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WINCENTY LUTOSŁAWSKI

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BOLSHEVISM
AND POLAND

==== PARIS — JUNE 1919 ====

CHIEF WORKS BY W. LUTOSŁAWSKI

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im. G. Kerwala
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PREFACE

The wave of social unrest which goes through the world and prevents us from enjoying peace, has its hidden sources in Germany, and in Bolshevist Russia. The agitation which makes the working men believe that they can indefinitely increase their salaries and reduce their hours of work, uses everywhere to a great extent the funds which the Bolshevists have robbed in Russia and Ukraine.

German money has created in Eastern Galicia the Rutheno-Ukrainian party which pretends to represent thirty millions of Ruthenians, who mostly know nothing of the Galician politicians speaking in their name. German money has created the Bolshevist revolution in Russia and has supplied the Bolshevists with the necessary sophisms, paradoxes and falsehoods in order to poison the life of the Russian working man and to destroy the work of generations. Germany has still money enough to organise armies against Poland, and has men enough to supply Ruthenians and Bolshevists with officers. And Germany succeeds in persuading the Allies that a strong Poland is not necessary, and that a strong Germany will pay the war debt sooner than a Germany conscious of defeat.

Every concession made to Germany prevents the consciousness of defeat, without which there is no peace for the world. The Allies seem to have forgotten everything that they have learnt about the Germans during the war. They are anxious to please the defeated enemy. They did not allow the Polish army formed in France to reach Poland

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through Dantzig. They did not respect the expert's opinion twice reasserted, that Dantzig should belong to Poland. They offer further concessions to Germany at the expense of Poland, and they are not aware that in 1919, as in 1683, a strong Poland is the only hope of Europe against oriental despotism, whether this despotism be called Tsarism or Bolshevism.

Poland is weakened by the loss of Dantzig, it is threatened by other losses, and is calumniated by the Germans and Jews all over the world. The Jews forget that in no country in the world have they been treated better, and that in 1905, when they suffered 700 true pogroms in Russia, there was only one place in Poland, where there was a disturbance created by Russian officers, and that, in that one place, in Siedlce, Poles lost their lives in defending the Jews (1). In vain honest Jews, like Samuel Tilles, the president of the Jewish community in Cracow, (2) protest against the false accusations against the Poles. The British Foreign Office believed doubtful reports before there was any possibility of verifying them (3). In vain some British papers warn the public against such credulity (4).

It is not surprising that in some places, the Poles may have been tempted to carry out on a small scale what has been so persistently ascribed to them. If an individual is persistently calumniated, he may be tempted to make the calumny true (5), should this furnish an opportunity of punishing the calumniator. The same thing may happen to uneducated masses brought to despair by famine, if those who have caused the famine pretend to have been wronged. But Poland remains, and will remain, the safest refuge for the Jews, when in Russia and Germany they will be called to account for their deeds. And nobody can deny now, after

(1) See Abraham Grünberg, *Ein Jüdisch-Polnisch-Russisches Jubiläum. Der grosse Pogrom von Siedlce im J. 1906*, Prag 1916.

(2) See his letter published in *Nowa Reforma* on March 24, 1918.

(3) See the *Times* of Nov. 29, 1918.

(4) See the *New Witness* of Nov. 29, 1918.

(5) See Echegaray *El Gran Galeoto*.

the publication of the British White Book on Bolshevism, that Jews have been the chief leaders of the criminal gang which has destroyed for a long time to come the resources of Russia, and which murdered thousands of Poles carried away to Russia by the retreating Russian armies (1). When the Poles were murdered by the Jews in Russia, no meetings of indignation were held in Western countries, and nobody drew the conclusion that Russia did not deserve freedom and independence, because she tolerated the rule of murderers and robbers for such a long time.

But such influential associations as the American Jewish Committee, and the Zionist Organisation of America, pretend that the Poles have shown themselves unfit to govern their own country, and they ask international control of Poland in order to secure the safety of the Jews!

Such claims are not made in the interest of the Jews. The Jews of Poland know very well that they are safe. They calumniate Poland only to save Germany, because a strong Poland is the only remedy against German militarism, and German war is an excellent business for the Jews of all countries. No people has won so much money through the war as the Jews, in Poland as elsewhere. When in Cracow in April 1918, the population had no bread, the Jews bought, at extravagant prices, the flour which could still be got from the peasants, in order to export it to Germany.

Germany does not feel beaten, and discusses the terms of peace as an equal with equals, not as a criminal nation awaiting the deserved punishment. As long as there is no strong Poland, Germany will dominate Russia, and prepare another war. In order to prevent the existence of a strong Poland, an unprecedented campaign of calumnies and

(1) Among those victims were two younger brothers of the author, Marjan and Józef Lutoslowski, who devoted their lives to the Polish cause and had discovered the secret treaty by which the Germans authorised Bolshevik propaganda in Poland.

Bolshevist indignation meetings has been undertaken throughout the world.

It is worth while to consider seriously while there is yet time, what the consequences to the world will be, if the world sacrifices Poland again to the greatness of Germany and Russia, under the strange delusion that a territorially strong Germany will pay sooner a big war indemnity. For the world's peace it would be safer to give up every hope of any pecuniary indemnity, and to reduce to the utmost the territory over which the Germans rule.

There is not the slightest probability that the Germans would be ill-treated by the Poles, the Tcheques, the Danes or the French, even if many Germans remained in such territories as have been once seized by them, but which ought to be restituted to the nation from which they have been taken. There is a certainty that Poles, Danes or Tcheques who remain under German rule will be treated as the Germans have always treated their victims.

The consequences of every weakness in the final delimitation of Germany's future boundaries become evident if we draw the natural conclusions from the British White Book on Bolshevism. The danger to European civilisation has not decreased since the pathetic appeals made by British and neutral diplomats to the Foreign Office in 1918. The end of Bolshevism in Russia is no guarantee against similar outbreaks elsewhere. On the contrary, the Bolshevists, when they see that they can draw nothing more from Russia, will use elsewhere their considerable accumulated spoils, and the experience acquired by their agents. The danger will increase for the world at large when it will seem to be at an end for Russia. And this danger will continue for a long time, even when we shall apparently be at peace. Bolshevism has educated a legion of anarchists who will not suddenly be converted into lawabiding citizens.

Should Bolshevism fail, its alternative is autocracy. Without a strong Poland, nothing will prevent Germany

and Russia from joining their forces in order to form a very powerful Empire; Russia has revealed her weakness, and such weakness cannot be healed in a single generation, as it represents the passivity of the population, and opens the field for German rule in Russia and Asia.

The author of this pamphlet invites all his readers to send their names and addresses if they wish to receive further publications on the subject. In view of the international Bolshevist organisation which threatens the social peace of the world, it is desirable to unite those who understand the danger, and who wish to apply the remedy.

W. LUTOSŁAWSKI.

Château Barby p. Bonneville, June 6 th. 1919
Haute-Savoie
France

BOLSHEVISM AND POLAND

I. — The British White Book on Bolshevism.

The official collection of reports on Bolshevism in Russia, published in April 1919 by the British Government*, contains many warnings by competent witnesses, that the Russian outbreak threatened the whole of European civilisation, if the Allies did not stop the contagion by their energetic intervention.

Opinion of the Netherlands Minister.

The Netherlands Minister at Petrograd wrote already on September 6 th. 1918: (page 6 of the White Book).

« The danger is now so great that I feel it my duty to call the attention of the British and all other Governments to the fact that if an end is not put to Bolshevism in Russia at once, the civilisation of the whole world will be threatened. This is not an exaggeration, but a sober matter of fact.... I consider that the immediate suppression of Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the war which is still raging; and unless, as above stated, Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world, as it is organised and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things. The only manner in which

* Price 9 d.. H. M. Stationery Office, Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.

this danger could be averted, would be collective action on the part of all the Powers.

I am also of opinion that no support whatever should be given to any other Socialistic party in Russia, least of all to the Social Revolutionaries, whose policy it is at the moment to overthrow the Bolsheviki, but whose aims in reality are the same : to establish proletariat rule throughout the world. »

Mr. Lockharts summary.

Similar are the chief points sent by Mr. Lockhart to Mr. Balfour two months later, on November 10 th. 1918. He says : (p. 11-12).

« 1. The Bolsheviki have established a rule of force and oppression unequalled in the history of any autocracy.

2. Themselves the fiercest upholders of the right of free speech, they have suppressed, since coming into power, every newspaper which does not approve their policy. In this respect the Socialist press has suffered most of all. Even the papers of the Internationalist Mensheviki, like « Martov », have been suppressed and closed down, and the unfortunate editors thrown into prison or forced to flee for their lives.

3. The right of holding public meetings has been abolished. The vote has been taken away from everyone except the workmen in the factories, and the poorer servants, and even amongst the workmen, those who dare to vote against the Bolsheviki are marked down by the Bolshevik secret police as counter-revolutionaries, and are fortunate if their worst fate is to be thrown into prison, of which in Russia today it may truly be said : « many go in, but few come out ».

4. The worst crimes of the Bolsheviki have been against their Socialist opponents. Of the countless executions which the Bolsheviki have carried out, a large percentage has fallen on the heads of Socialists who had waged a life long struggle against the old regime, but who are now denounced as counter-revolutionaries, merely because they disapprove of the manner in which the Bolsheviki have discredited socialism.

5. The Bolsheviki have abolished even the most primitive forms of justice. Thousands of men and women have been

shot without even the mockery of a trial, and thousands more are left to rot in the prisons under conditions, to find a parallel to which, one must turn to the darkest annals of Indian or Chinese history.

6. The Bolsheviks have restored the barbarous methods of torture. The examination of prisoners frequently takes place with a revolver at the unfortunate prisoner's head.

7. The Bolsheviks have established the odious practice of taking hostages. Still worse, they have struck at their political opponents through their women folk. When recently a long list of hostages was published in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks seized the wives of those men whom they could not find and threw them into prison until their husbands should give themselves up.

8. The Bolsheviks who destroyed the Russian army, and who have always been the avowed opponents of militarism, have forcibly mobilised officers who do not share their political views, but whose technical knowledge is indispensable, and by the threat of immediate execution have forced them to fight against their fellow-countrymen in a civil war of unparalleled horror.

9. The avowed ambition of Lenin is to create civil warfare throughout Europe. Every speech of Lenin's is a denunciation of constitutional methods, and a glorification of the doctrine of physical force. With that object in view, he is destroying systematically, both by executions and by deliberate starvation, every form of opposition to Bolshevism. This system of « terror » is aimed chiefly at the Liberals and non-Bolshevik Socialists, whom Lenin regards as his most dangerous opponents.

10. In order to maintain their popularity with the working men and with their hired mercenaries, the Bolsheviks are paying their supporters enormous wages by means of an unchecked paper issue, until today money in Russia has naturally lost all value. Even according to their own figures, the Bolsheviks' expenditure exceeds the revenue by thousands of millions of roubles per annum.

These are facts for which the Bolsheviks may seek to find an excuse, but which they cannot deny. »

Colonel Kimens on Bolshevism.

Colonel Kimens, acting British Vice Consul at Petrograd, writes two days later, on November 12 th. 1918 (p. 20) :

« Practically no difference is being made now between Russians and foreigners; they have to do forced labour; the flats are requisitioned, and occupants obliged to leave them at a few days notice; the furniture may not be removed, as it has been declared national property, and clothes and provisions, above a small minimum, are confiscated.

The state of affairs in Russia is becoming daily more critical, and the reign of terror is assuming proportions which seem quite impossible, and are incompatible with all ideas of humanity and civilisation. Government, properly speaking, has ceased to exist in Russia, and the only work done by the Soviet authorities is the inciting of class hatred, requisitioning and confiscation of property, and destruction of absolutely everything, and world propaganda of Bolshevism. All freedom of word and action has been suppressed; the country is being ruled by an autocracy which is infinitely worse than that of the old regime; justice does not exist, and every act on the part of persons, not belonging to the « proletariat », is interpreted as counter-revolutionary and punished by imprisonment, and in many cases executions, without giving the unfortunate victim a chance of defending himself in a tribunal, as sentences are passed without trial....

The expropriation of land has led to a very considerable decrease of crops, the nationalisation of factories to a stand-still of industry, the seizure of the banks to a complete cessation of money circulation, and the nationalisation of trade to a deadlock in that branch of the economic life of the country, so that nothing is being produced, and then the system of the present policy of confiscation will be applied on an increasing scale, as the dissatisfaction of the masses cannot be admitted, and the popularity of the authorities must be kept-up.

The intention of the Government is to rule on these lines as long as possible, and afterwards to carry it on in other neighbouring countries, and as there are strong Bolshevik

tendencies in Poland*, the Ukraine, the Baltic provinces and in Finland, the danger is very great indeed that Bolshevism will spread in those countries. In that case it will be impossible to stop the movement which presents a danger to the civilisation of the whole world ».

Mr. Lindley on Bolshevism.

After more than one year of Bolshevik rule, Mr. Lindley wired to Mr. Balfour from Archangel on November 27th, 1918: (p. 21 of the White Book).

« It seems clear that no Government as at present constituted can safely have dealings with a body of persons whose object is to overturn interests of Governments, especially those whose broad democratic base makes them most solid, and who have shown that no agreements they make will be allowed to stand in their way....

« The principal reason why Bolsheviks have lasted so long, is their unlimited supply of paper money, and I venture to recommend that particular attention be paid to this side of the problem. This paper money enables them, not only to pay their way in Russia, but to build up credits abroad, which are to be used to produce chaos in every civilised country. It is the first time in history that an anarchist society has unlimited resources..

« I am absolutely convinced nothing is to be gained by having dealings with Bolsheviks. Over and over again they have shown themselves devoid of all scruples, and if it is inconvenient to punish their crimes and rid the world of them by force, the only alternative, consistent with selfrespect, is to treat them like pariahs. »

Mr. Alston to Lord Curzon.

Two months later Mr. Alston wired to Earl Curzon on January 23rd. 1919 : (p. 28).

« The Bolsheviks can no longer be described as a political party holding extreme communistic views. They form a relatively small privileged class which is able to terrorise the rest

* There are no Bolshevik tendencies in Poland, but many Bolshevik agents with immense means, who came from Russia in order to destroy Polish liberty.

of the population, because it has a monopoly both of arms and of food supplies. This class consists chiefly of workmen and soldiers, and includes a large non-Russian element, such as Letts and Esthonians and Jews; the latter are specially numerous in higher posts. Members of this class are allowed complete licence, and commit crimes against other sections of society ».

Other witnesses.

We read further a statement made in the Foreign Office on February 13 th. 1919, by reliable witnesses, arrived recently from Russia : (p. 41).

« Bolshevism in Russia offers to our civilisation no less a menace than did Prussianism, and until it is as ruthlessly destroyed, we may expect trouble, strikes, and revolutions everywhere. The German military party are undoubtedly working hand in hand with Russian Bolsheviks, with the idea of spreading Bolshevism ultimately to England, by which time they hope to have got over it themselves, and to be in a position to take advantage of our troubles. For Bolshevik propaganda, unlimited funds are available. No other country can give their secret service such a free hand, and the result is that their agents are to be found where least expected ».

Rev. Lombard on Bolshevism.

We may conclude these extracts with the instructive testimony of the Rev. B. S. Lombard, who writes on March 23 rd. 1919, to Earl Curzon, and thus sums up the aims of Bolshevism, which he says « originated in German propaganda and was, and is being, carried out by international Jews ». Their aims are : (p. 56).

« Radically to destroy all ideas of patriotism and nationality by preaching the doctrine of internationalism which proved successful amongst the uncultured masses of the labouring classes.

To obstruct by every means the creation of military power, by preaching the ideas of peace, and to foster the abolition of military discipline.

To keep the masses under the hypnosis of false Socialistic literature.

To buy up all nationalised banks and to open everywhere branches of German Government banks under the names and titles of firms that would conceal their actual standing.

To endeavour to impoverish and temporarily to weaken the peasant classes, to bring about national calamities, such as epidemics (the outbreak of cholera last summer was traced to this source), the wholesale burning down of villages and settlements.

To preach the doctrine of the Socialistic form of managing enterprises among the working classes, to encourage their efforts to seize such enterprises, and then, by means of bankruptcies, to get them into German hands.

To preach the idea of a six to eight hours' working day with higher wages.

To crush all competition set on foot against them.

All attempts of the intellectuals or other groups to undertake any kind of independent action, or to develop any industries, to be unmercifully checked, and in doing this to stop at nothing.

Russia to be inundated by commission agents and other German representatives, and a close network of agencies and offices should be created for the purpose of spreading amongst the masses such views and teachings, as may at any given time be dictated from Berlin. »

These voices of competent witnesses, who have seen the working of Bolshevism in Russia, all agree that Bolshevism is an international danger, and it becomes, therefore, a very important question to know which other nations are most seriously threatened, and where we may expect the greatest resistance to the Bolshevist contagion.

We shall try, therefore, first to state briefly, according to the materials contained in the official publication, what Bolshevism is, and why it has been so successful in Russia. This will enable us to judge whether a Bolshevist revolution may be expected in Germany, and what means can prevent it.

11. — General characteristics of Bolshevism.

Foreign and antinational character of Bolshevism.

The first thing that strikes every impartial onlooker is the foreign character of the Bolshevists in Russia. Most of the leaders of Russian Bolshevism are Jews (see p. 32, 33, 56, 57, 65, 68 of the official report), and Lenin, although Russian by birth, has no patriotic feelings of any kind. He is so thoroughly fascinated by the Jewish-German doctrine of Marx, though it is completely misunderstood by him, that he has lost all contact with the Russian people, and seems to have become a very fanatical Jew himself, like Trotzky and his other companions.

Nothing especially Russian in Bolshevism.

We may therefore safely affirm that there is nothing especially Russian in Bolshevism, and that Bolshevism is not at all an outcome of Russian life or history, as was the tsarist autocracy, though certain conditions made it easier for the Bolshevists to undertake their experiment in Russia than anywhere else. The antinational character of Bolshevism is also shown by the frequent use they make of foreign troops, such as Letts and Chinese (the Letts are mentioned p. 7, 19, 23, 24, 38, 41, 43; the Chinese p. 19, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 38), because they distrust the Russians. The wilful destruction of all national assets and of the national credit for some time to come, prove equally the antipatriotic and antinational character of Bolshevism.

Insincerity of Bolshevists.

The Bolshevists do not always sincerely confess their hate of national life, national enthusiasm and national independence, but they show clearly their tendency to destroy national differences, and to bring all nations under the absolute rule of a few leaders. The moral character of these leaders becomes evident, if we consider the extensive use made by the Bolshevists of lies and falsehoods, false promises and obligations which they do not mean to keep. They have publicly boasted that no treaty binds them.

They do not represent the workmen.

Their greatest lie is the false pretence that they represent the manual workers of the land, or as they call them after Marx, the proletariat. They use the working class only as an instrument for their own aims, without any regard for the interests of this working class. The Russian peasant, recently enrolled in manufactories, is easily misled, as he is very credulous, and for that reason only he has become a welcome instrument of the Bolshevists, who, as a rule, do not come from the working class themselves, and have never done anything for the working class.

They have done great harm to labour.

They cannot ignore that the stopping of every industrial production, the upkeeping throughout the whole country of the greatest insecurity, and the destruction of most intelligent organisers of labour, cannot improve the conditions of the workmen. They could have learnt from Marx, had they not known it themselves from the beginning, that every violent interference with the natural evolution of industry is useless. They have deceived the workmen wilfully, in order to obtain the necessary material force for the realisation of their own plan, which had not the advantage of the working class in view, but only the benefit of the rulers.

Contempt of superiority.

Another characteristic of the Bolshevists, is their denial of the social value of intelligence, education, talent and every intellectual, moral or spiritual superiority. They teach such falsehoods as : any workman can be put at the head of a factory; schoolboys can elect and dominate their teachers; a subaltern officer can become the chief commander of an army; any uneducated agitator can be given a high office in the Government. This false doctrine can have no other aim than to destroy all order in society, because anarchy and disorder facilitate wholesale robbery, and the wilful murder of numberless victims.

Use of false names and false money.

For the same purpose the Bolshevists use false names. They disguise their foreign origin by taking Russian or

Polish names, to which they have no right. A Jew calls himself Litwinoff, another takes the kingly name of Leszczyński, because they wish their true names to be unknown in order that they may be taken for Russians or Poles. For similar reasons, they falsify the paper money which they emit, and do not sign the new banknotes which they print, but imitate the old notes of the Tsar or of Kerenskij. They do not acknowledge their Government to be what it is, a Jewish oligarchy, but pretend that it is a dictatorship of the Russian proletariat.

Misunderstood Marxism.

They pretend to give to the world a new social doctrine, a saving gospel, and in reality there is not a single original thought in all their writings, which are nothing else than a travesty of Marxism. Marx had a certain conception of the future evolution of economic life, and he gave a picture of the final stage, which, according to his opinion, would be reached after centuries of evolution. Lenin takes this picture from Marx, and pretends to suddenly introduce, into a very unripe society, without any evolution, what Marx understood to be a probable result of long struggles. As Marx is a disciple of Hegel, evolution is an essential point of his doctrine, while his conception of the final stage is not at all essential; in fact, the real development of economic conditions has shown that Marx was wrong in supposing that capital would be concentrated in few hands, while in reality the number of small capitalists has steadily grown and has rapidly increased during the war. Lenin ignores these facts and wishes suddenly to nationalise everything. Some of his followers even wish to nationalise women, considering them as property, not as free beings.

Marx and Lenin.

These extremes, mentioned in official reports, show clearly that if we consider Bolshevism as a doctrine at all, it is not a serious social theory, thought out in pursuit of truth or human happiness, but a mere caricature of a mistaken point in the doctrine of Marx. Marx recommended class warfare, Lenin attempted the destruction of all classes, except

unskilled workmen and irresponsible chiefs. Marx expected, in a distant future, the State ownership of the means of production, Lenin wishes to reduce the producers themselves to slavery; not for the benefit of the masses, but only to satisfy the unbounded ambition for power of a few ringleaders.

False analogies.

It is certainly a false pretence of the Bolshevists, if they compare their undertaking with the French Revolution, or with any other similar great social movement. They have no positive plan or programme of reforms, except the hatred and denunciation of the bourgeois; and they call bourgeois every educated person, every refined artist or scholar, whereby they only show their inability to understand Marx's real doctrine of an inevitable struggle between labour and capital.

Wrong appreciation of talent.

They show also an incredible stupidity when they believe that men of talent will work for them under compulsion and menace of death. Talent requires liberty, and slavery kills invention. The Bolshevists have no creative power, and no real originality, therefore they cannot understand the only conditions under which creative work, initiative and invention are possible.

Shortsightedness of Bolshevists.

They hate liberty, and do not admit free expression of public opinion, which to them is always a manifestation of counter-revolution. They could not stand the existence of a constituent assembly of legitimate representatives of the people, and they pretend to represent the people, without having the slightest right to speak in their name. Their shortsightedness leads them to such measures as the limitless emission of forged banknotes. They paid immense salaries to their partisans, but these salaries became worthless, because the money paid by the Bolshevists represented no value whatever. Their spirit of greed, hatred and vengeance made them entirely blind to the consequences of their actions.

Frightfulness, cruelty and rage of destruction.

They have carried to extreme limits the German practice

of frightfulness, and have beaten every record by their cruelty and rage of destruction, with the utmost disregard of any possible advantage to the country in which they are ruling, or to mankind in general. As they could not always find Russians able to carry out their inhuman orders, they resorted to the Chinese, known for their soulless delight in inflicting tortures. A very peculiar characteristic of Bolshevism is cruelty to women and children. Many children were tortured to death, or burnt in their homes; delicate women of refined society were obliged to wash dirty linen, and were violated; men were skinned and burnt.

Torture.

The accounts of these acts of violence and cruelty are numerous and fully reliable. (See pp. 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 46, 47, 49 of the official reports). Bolshevik prisons, where men, women, girls and children are kept without food or fuel, in appalling conditions, are themselves a kind of torture, which has killed many of the weaker victims. (See pp. 2, 5, 6, 7, 14, 18). But this is not enough for the vindictive spirit of Bolshevism, and they have often invented special means of torturing their victims to death, by exposing them naked to freezing water, or by resorting to the worst recorded examples of inhuman cruelty.

Best citizens killed, others morally debased.

The Bolshevik rule has as its inevitable consequence the destruction of educated and refined people, especially of those whose feeling of dignity forbids them to witness acts of injustice and wanton mischief without protest. The population left in a country after a year or two of Bolshevism, will be weakened by famine and incapacitated for work, unruly and to a great extent morally insane. The masses will have lost their habit of working and their consciousness of duties to fulfil. The few surviving educated people will have lost their faith in social progress or reform of any kind. It will be difficult in such a country to find enterprise and initiative for the reconstruction of normal social life. A people deprived of its educated classes sinks down to the level of animal life, and thinks only of food and lust.

Destruction of wealth.

But not only the human material of a country will be deteriorated by Bolshevist rule. A great many homes will be destroyed by fire and burglary, many records of legal relations will have undergone partial or total ruin, private archives, libraries, and collections of Art will have been treated as fuel. In great cities the Bolshevists pretend to care specially for the preservation of treasuries of art and science, but this again is one of their many false pretences, because they destroy wealthy homes with all their contents, and if they preserve some libraries or collections, they entrust them to such absolutely incompetent guardians, that much damage will certainly be done. We may fear that any country, after a protracted rule of Bolshevists, will be deprived of its best men, of its most refined families, of its records of the past, and of nearly everything that has been the work of generations. Widespread famine will prevail, and the deficiency of cattle, horses and machinery will make it very difficult to bring agricultural production to its normal efficiency. Skilled workmen will have emigrated in great numbers and the resumption of productive work will be extremely difficult.

Inevitable reaction.

Reconstruction will be possible only under military rule enforcing respect of the law. A very reactionary government must come after a period of arbitrary despotism of the uneducated masses. Every kind of liberalism, radicalism, socialism and even republicanism will certainly be discredited through the abuses of Bolshevism. Whatever Government will restore order, it will be obliged to concentrate all its care on agriculture, and agriculture of the most primitive kind, because a country ruined by Bolshevism will not soon be able to develop its industry. Having very limited exports, such a country will, for a long time be unable to import machinery, to repair destroyed houses and railways, or to further popular education. A few years of Bolshevism may throw a whole country back to the most primitive conditions of existence.

Instability of Government.

A bolshevised population will not have the stability of rules and traditions which we find among the savages. Distrust, disobedience, and anarchy will, for years, cause great instability of government. Even the strongest government cannot last, when in the population all respect for authority is lost. We shall therefore witness in such countries frequent changes of government, a succession of revolutions, a great instability of State boundaries, as in the South American Republics, after their emancipation from the Spanish despotic and arbitrary government, which, in history, has been the nearest approach to Russian Bolshevism.

Succession of dictators.

The so called dictatorship of the proletariat leads to the arbitrary dictatorship of ambitious individuals, who will fail one after another to restore a durable order. This is a general deduction from the character of Bolshevik rule, as it has been manifested on a large scale in Russia. If a gang of Bolsheviks succeed in ruling a country for some years, such results are naturally inevitable.

III. — Bolshevism in Russia.

Wrong analogies from Russian history.

Now let us consider the reasons why Bolshevism has been able to succeed in Russia, for this will lead us to probable conclusions as to its possible success in other countries. We must first of all beware of looking upon Bolshevism as a peculiarly Russian product. Some Russians are under this delusion, and compare the Bolshevik rule from 1917 to 1919 with the so called *smutnoje wremia* from 1610 to 1613, when much destruction of wealthy homes by peasants had also taken place. But there did not then exist a single centralised government in Russia, with a great army and developed bureaucracy, as exists under the Bolshevik rule. Destruction was not so widely spread, nor accompanied by

such perverse cruelty. Nor can we compare with Bolshevism the various revolts of peasants which have taken place from time to time in Russia, as under Pugaczew or Stienka Razin. They were always local affairs, and never pretended to reform the whole of mankind.

Bolshevism brought from Germany.

Bolshevism was not born in Russia; it was brought from Germany and started with German funds. Until lately the Bolshevik leaders remained very faithful to their German masters, and the German Embassy could protect all genuine Germanophiles against the worst outrages of Bolsheviks. It took a long time before Lenin and Trotzky emancipated themselves from German rule; even in 1918 they immediately avenged the murder of Mirbach, the German representative.

Favourable conditions for Bolshevism.

However it is not by accident that the Jewish-German organisation of the gang of Bolsheviks had its first great success in Russia. This does not mean that there is anything Russian in Bolshevism, but simply that in Russia Bolshevism found most exceptionally favourable conditions for the realisation of its plans.

Difference of class.

First of all, in Russia, the difference between the uneducated peasant and the high official of nobility was greater than the difference between an English workman and an English lord, who often read the same newspaper, and have sometimes common political ideals. The Russian illiterate peasant, even if he became a workman in a factory, lived in the greatest misery and had only the most elementary physical needs. The wealthy class in Russia, owning large estates and occupying high positions in the administration, wronged the people in many ways, and they created hatred and envy against themselves. Nowhere in Europe was the difference of classes so great. This difference was increased by the irreligiosity of the upper classes and the intense religiosity of the people. The industrial

population, though very often apparently irreligious, took with religious fervour the gospel of socialism, which to them became a faith, for which they were ready to live or die. The educated classes had no faith whatever, and lived in the most revolting selfishness. The notorious absence of patriotism in the leading classes deprived them of every link with the people. The people looked on these utterly selfish sceptics with contempt, and had nothing in common with them, neither religious convictions nor national ideals. This was ideal ground for the doctrine of class warfare and the destruction of the higher classes.

Uneducated masses.

The absence of education in the people, their illiteracy and boundless ignorance, their hereditary degeneration by drink, followed by the sudden introduction of total abstinence, their great credulity, bred by the influence of byzantine christianity, were further favourable conditions for the success of an unscrupulous gang, who promised wonderful reforms, a paradise on earth, with plenty of everything and no obligation to work.

Bureaucratic centralisation.

The great centralisation of the Russian empire enabled Lenin, when he mastered Petrograd, to use the whole bureaucracy of the Empire for the extension of his power. Most of the old officials of the tsar served the new Bolshevik chiefs with the same passive obedience which they had acquired during the autocratic regime, and they continued to levy illegitimate contributions called *wziatki*, which were usual in Russia.

Sense of defeat.

Military defeat, with all that it implied, the putting into practice of Tolstoj's doctrine of non-resistance by the soldiers, the treason of high officials in German pay, the general feeling of despondency amongst the people, all made the task of the brigands easier, and enabled them to establish an apparently stable government, which made laws and regulations with almost the same rapidity as it issued forged banknotes.

No real patriots.

If in Russia there could have been found more men of dignity and honour, real patriots, the people would not have been so completely dominated by a gang of foreign unscrupulous bandits. But in Russia, the very noblest characters suffered from hopeless scepticism, and were unable to make any organised resistance. Many others had as their only aim their own official career, and the State was for them chiefly the instrument which served to satisfy their personal ambitions and interests. Very few cared about the people or knew the working classes at all. The landfords drew their incomes from their estates, but very rarely lived on them. Their agents oppressed the peasants in many ways.

Religiosity of the people without direction.

In Russia there might have been one power only against Bolshevism : the great religiosity of the people, if the people had found in the clergy competent educators. But this religious people despised its popes, who were morally and intellectually very much inferior to the Roman Catholic priests or to the Protestant pastors of other countries, or to the Rabbis of the despised Jewish population. The clergy had been atrophied by the government of the Tsar which used religion as one of the weapons of political oppression. Thus the natural deep religiosity of the people was left without competent direction, and became another favourable circumstance for the realisation of the Bolshevik plan.

Readiness for change.

The people, disgusted with the sad reality of their own life, were ready to accept any new faith which promised an improvement on the existing misery. The Bolshevik gospel was easy to understand. It pointed out a culprit — the educated classes which had been really guilty of shameless indifference towards the people. It preached an easy remedy : the destruction of these educated classes with all their property and their accumulated riches. It opened for a time a great perspective of the equal distribution of wealth.

Miscalculation of results.

This wealth appeared to the poor workmen and peasants as almost unlimited. Nobody was able to calculate how little the individual condition of the poorest could be improved by the arbitrary distribution of what could be taken from the richest. The chief part of these spoils went to the leaders, who used the confiscated wealth for their propaganda in Russia and abroad, and for their own pleasure.

False information finds believers.

Numberless lies were disseminated in all countries about Bolshevism as a true redeeming gospel of social reform. French socialists and some English pacifists took these lies seriously, and were as easily cheated as the credulous Russian peasants. Bolshevik agents went with considerable means to neutral countries, and started an enormous propaganda in favour of Bolshevism in France, England and America. Thus the governments of these countries were prevented for a long time from taking concerted action against Bolshevism. They were taught to look upon the Bolshevik gang as upon a regular government accepted by the Russian people. The invitation to Prinkipo was one of the effects of this strange credulity of some of the leading politicians. Nobody dared to formulate the simple truth, that the Bolsheviks were a gang of foreign scoundrels who represented nobody but themselves, and who were sent to Russia by the Germans, in order to facilitate the German occupation of the country.

Vain appeals.

The pathetic appeals of Mr. Lindlay from Archangel, now published in the White Book, led to nothing. The murder of Captain Cromie had no such effect on English public opinion as the murder of Gordon in Khartoum. In vain Mr. Alston warned from Vladivostock in January 1919 that there would be a shortage of foodstuffs in Europe so long as the fields of Russia were unproductive, or their produce unable to be exported, as Russia was the principal granary of Europe. Report after report on Bolshevik atrocities reached the English Foreign Office from September 1918, and

still the Bolsheviks were treated as a real government, though not officially recognised. The appeals of Sir Eliot in February and of General Knox in March, had no greater effect on active intervention.

Indifference of Western governments.

This indifference of the Western Powers and the Western nations towards the hardships suffered by Englishmen in Russia, can only be explained by the delusion that Bolshevism is a peculiarly Russian evil, which does not seriously threaten other countries. Not even the success of Bolshevism in Hungary and Bavaria opened the eyes of the Western statesmen. In vain competent witnesses warned that there was a serious danger, threatening the whole of Western civilisation. A small regular army might have taken Petrograd in 1918, and could have restored order and economic production in Russia almost immediately after the armistice with Germany. The Western governments were busy discussing the terms of peace, instead of sending through Dantzic a few hundred thousand men to help the Poles in their efforts against the Bolsheviks. Nobody understood that Bolshevism was a great peril to the peace of the world, and that without peace, order and productive work in Russia, there could not be a lasting peace in Europe.

Alternative of Bolshevism.

The Bolshevik epidemic will inevitably be succeeded in Russia by a renewal of autocracy and both evils, autocracy and Bolshevism threaten European liberty and democracy in a similar manner. In both cases the large majority of a country is subordinated to the arbitrary rule of a small gang of ringleaders. Bolshevism and autocracy are two alternative symptoms of the same social disease, and succeed each other like excitation and depression in mental diseases. Serious social progress and reform are alike impossible under Bolshevik rule as under autocracy, because they require really free individuals who cannot grow up in a succession of political convulsions.

IV. — Possible Bolshevism in Germany

Danger to Germany not appreciated.

Many politicians do not yet consider as a serious possibility a Bolshevik revolution in Germany. They think that as the Germans threaten themselves with an outbreak of social revolution the danger is not real, because the Germans always announce the contrary of what happens. It has been even said that to insist on the danger of Bolshevism in Germany is to help the Germans in their attempt to terrorize the public opinion of Europe. But some of the conditions of the success of Bolshevism in Russia exist also in Germany. First of all there is a great difference between the classes and this became very prominent during the war. In no other country has the privilege of birth been so decisive for social position as in Germany, which has been ruled for generations by a privileged caste. The difference between soldier and officer in the army has created a good deal of envy and hate, so that many soldiers said they would kill their officers at the first opportunity.

Absence of true national feeling.

Another essential similarity between Germany and Russia is the absence of true national feeling in the upper classes, who in many respects have shown in Germany the same narrow selfishness as in Russia, the same indifference to the real needs of the people. Their ambition was concentrated on their power in the State and the power of the State.

Worship of the State.

The worship of the State is a feeling totally different from genuine patriotism. The German State was an organisation in which the many served the interests and ambitions of the few. A true nation is a brotherhood in which those who have more, either in money, intelligence or moral strength, serve the needs of those who have less in any respect. Worship of a powerful State breeds ambition, which is incompatible with the humility taught by real

patriotism. The Germans have not this spiritual unity of all classes and parties which the French call *l'union sacrée*.

Irreligiosity of the Germans.

There is one peculiarity of modern Germany which makes a social upheaval even easier than in Russia — the irreligiosity of all classes, propagated by the socialists among workmen and by the Universities and Protestant theologians of the type of Strauss, among the educated people. The crude materialism of Germany's greatest scientists, like Ostwald or Haeckel, has no such representatives in contemporary France. This materialism has spread among all classes, and has greatly weakened the moral forces of the people. Class warfare has been preached for more than a generation, and has found the most eloquent apostles among such Jews of Germany as Marx and Lassalle.

Credulity of the masses.

The credulity of the masses has been specially trained during the war, and now, when all the promises of the military gang which prepared the war, have failed, any new faith, advocating radical class warfare, can easily be accepted by the masses. There is a real culprit, the privileged classes which have made the war, and there is the feeling of military defeat. The Germans see that Europe expects them to work for more than a generation like slaves, in order to pay the debt, incurred by their masters. The people may feel that they have lost everything and have therefore nothing more to lose, but perhaps still something to gain in a gamblers desperate attempt to risk his very existence. If the whole nation has to be ruined, it may appear intolerable to look on the luxury of those privileged classes which caused the war, and the people may delight in torturing them in the Bolshevik fashion.

Centralisation of bureaucracy.

The centralisation of bureaucracy in Germany is still greater than in Russia, and it is easy for a clever group of Bolsheviks to become the masters of the whole country, preaching vengeance on the officers of the Army and on the

great capitalists, chiefly responsible for the war. A new hope of an universal social revolution might still galvanize the beaten army and create a red guard of a very resolute character.

Another Lenin may arise.

It is true that a Lenin would not be able to carry out such a scheme in Germany, but Germany may find a false saviour of her own, and she has this advantage over Russia that she would not need to apply to the Chinese for cruelty and frightfulness, as the Germans themselves have shown extraordinary capacities in this direction.

Great losses.

The Germans have lost through the war even more of their hopes and expectations than of actual wealth or possessions. Such material losses as those of all their colonies, of the navy, and of the Saare district, are very hard to bear, and may drive a very unbalanced population to madness. There is a traditional weakness in Germany for idealistic doctrines, which disregard reality and lead to extremes. Such a doctrine was Pangermanism; and Bolshevism, implying the radical destruction of the very guilty German upper classes, might spread like wildfire, should a clever leader arise to lead the despairing masses against the upper classes. If the Allies do not decide to intervene seriously in Russia, and Bolshevism breaks out in Germany, then Western Europe also, and especially England, may be seriously threatened. In Germany, like in Russia, there is an alternative open: after an unsuccessful attempt at social revolution, autocratic government may be restored, and will be even more reactionary than ever before. The number of real citizens who understand liberty and love it, is too small in Germany as well as in Russia, and these two countries will be apt for a long time to come to join their resources, in order to destroy European peace and liberty, either by militarism or by social disorganisation of the Bolshevik type.

V. — Poland and Bolshevism

Strong Poland needed.

The only force which can prevent the outbreak in Germany, is a really strong Poland. It was a very serious mistake to deprive Poland of her national harbour and of the possession of her national river from source to mouth. Poland without Dantzic cannot be a really great Power, and the Allies have, in this case, treated Poland more like a beaten enemy, than as an Ally.

Conditions of resistance.

Poland has two conditions, which make her specially able to resist Bolshevism and autocracy : an intense national feeling in all classes, and a very intense religiosity. She has also a great number of small landowners, most refractory to Bolshevism. But she has also a very great number of Jews, who are the most suitable human material for a Bolshevist upheaval. The Polish Jews are miserable, dirty, and full of greed and envy. They emancipate themselves from all moral scruples as soon as they give up the religion of their ancestors. By their greed they ave accumulated wealth during the war without sharing the risk, and they have produced so much adverse feeling that sometime this led to violent outbreaks of public indignation, which were represented as massacres of the Jews in the Jewish press all over the world. In truth very few Jews have suffered in Poland but they have awakened by their attitude a deep mistrust of the Jewish propaganda of Bolshevism.

Poland weakened by the Allies.

The disregard for the most legitimate Polish national aspirations, shown by the Peace conference, has greatly weakened Poland. It has produced throughout the whole nation a sense of military defeat, and of German victory. The Polish people is intensely religious and patriotic, but has been taught by its three enemies disrespect for every authority and contempt for every government. Therefore it is not easy to govern in Poland, and the Polish government

needs success in its foreign politics, in order to maintain its prestige in its own country. The decisions of the Peace Conference as to Dantzig, Teschen, East Prussia, Lithuania, if unfavourable to Polish national aspirations, will be looked upon by public opinion as German victories, and as defeats for the Polish national government.

Natural strength of Poland.

Notwithstanding all these unfavourable circumstances, there are certain conditions which make of Poland a natural bulwark against Russian as well as German Bolshevism. The Polish nation has always had intensely religious leaders, and all classes are united in this fervent faith, which has been unanimously professed by the greatest Polish thinkers and poets. Though the Poles have never had any real antisemitism such as exists in Germany or Russia, they have an innate distrust of the Jews, and no Trotzky could govern in Warsaw as he does in Moscow or Petrograd. What distinguishes the Poles from most other nations which have taken part in the war, is their readiness, like the English, to go on fighting, though they have suffered more through the war than any other nation. This readiness to fight for the integrity of their territory, is the result of an intense patriotism which unites all classes in Poland to an extent which no Western nation has ever experienced, because nowhere such cruel foreign oppression has lasted for more than a century.

Difficulties of the situation.

But the difficulties of the situation in Poland are very great. The country is as thoroughly ruined by the Germans, as if the Bolshevist deluge had already overrun it. The Polish army lacks munitions, clothing, shoes and food; all the necessities of life reach extravagant prices, and there is no direct communication with the Western Allies, because these have neglected the military occupation of Dantzig, which ought to have been one of the most important conditions of the armistice.

Enemies of Poland.

The Poles have not only the Bolshevists against them, but also the Tcheques and the Ukrainians, two peoples very

ripe for Bolshevism, because they are very much under German influence. The Germans help not only the Bolsheviks, but also the Ukrainians, and the Ukrainian people is led by a gang very similar to the Bolsheviks. The true Ukrainians are not enemies of the Poles, as they have been voluntarily united with Poland for centuries, and have never been able to form a State of their own. The State which now bears the name of Ukraine, is an artificial German creation, and serves the aims of the Germans. The real advantage of Poles and Ukrainians requires their close union, while war between these two peoples benefits only the Germans, who have succeeded in provoking it, because the Allies have not insisted on German demobilisation, and on the return of all German officers from Poland and Ukraine to Germany.

Material and moral help needed.

Under these circumstances it is necessary to help Poland in her struggle for European civilisation against Bolshevism. This help must consist not only in the supply of food, munitions and clothing, but also in the sincere recognition of the truth that the partitions of Poland were a crime, and that the full reconstitution of Poland as a great Power is necessary for the peace and security of Europe.

Russia and Poland.

Russia has tried to take the place of Poland, but has failed. The recognition of the elementary truth that a free Poland, and not a despotic Russia, is the natural ally of the Western powers, will be of great moral importance to the Poles, and will increase the force of their resistance against Bolshevism. The despotism of the Bolsheviks will inevitably be followed by other despotisms in Russia, and many generations must work in order to build several free States, on the ruins of the Russian Empire. Meanwhile, Europe cannot count on Russia, but can fully rely on Poland. The secular struggle between despotic Muscovy and a free Poland led, in the XVIII century, to the extinction of all liberty in Central Europe. It is time now, in the XX century, to recognise that the partitions of Poland wronged not only

Poland, but European liberty, and that only a full restitution of all what three German dynasties have taken away from Poland, can secure peace, order and freedom in Central and Eastern Europe.

Poland, Rumania and Serbia.

Poland as a great Federation, including Lithuania and Ruthenia, extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea, in close union with Rumania Bohemia and Serbia, will form the necessary bulwark for preventing German influence in Russia. Germany, between a powerful Poland and France, will be obliged to capitulate, and to give up her dreams of world domination. As long as Germany can reach Russia, Russia will remain a peril to European peace and civilisation.

German plans.

If Europe distrusts Poland, Poland will be unable to fulfil her historic mission of defending European liberty against Asiatic despotism. Asiatic despotism has penetrated through Prussia into Germany, and Germany threatens to organise the whole of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia for the destruction of Western civilisation, either by the force of a strong army or by the social disorganisation of Bolshevism. There is no nation better able to prevent this danger than Poland, provided she is sincerely helped by the Allies.

VI. — Danger to Western civilisation.

Favourable conditions for Bolshevism.

If, on the other hand, the Allies, for the sake of peace with Germany, give up the principles for which the war has been fought, then Poland, situated between a Bolshevist or autocratic Russia and a Bolshevist or autocratic Germany, will again be the victim of her isolation and of the indifference of Europe to her fate. But Bolshevism or autocracy,

triumphant from the Ural to the Rhine, will also seriously threaten England, France and Italy. There are, in these countries, several conditions favourable to Bolshevist undertakings, especially the prevailing irreligion of the masses, leading to materialistic tendencies. A great number of workmen have been accustomed, during the war, to very high wages, which it will be impossible to continue to pay in time of peace, or, if they are paid, the prices of the necessities will be so much increased, that the high wages will be insufficient. The ruling classes have not yet been able to organise the workers, so as to secure for them permanent employment. While a real improvement of social conditions requires continuous work, strikes occur everywhere, and from time to time there is a menace of a general strike, which would paralyse the whole of social life. The war has given great wealth to the individuals who are morally the most deficient — the profiteers of war, headed by big international financial concerns which disregard national interests, and awake hatred and contempt in the masses.

Dissatisfaction of the masses.

There is a widely spread suspicion amongst the masses against the political leaders, and a certain feeling of defeat, because the aims for which millions have fought and died, seem to be disregarded by the official representatives of the Great Powers at the Peace Conference. The new order proposed for Europe is the fruit of compromise, and cannot satisfy those who desire justice and liberty. The difference made between Great Powers and small nations, the complete subordination of European nations to five great Powers, two of which have never participated in European affairs, produces on the masses the impression that these affairs are managed without due regard to the legitimate aspirations of the nations.

Bolshevist propaganda.

All these circumstances facilitate Bolshevist propaganda, for which the Bolshevists have accumulated enormous means in neutral countries. Russia is exhausted, and the Bolshevist gang has to seek new victims, in order to satisfy

its greed and ambition of power. England with her labour troubles, with unrest in Ireland, Egypt and India, is a tempting prey, and promises great spoils. There are legions of English-speaking Bolshevist agents in England and America. Bolshevism has gained vast experience in Russia, and also the means of developping its propaganda. The Bolshevists came to Russia with a few hundred thousand pounds of German money to start with; now they have millions at their disposal, and a greatly increased number of well trained agents. The war has destroyed the balance of mind in many gifted writers and publicists, who see clearly the great evils of the present time, but cannot find by themselves efficient remedies. * They can easily be won by promises of social reform based on the communistic programme. A general revolt against the existing order in the name of a better future organisation of society is therefore not impossible in Western countries, if the Bolshevist conspiracy dominates Germany and Poland. Outbreaks in Hungary and Bavaria, and the Bolshevist menace of a general strike in Switzerland, show that such upheavals are possible.

Protection against Bolshevism.

It is true that Bolshevism could not be so easily established in France and England as in Germany, and probably could not last so long as in Russia. In Western countries there is more patriotism in all classes, and a serious striving for social reform. In France the great number of small capitalists and landowners would offer an energetic resistance to every communistic conspiracy. In England the sane tradition of fairness and respect for property is a safeguard against the collective madness of radical class warfare. There is no such credulity of the masses in France and in England as in Russia or Germany.

Prevention better than cure.

But the unexpected often happens, and we must foresee very serious difficulties in the near future, which will be

* See for instance, Miss Louise Bryant *Six red months in Russia*, London, Heinemann 1919.

increased, if all industrial and agricultural production is hindered in the greatest part of Europe, from the Rhine to the Ural Mountains. Therefore it is the serious duty of governments and nations to take such measures as will render the progress of Bolshevism towards the West impossible. A great fire cannot be extinguished easily when it has spread over a large area, but it is easy to prevent its extension when it begins. Bolshevism has destroyed Russia, and seriously threatens Poland and Germany. There are certainly some men, amongst those who in England and France have withstood four years of war, who would gladly volunteer for further service in the defense of Western civilisation, if they understood the danger that threatens to destroy everything dear to us. Such men should be sent to Poland, and an efficient service of regular approvisionnement over Dantzig should be started immediately.

Polish Cause and anti-Bolshevism.

The Polish Cause is identical with anti-Bolshevism, and Poland cannot be free if Bolshevism prevails in Europe. Therefore Poland deserves to be trusted and helped to the utmost. A solemn proclamation by the Allies of the rights of Poland to Dantzig and all the territory which belonged to the Poles in 1772, would show the Poles that the Allies really mean to start an era of international justice, after the long period of the reign of force and of political compromise. This would increase their forces in the very difficult struggle. Poland must become again what she was for centuries, a great European Power, and not remain a poor nation under foreign protection.

Usurpation of Russia.

Europe has seen that Russia was unable to keep her promises and obligations. Russia had not only taken the greatest part of Polish territory, but had usurped the place of Poland in Europe. She has had over a century to show her utter incapacity of filling that place. Now this place must be restored to Poland with the territory belonging to her.

Hindenburg's opinion.

Hindenburg himself testifies, as Bismarck did in former

times, that the independence of Poland would be a mortal blow to Germany. In his speech to the *Hilfsschützenverein für Oberschlesien* in April 1919, he said that the Poles alone are able to organise and to lead the Slavs. If the Western Allies accept this testimony of a beaten enemy as trustworthy, they must give up the German conceptions of small States between Germany and Russia, and help the Poles to build a really strong Federation of Central Europe, extending from Finland to Greece and isolating Germany from Russia by a barrier of more than hundred twenty million citizen conscious of their national rights.

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