain was to have extensive "mandates" in Mesopotamia and East Africa; France was to have the same in Syria; Italy was to have all her holdings to the west and south-east of Egypt consolidated as mandatory territory.

Clearly, if the weak thing that was being nursed by its Secretary, in its cradle at Geneva, into some semblance of life did presently succumb to the infantile weakness of all institutions born without passion, all these "mandates" would become frank annexations. Moreover, all the Powers fought tooth and nail at the Conference for "strategic" frontiers—the ugliest symptom of all. Why should a state want a strategic frontier unless it contemplates war? On that plea Italy, for example, insisted upon a subject population of Germans in the southern Tyrol and a subject population of Yugoslavs in Dalmatia.

Much graver in the long run than these territorial maladjustments was the imposition of a charge for "reparations" upon Germany far beyond her power of payment, and in contravention of the plain understandings upon which she had surrendered. She was put in a position of economic serfdom. She was saddled with a liability for impossibly immense periodic repayments, she was disarmed, and her inevitable default would leave her open to practically any aggression on the part of her creditors. The full potentialities of this arrangement only became apparent a year or so later. Then, German payments failed, and in January, 1923, the French marched into the Ruhr Valley, and remained there until August, 1925, working the mines as well as they could, administering the railways, and keeping open the resentful sores of the Germans by a hundred petty inevitable tyrannies and acts of violence.

We will not enter here into any detailed account of certain further consequences of the haste and assurance at Versailles—

how President Wilson gave way to the Japanese and consented to their replacing the Germans at Kiau Chau, which is Chinese property; how the almost purely German city of Danzig was practically, if not legally, annexed to Poland; and how the Powers disputed over the claim of the Italian imperialists, a claim strengthened by these instances, to seize the Yugoslav port of Fiume and deprive the Yugoslavs of a good Adriatic outlet. Italian volunteers under the rhetorical writer D'Annunzio occupied this city and sustained a rebel republic there, until it was finally annexed to Italy in January, 1921.

Nor will we do more than note the complex arrangements and justifications that put the French in possession of the Saar valley, which is German territory, or the entirely iniquitous breach of the right of "self-determination" which practically forbade German Austria to unite—as it was natural and proper that she should unite—with the rest of Germany.

§ 5

Bolshevism in Russia.

We have already noted the two Russian revolutions of 1917. The time has now come for us to deal more fully with the extraordinary change of orientation that appeared in Russia at that time. It was nothing less than a collapse of the modern western civilization so far as Russia was concerned. But it was far more than a socialist experiment that had taken hold of the Russian people. It had an air, a deceitful air, of being a final and conclusive trying out of the Western socialist idea in practice. It did, in fact, demonstrate those insufficiencies of socialist theory to which we have already drawn attention, and particularly did it demonstrate the sterility of the Marxist school of socialism. It proved again the soundness of the principle that *a revolution can create nothing that has not been fully discussed, planned, thought out, and explained beforehand.* Otherwise a revolution merely destroys a government, a dynasty, an organization, as the case may be. A revolution is an excretory operation, not a creative one.

We have given an account of the growth of socialist ideas in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and of the large part played in that development by the "class war" ideas of Karl Marx. These ideas flattered the pride and stimulated the ambition of the more energetic and discontented personalities in all the industrial regions of the world. Marxism became the creed of the restless industrial worker everywhere. But since

there is no great appeal in the socialist formula to the peasant, who owns or wants to own the land he cultivates, and since the great town communities of Western Europe and America are middle-class rather than industrial in their mentality, the Marxists soon came to see that the social and economic revolution they contemplated could not wait for parliamentary methods and majority votes, it would have in the first place to be the work of a minority, a minority of industrial workers, who would seize power, establish communist institutions, and so train the rest of the world to the happiness of the millennium that would ensue. This phase of minority rule which was to bring about the millennium was called in the Marxist phraseology the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Everywhere, with an intense propagandist energy, unpaid fanatical men spent their lives and energies in spreading this idea. In the opening decade of the twentieth century there were a large number of men in the world convinced that, if this vaguely conceived "dictatorship of the proletariat" could be brought about, a new and better social order would follow almost automatically. Others, who still used Marxist phrases, had begun in fact to rely on constitutionalism; but war and postwar conditions are hostile to constitutionalists.

The Marxists had no clear and settled plans either for the payment of the worker, or for public discussion, or for economic administration, when "capitalism" was destroyed. All these things had been provided for in what was, no doubt, a very empirical and unjust fashion, but which was nevertheless a working fashion, in the individualist capitalist system. The Marxists had never worked out an alternative method of doing these things, and did not seem to be aware that an alternative method was needed. They said in effect to the workers: "Give us power, and everything shall be done." And Russia, tortured, wasted, and betrayed by the Allies she had served so well, gave herself over, in despair, to the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

The Communist party in Russia had fluctuated in numbers; until after the revolution it had never claimed more than 800,000 adherents and at the outbreak it had no more than thirty thousand. But this comparatively little organization, because it was resolute and devoted, and because there was nothing else honest or resolute or competent enough in the whole of that disorganized country to stand against it, was able to establish itself in Petersburg, Moscow, and most of the towns of Russia, to secure the adhesion of the sailors of the fleet (who killed most

of their officers and occupied the fortresses of Sevastopol and Kronstadt), and to become *de facto* rulers of Russia.

There was a phase of Terroristic government. The Bolsheviks claim that it was inevitable that at first they should rule by terror. The social disorganization of the country was extreme. Over large areas the peasants had risen against the landowners, and there was a cutting up of the estates and château-burning going on very like the parallel process of the first French revolution. There were many abominable atrocities. The peasants took over the land and divided it up among themselves, being in entire ignorance of the teachings of Karl Marx in that matter. At the same time hundreds of thousands of soldiers with arms in their hands were wandering back from the war zone to their homes. The Tsarist government had conscripted over eight million men altogether—far more men than it could ever equip or handle at the front—it had torn them up by the roots from their own villages, and great multitudes of these conscripts were now practically brigands living upon the countryside. Moscow in October and November, 1917, swarmed with such men. They banded themselves together, they went into houses and looted and raped, no one interfering. Law and administration had vanished. Robbed and murdered men lay neglected in the streets for days together.

This we have to remember was the state of affairs when the Bolsheviks came into power; it was not brought about by their usurpation. For a time in their attempts to restore order anyone found bearing arms was shot. Thousands of men were seized and shot, and it is doubtful if Moscow could have been restored to even a semblance of order without some such violence. The debacle of Tsarist Russia was so complete that the very framework and habit of public order had gone. "They had to shoot," President Masaryk once told the writer. And then he added, "They went on shooting—unreasonably, cruelly."

In the spring of 1918 the Bolsheviks had secured a control of the large towns, the railways and the shipping of most of Russia. A Constituent Assembly had been dissolved and dispersed in January, the Bolsheviks could not work with it; it was too divided in its aims and counsels, they alleged, for vigorous action; and in March peace, a very submissive peace, with Germany was signed at Brest-Litovsk.

At the head of the Bolshevik dictatorship, which now set itself to govern Russia, was Lenin, a very energetic and clear-witted man who had spent most of his life in exile in London and Geneva, engaged in political speculations and the obscure

politics of the Russian Marxist organizations. He was a quite honest revolutionary, simply living and indefatigable, with no experience whatever of practical administration. Associated with him was Trotsky, an exile from New York, who was presently to develop considerable practical military ability. Radek, Lunarcharsky, Zinoviev, Zorin, Kamenev, Krassin, were other conspicuous members of the small group which now set itself to reorganize Russia and steer it straight out of its disastrous position. And in the end they did restore its social integrity.

At first the ideas of the Bolshevik leaders went far beyond Russia. The world, they realized, was becoming one system, in which it would be impossible to have more than one social and economic order. They called on the workers everywhere to unite, overthrow the capitalist system, and so bring about the planless, shapeless, Marxist millennium. But this procedure naturally brought them into conflict with all other existing governments. It added to their task of establishing communism in Russia the task of maintaining her against a series of counter-attacks to which this denunciation of foreign governments exposed her.

In two or three years the failure of the Bolsheviks so far as the establishment of a working communism went, and their demonstration of the uncreative barrenness of the Marxist doctrine, was complete. They did not get Russia to her feet again. They were quite unable to get the shattered Russian industry going. Most of their leaders were of the writing, talking type, without any managerial experience.

At the outset of their rule their narrow class-hatred inspired them to destroy most of what remained in Russia of the class of works-managers, technical experts, foremen, and the like. They had no systematic knowledge—and the conceit of the Marxist doctrinaires prompted them to despise any knowledge they did not possess—of the psychology of the worker at work. They had not even the practical working knowledge of the old capitalist they despised. All they knew about that sort of thing was the psychology of the worker in a mass meeting. They tried to run Russia by exhortation, and neither the worker when he returned to the factory nor the peasant when he got back to his plough responded with any practical results. Transport and mechanical production in the towns fell steadily into dislocation and decay, and the peasant produced for his own needs and hid his surplus.

When the writer visited Petersburg in 1920 he beheld an astonishing spectacle of desolation. It was the first time a

modern city had collapsed in this fashion. Nothing had been repaired for four years. There were great holes in the streets where the surface had fallen into the broken drains; lamp-posts lay as they had fallen; not a shop was open, and most were boarded up over their broken windows. The scanty drift of people in the streets wore shabby and incongruous clothing, for there were no new clothes in Russia, no new boots. Many people wore bast wrappings on their feet. People, city, everything were shabby and threadbare. Even the Bolshevik commissars had scrubby chins, for razors and such-like things were neither being made nor imported. The death-rate was enormous, and the population of this doomed city was falling by the hundred thousand every year.

There are many reasons for believing that even in 1918 and 1919 the Bolshevik dictatorship would have recognized the error of its ways and begun to adapt itself to the unanticipated factors in the situation in which it found itself. They were narrow and doctrinaire, but many of them were men of imagination and intellectual flexibility, and there can be no disputing that, in all the evil they did, they were honest in intention and devoted in method. Manifestly they were attempting to work out an experiment of great value to mankind and should have been left in peace. They would have been forced to link their system on to the slowly evolved tradition of the monetary system, and to come to dealings with the incurable individualism of the peasant cultivator. But they were not left to themselves. From the outset of their career they raised a frenzy of opposition in Western Europe and America. None of the tolerance that had been shown the quite equally incapable and disastrous regime of the Tsar was shown to the Marxist adventurers. They were universally boycotted, and the reactionary governments of France and Great Britain subsidized and assisted every sort of adventurer within and without Russia to assail them.

A Press campaign confused the public mind by a stream of fantasies and evil suggestions about the Bolsheviks. They were, it is true, incapable doctrinaire men with an incomplete social and economic theory, muddling along in a shattered country. Among their subordinates were brutish and vile men. Any government in Russia would have had poor material in its administration and feeble powers of control over it. But anti-Bolshevik propaganda represented the Moscow adventurers as an abomination unparalleled in the world's history, and implied that their mere removal would be sufficient to restore happiness and hope to Russia. Something like a crusade against the

Bolsheviks was preached, and a vivid reaction in their favour was produced in the minds of liberal thinkers who might otherwise have remained more critical.

As a consequence of this organized hostility, the Bolsheviks in Russia were forced from the very beginning into an attitude of defence against foreign aggression. The persistent hostility of the Western governments to them strengthened them greatly in Russia. In spite of the internationalist theories of the Marxists, the Bolshevik government in Moscow became a patriotic government defending the government against foreigners, and in particular defending the peasant against the return of the landowner and debt-collector. It was a paradoxical position; communism in Russia created peasant proprietors. And Trotsky, who had been a pacifist, was educated until he became a great general in spite of himself.

But this militarism, and this patriotism which was thus forced upon Lenin's government, this concentration of attention upon the frontiers, hampered any effective reconstruction of police and disciplinary method within, even had the Bolsheviks been capable of such reconstruction. The old inquisitorial and tyrannous Tsarist police was practically continued under the new government. A clumsy and inaccurate detective system with summary powers and bloodthirsty traditions struggled against foreign emissaries from abroad and against sedition, fear, and betrayal within, and incidentally gratified its ugly craving for punishment. In July, 1918, the Tsar and his family —there being some danger of their being rescued by reactionary troops—were massacred at the instance of a minor official. In January, 1919, four Grand Dukes, uncles of the Tsar, were executed at Petersburg by the police commission, in flat defiance of Lenin's reprieve.

For five years the Russian people, under this strange and unprecedented rule, maintained its solidarity against every attempt to divide and subjugate it. In August, 1918, British and French forces landed at Archangel; they were withdrawn in September, 1919. The Japanese made strenuous attempts from 1918 onward to establish themselves in Eastern Siberia. In 1919 the Russians were fighting not only the British at Archangel and the Japanese, but they had a reactionary force under Admiral Koltchak against them in Siberia, Roumanians in the south with French and Greek contingents, and General Denikin with an army of Russian reactionaries and enormous supplies of British and French war material and the support of the French fleet in the Crimea.

In July Koltchak and Denikin had united and held South-eastern Russia from Odessa to Ufa, and an Esthonian army under General Yudenitch was marching on Petersburg. It seemed as though the end of Bolshevism could be but a question of weeks or days. Yet by the end of the year Yudenitch was routed and forgotten, Koltchak was in full retreat to Siberia, and Denikin to the Black Sea. Denikin and the remnant of his forces were taken off by British and French ships in the early part of 1920, and Koltchak was captured and shot in Siberia.

But Russia was to have no respite. The Poles, incited by the French, opened a new campaign in April, 1920, and a fresh reactionary raider, General Wrangel, resumed the task of Denikin in invading and devastating his own country. The Poles, after being driven back upon Warsaw, recovered, with French assistance and supplies, and made a victorious advance into Russian territory; and a treaty, much to the territorial advantage of Poland, was made at Riga in October, 1920. Wrangel, after destroying the crops and food over great areas, suffered the fate of Denikin, and retired upon the hospitality of the Western powers at the end of the year. In March, 1921, the Bolshevik government had to suppress, and did suppress, an insurrection of the sailors in Kronstadt, "the Pretorian Guard of Bolshevism."

Throughout 1920 the hostility to the Bolsheviks in Western Europe and America was slowly giving way to saner conceptions of the situation. There were many difficulties in the way of "recognizing" the Bolshevik government fully and completely, difficulties largely due to the unreason that also prevailed on the Bolshevik side, but by the end of 1920 a sort of uncivil peace existed between Russia and most of the rest of the world, and American, British, and French inquirers were able to go in and out of the country. Early in 1921 both Britain and Italy made Trade Agreements with Russia; Russian representatives in the form of "Trade Delegations" reopened communications between that outcast land and the rest of the world.

But now a new and still more frightful disaster was preparing for the Russian people. In 1921 there was an unusual drought. The attentive reader of this history will have noted already what a precarious and fluctuating thing is the climate of the great land areas about the Caspian Sea. Naturally these are nomadic lands; it is doubtful if they will ever be safe for a mainly agricultural population. Now, with the drought, the crops over vast areas of South-eastern Russia failed absolutely,

and the most terrible famine in the whole recorded history of our race ensued. Millions perished. Multitudes, whole villages, and townships sat down in their homes to die, and died. Many ate hay and earth and indescribable filth. Men dug in the graveyards and became cannibals. Great areas were depopulated.

Yet there was corn to burn not only in America but even in the Ukraine and Roumania and Hungary. But the communications of this country had been hopelessly shattered by the operations of Koltchak, Denikin, and Wrangel, and the Bolshevik government had neither the resources nor the ability to cope with this monstrous disaster. An American commission and a commission under Dr. Nansen, the great Arctic explorer, organized relief with the assent and assistance of the government, and fairly generous American supplies were poured into the country. But the chief European governments responded grudgingly or not at all to the extreme appeal of the situation. The British government, which had spent a hundred millions in illegitimate military operations against her former ally, smirched the good name of Britain in the world by refusing any contribution to the work of relief. So little, as yet, had the lesson of human solidarity that the Great War should have taught mankind been learnt.

While the hapless multitudes perished in Russia, corn wasted in the granaries a few hundred miles away, and in Western Europe ships lay up for want of freight, steel works where rails and engines could have been made stood idle, and millions of workmen were unemployed because, said the business men, "there was nothing for them to do." And thousands of square miles of South-eastern Russia became a desert of abandoned fields and of towns and villages of the dead.

Yet amidst this desolation the Bolshevik government remained. And gradually the necessity of recognizing and dealing with this strange new sort of state, however uncongenial it might be, was borne in upon the European mind. To this day the Western world still wrestles with that necessity. At the time of writing, the problem of correlating a capitalist system with a communist system upon one planet, from which the separations of great distances are vanishing, remains unsolved.

Bolshevik propaganda, turning away from the hostile West, shows itself increasingly disposed to appeal to the masses of indigent population in India and China. There have always been two sides to the Bolsheviks, a side of "Westernizers"

who wanted to use science, machinery and big productive organization, of whom Lenin and Trotsky are typical, and a side of "Easternizers," whose disposition was militant and primitive and mystical, of whom Zinoviev is the chief. The policies of the British and French governments were turning the Bolshevik government steadily eastward. Under the influence of its example, the world of Islam seemed to be resuming its long arrested development. More and more in this period did the attitude of the Bolshevik regime towards the Atlantic civilizations, which have dominated the world for two and a half centuries, assimilate to that of Islam. It became implacable and obstructive. The Western powers, divided among themselves by bitter rivalries and conflicting interests, encountered also a steadily increasing resistance to their methods and exploitations in Russia, Turkey, North Africa and all Asia. This gathering resistance, and the waning energy of the thrust against it, give the true measure of the catastrophe of 1914–1918. The days of Western European world-predominance were drawing to their close.

Until the death of Lenin in 1924, the innate contradictions inside the Bolshevik party were concealed. He had dominated his colleagues as no one else could, partly because of his unique personality, but even more because he had been their leader before the Revolution, chosen in a free and equal society where (unlike under Stalin) nothing but spirit counted. He was, to the end of his life, first among equals. When he was outvoted, as he was on his original proposal to make peace with Germany, he was content to wait, democratically, until events brought the majority round to his side. His mind was agile enough, after the Kronstadt revolt of 1921, to realize that a swift reversal of policy was necessary, and persuasive enough to carry the party with him in instituting the "New Economic Policy", which restored large areas of the less important forms of production and distribution to small private enterprise. This was never intended, of course, as more than an interim programme, a temporary backward step in the march towards Socialism; but for the moment it provided a great relief to a famine stricken land. His personal life was austere, no easier than that of the workers around him, and so long as he was alive there was no ostentation among Russian rulers; no city was named after him while he was alive. But as soon as he was dead the standards of the *élite* which he had led began to depreciate; the strain on them was too great. There were only a few thousand who had been trained in the pre-war school of international Socialism

and underneath them were millions of dark people who had till recently been living in the Middle Ages; it was probably inevitable that there would be, in some form or other, a great falling away from Leninist ideals. For no new generation of rebels was coming to reinforce the old rulers; the enrolled Communists came immediately under a strict discipline; the last Party conference at which there was any freedom of speech met soon after Lenin's death. The process of restoring an oligarchy, if not indeed an autocracy, was slow; and the Bolshevik slogans remained unchanged. The first step was even represented as a defence of democracy; Trotsky, Lenin's most eminent colleague, was accused of dictatorial ambitions and deprived of his offices. He was manoeuvred out by three of his colleagues, two of whom, Zinovieff and Kameneff, were well known; the third, Stalin, had played a relatively small part in the revolution, but was in charge of the party machine. Lenin, in his last "testament" had warned that he should be moved to some other post, but the warning came too late. It was not long before all but one of the members of the Central Committee bitterly regretted their inattention.

§ 6

The Irish Free State

The British Empire emerged from the Great War very severely strained physically and morally. The cream of the younger generation was dead, or weakened by wounds and the distortions of military subjugation. Her routines of government and her habits of freedom had been greatly disorganized by the emergency legislation necessary in the struggle, and her Press had been badly disordered by its devotion to propaganda. The news of things foreign had deteriorated notably. The general public was not only badly informed upon its imperial responsibilities but too preoccupied by business cataclysms to attend to them. It was a time of opportunity for the foolish and self-important official, and everywhere he made the most of his opportunities.

Everywhere throughout the empire, except in those portions that were already self-governing, there was a parallel process at work—an almost systematic exasperation of the subject populations by restraints, unreasonable regulations, slights, arbitrary arrests, and such-like interferences with liberty. Everywhere the military and the official class were out of hand.

Everywhere the old Tory element seems to have been bent upon provoking an explosion.

This was equally true of India and Egypt and Ireland. In these years of neglect and weakened central control a policy of repression, broken promises to the native, and of illusory reforms to still the uneasy conscience at home, stirred even the pacific Indian population to something close upon rebellion. Warnings and remonstrances went for a time unheeded. The clumsy recruiting methods of the administration of the Punjab had changed this part of India from one of the most loyal to one of the most unsettled of Indian provinces. There was rioting and attacks on Europeans, and a sort of official Terror culminated in the massacre of Amritsar (April, 1919), when a large crowd, for the most part unarmed, was fired upon and 379 people killed and over a thousand injured. The news of this outrage did not reach the conscience of the British public at home until the publication of the Hunter Report, late in 1919. Then for a time the better elements in English life asserted themselves. A régime of conciliation under Lord Reading as Viceroy was, however, thwarted and falsified by the reactionary elements in the government. In 1922 Mr. Gandhi, a saint-like preacher of passive resistance, was sentenced to six years' incarceration, and so made into a martyr.

A similar conflict went on in Egypt. A disposition to conciliation was crippled and thwarted by the pervading impulse to suppress. But the most tragic and pitiful story in all this melancholy record of British inadequacy in a time of magnificent opportunities is the story of the widening breach between the Irish and the English peoples.

In the days of those great and generous Irish statesmen, the brothers Redmond, it had still seemed possible for the two islands to live side by side, co-operating freely and willingly in a state of friendly and equal unity, sharing the imperial responsibilities of Britain and facing the world together. Their close proximity demands so close a bond. The prosperity of Ireland and England is like the prosperity of the Siamese Twins, whose bodies were linked arterially. Past wrongs and religious conflicts should not be sufficient to prevent an intelligent and wholesome co-operation. But it was not past wrongs, but present wrongs, which drove Ireland towards separation. We have told already how Sir Edward Carson, that evil genius of the British peoples, first introduced arms into Ireland and set going a horrible process of violence and reprisal in the land; how at the outset of the war Ireland was cheated of her Home

Rule, and how the British Government, of which Mr. Asquith was the head, blindly or deliberately insulted Ireland by including this man of blood and sedition in the Coalition Government. We have told, too, how the Dublin rebellion was suppressed and punished, and how Ireland was further embittered. The results are plain upon the page of history.

In 1914 Ireland came into the Great War as freely and gallantly as England. It was still an orderly and civilized country. By the end of that struggle Ireland was a rebel country forcibly held. Extreme imperialism had produced its reaction in an extreme nationalism. Ireland was now set upon becoming a republic entirely independent of Great Britain.

A new Home Rule Bill passed the British parliament in 1920. It established two separate parliaments, one in Ulster and one in the rest of Ireland, but with arrangements for their co-operation and possible fusion. It was by the standard of previous Home Rule Bills a generous measure. But the Irish would have none of it. The Sinn Feiners who had been elected to the parliament of 1919 would not even appear at Westminster to discuss it. And meanwhile methods of insurrection and exasperation on the one hand and a policy of repression on the other were making the whole country a field of guerrilla warfare. The insurgents raided, ambushed, assassinated, and at length fought little pitched battles with small detachments of troops. The English troops, well-behaved at first, were presently tempted and encouraged to embark upon "reprisals." A special auxiliary police, the "Black and Tans," was organized, and distinguished itself by its rough-handed methods.

There was a steady crescendo of outrages. Every murder led to fresh murders on one side or the other. If a soldier or a Black and Tan was killed then someone on the other side was killed, who might or might not have been privy to the initial killing. Each side in this feud sought to outdo the other in ruthlessness. At last no one was safe in his home and his bed. In the night men of one faction or the other might come knocking at the door with some real or fancied accusation. Men were shot at their own doors; presently whole families were massacred. In December, 1920, in revenge for the ambushing of a party of eleven military cadets near Cork, the military broke out, killing and looting, so that property to the value of £3,000,000 was destroyed. In such an atmosphere robbing and brigandage flourished.

The Home Rule Bill became law in 1921, creating two Irish parliaments, one for the north and one for the south. The