

Book Review

THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA.—(Paper Covers) 151 pp. Fifty Cents, postage 10c extra. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 32 West 58th Street.

The nature of Mr. Bullitt's testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, have already had widespread notice and comments. He went to Paris on the "George Washington" with President Wilson, and was employed to prepare the confidential reports of the U. S. State Department on Germany, Austria and Hungary, and to prepare such memoranda as the President, Secretary and others might call for. His official title was Chief of the Division of Current Intelligence Summaries. On the 18th February, 1919, he was ordered by the American commissioners to proceed to Russia, there to study political and economic conditions. He was accompanied by Capt. Pettit and Mr. Lincoln Steffens. Their reports are included in the volume.

The mission to Russia was discussed with Mr. Philip Kerr and Sir Maurice Hankey. It was to be an entire secret from all but the British representatives at the Paris conference. Mr. Kerr was confidential secretary to Lloyd George, to whom and to Mr. Balfour he had communicated the details of the Bullitt mission, and from whom he communicated, in turn, to Mr. Bullitt, an idea of the terms of peace with the Soviet that the British might accept. In all of this the British and American positions were nearly identical. The terms which Russia offered to accept and which were handed to Mr. Bullitt at Moscow on the 14th March, 1919, are given in the evidence.

He communicated these proposals by telegram from Helsingfors to Mr. Wilson, Secretary of State Lansing, and Col. House. He was informed later by Col. House in Paris, that copies of his telegrams had been sent at once to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour.

Reporting on conditions prevailing in Russia, Mr. Bullitt said that such essentials of economic life as were available there were utilized to the utmost by the Soviet Government. Trains ran on time; food distribution was well controlled; production had increased; terror had ceased; good order had been established; robberies were few; prostitution had disappeared; family life had been unchanged; theatres were performing as in peace times; thousands of new schools had been opened so that the Soviet had done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than Czarism did in 50 years. The Soviet form of government was firmly established, and the blame for distress was laid wholly on the blockade and the governments that maintained it. The women of Russia were ready to starve for the Soviet form of government, and the young men to die for it. The position of Lenin, Tchitcherin and the bulk of the Communist party was that the essential problem was to save the proletariat of Russia, in particular, and of Europe in general, from starvation. They advocated conciliation with the United States even at the cost of compromising with many of their dearest principles. Lenin's prestige was overwhelming. His theoretical position had been shaken and he was ready to meet the western Governments half way.

In an appendix to the Report some exhaustive detail is given regarding Transport, Food, Management, Social Conditions, Education, Army and other matters, including some remarks concerning outstanding personalities in Russia.

Copies of the Report were handed personally by Mr. Bullitt to Mr. Lansing, Col. House, Gen. Bliss and Mr. Henry White, and a separate copy for the President was handed to Mr. Lansing who wrote on it "urgent and immediate." Mr. Bullitt's now famous breakfast with Mr. Lloyd George was eaten in company with Gen. Smuts, Sir Maurice Hankey, and Mr. Philip Kerr, and the Report was discussed at length. Mr. Lloyd George had previously read

it, and he handed it to Gen. Smuts, saying, "General, this is of the utmost importance and you ought to read it right away." Referring to a copy of the "Daily Mail," Mr. Lloyd George said, "As long as the British Press is doing this kind of thing, how can you expect me to be sensible about Russia." He urged Mr. Bullitt to make public the Report. The entire matter was later discussed with Mr. Balfour and Sir Eric Drummond, then his secretary, now secretary of the League of Nations. The publication of the Report was prevented. Mr. Wilson did not want it given out. The Report was never made public until the hour of Mr. Bullitt's testimony before the U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Mr. Lloyd George in the British Parliament stated that he had never received the Soviet proposals and knew nothing of them. This is described as "a most egregious case of misleading the public." Mr. Bullitt resigned from the State Department of the U. S. on May 17, 1919. Some notes made from various conversations with and about people prominent in the political life of the United States are included in the testimony. These are obviously intended to exert some personal influence in U. S. Politics and their presence lends an unworthy aspect to an otherwise very interesting document.

RED EUROPE.—Frank Anstey, M. P. (paper covers), 160 pp. Fifty Cents. Vancouver, B. C., Industrial History Club.

Early in 1918 Mr. Anstey went from Australia to the United States. He was appointed by Mr. William Watt, then acting Prime Minister of Australia, to the Australian Press Mission on the Western Front. He carried despatches from Neurteva, one of the Socialist Deputies of Finland, who had escaped the knife of Mannerheim, the "White Butcher," to Letvinoff, then representative in London of Soviet Russia.

In September, 1918, he went to France. He spent twelve months in Europe and "met all classes, all opinions, all manner of men." The various "missions" in Europe for publicity purposes were composed mainly of "capitalist advocates and regene labor men."

The book opens with a quotation from a speech by Roseberry in 1909 regarding imminent war. And in a page or two, Mr. Anstey has the warring nations hard at it, and we are immediately in the agonies of revolution, blood and slaughter.

Considerable pains have been taken by the author to present extracts from speeches, newspapers, journals and periodicals spoken and printed in different countries and various languages, mostly relative to the Russian aspect of European affairs. An endeavor is made to shew the military operations of that country while an ally of the entente, as being deeds of imperishable glory, of success and hopeless defeat, of superhuman endeavor rising again to fresh success, and through internal corruption in Russian public affairs, to helpless impotence. Mr. Anstey, in telling his story of internal affairs in Russia, inverts the order of importance in the relation of events economic and political. But in any case, by his account, Russia was definitely rendered hors de combat in October, 1916. Christmas of that year saw two million deserters from the army. The first Provisional Government was formed March, 1917; it dethroned the Czar. The essential need was peace, and on April 13th, 1917, the first meeting of the "All Russian Congress of Soviets" requested the Allies to make a united declaration of their war objectives. This was ignored.

An outline of rapid events is given racingly up to the establishment of the Soviets in control. Commenting upon the character of M. Lenin, accused of being in German pay, the author says if this was so, the Kaiser "got small change from his bargain." The reign of terror in Finland and the combined efforts of Mannerheim and Von der Goltz in its

direction are stated to have resulted in 100,000 dead. The support given by the Allied governments to the White Guards is vouched for by quotations from various British journals.

Turning from eastern European affairs during the war to the western countries, Mr. Anstey makes some scathing denunciations of men and parties which, while they may or may not be true, are in many cases not substantiated. There are included some chapters that leave us unconvinced as to their value as evidence in explaining European affairs in war time, and in some cases certain very indefinite and quite safe half-charges would have lent more solidity to the book by their absence. Mr. Anstey is, however, a very good journalist, and he insinuates his viewpoint to the understanding in the manner best known to those of his craft.

E. M.

The Soldiers' Problems

PREVIOUS to the great war, which has recently terminated, the general ideas of native born Colonials regarding Great Britain and Europe have been very vague. As a matter of fact the chief source of information has been from the imperialistic news syndicates desirous of encouraging the export of British and European capital for development purposes in Canada and America. As a consequence a good many developed the idea that England and Europe consisted of two kinds of people, i. e., wise and foolish, all depending on which way they felt disposed towards speculating here with their capital.

Another source of information was supplied in petty wrangling with immigrants from across the seas as to the respective merits of their old and new homes.

With the advent of the war opportunity at last came for a trip for the native son into the lands where only their rich neighbors could previously afford the cost of travelling, and these same neighbors now were only too anxious to provide them with the necessary travelling togs and accommodation. Civilization was at stake, and although most of their people had emigrated from civilization previously, the insistence of its necessity for salvation was persistently advocated from the same sources from which they secured their general ideas of Europe, viz., the Press, which cannot live without the support of business interests.

There is no doubt that the Colonial mind was disturbed by the eruption of forces in Europe that were scarcely understood, but it was dimly realized that this disturbance would affect the emigration of capital from Europe and necessarily affect conditions of livelihood. Since those early days of hostilities the Colonial has been continually assailed by the cry of "Beware! Look out for our business." He has been compelled to move, and by forces that do not appear right under his nose.

The art of high finance and European systems of disciplinary action have shadowed those who went out on "The Great Adventure." In addition to the native born Colonial we have the great mass of "new" blood from Europe, swept back again in a Colonial army to make safe their "livelihood" in their new home. Their illusions as to Europe were not of so roseate a nature as those whose knowledge had been more theoretical and not corroborated by actual experience. Their ideas of the high principled politicians of Europe were tinged with a scepticism that they subdued when arguing with the "ignorant" native here.

At any rate a machine was now being developed that would prove the truth of the claims made by the U. S. Government posters as to the army being an agency for education in the form of travelling and seeing the world. The army now held out hopes of varying the dull routine of commerce, industry or the farm. It was only a matter of a few years before even the "unromantic" were swept into the new avenue of endeavor and the process of education resulting has undoubtedly supplied other lessons than

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