



838—Provincial Library  
Parliament Buildings

# WESTERN CLARION

Official Organ of  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
PHILOSOPHY

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

Number 824

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., AUGUST 2nd, 1920.

FIVE CENTS

## Mr. Churchill and Colonel Golovin

ON Saturday the "Manchester Guardian," "Daily News" and "Herald" printed a very remarkable document, brought from Russia by members of the Labor delegation. It is a memorandum written by Colonel Golovin while Russian representative in London, and consists of a report, written for the benefit of the White military chiefs, of the attitude and activities of Mr. Winston Churchill as disclosed in confidential interviews with Colonel Golovin. The memorandum, drawn up some time in the summer of 1919, was apparently circulated to the leaders of the various Russian counter-revolutionary fronts by way of encouraging them, as it was well calculated to do.

Whether accurate or no in all its minor details, the memorandum gives a picture of Mr. Churchill's activities as Minister for War. There is nothing in it to surprise those who have followed Mr. Churchill's policy and career since the war.

Let us remind ourselves first of the general situation. At the beginning of May, 1919, the Government's Russian policy had been stated by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons as one of neither peace nor war. He had repudiated Mr. Bullitt, but declared that Russia's internal Government was no concern of ours. At the same time we were admittedly supplying and munitioning Kolchak and Denikin. The Peace Treaty was about to be presented to the Germans. The occupation of Hungary and the overthrow of the Bela Kun regime had just taken place.

Colonel Golovin begins by saying that difficulties in connection "with the formation of the Yudenitch front by Colonel Steele, who is greatly valued at the British Foreign Office," made him anxious to get into direct touch with Mr. Churchill.

As a medium of approach he addressed himself to Sir Samuel Hoare, whom he found at first dubious as to whether Churchill "would so far violate his outward cautiousness towards us" as to meet Golovin. But by May 4th Churchill had not only read Golovin's memoranda but expressed a desire to desire to meet Golovin at the War Office. He there, on May 5th or 6th, 1919, saw first General Radcliffe, Head of the Operative Department, by whom he was most cordially received, and with whom he had a most instructive conversation. General Radcliffe apparently did not repudiate the idea that the collection of detachments in the North could be done "under cover of the Red Cross," and agreed that any recognition of Estonian independence was impossible. The War Office had decided to send an important military mission to Yudenitch, similar to the Briggs Mission with Kolchak.

At 5.30 on the same day Golovin was received by Mr. Churchill. The conversation lasted about an hour. Mr. Churchill explained that owing to the political conditions of the moment, and in the interest of the "common cause" secrecy must be maintained. The most important part of the conversation was on the question of armed support. Colonel Golovin reported as follows:—

"The question of giving armed support was, for him, the most difficult one. The reasons for this were—the opposition of the British working class to armed intervention. But even in this matter, without promising anything, he would try to help. He had declared in the House of Commons that fresh forces were necessary for the purpose of evacuating the north. He would send under this pretext up to 10,000 volunteers, who would replace the worn-out parts, especially the demoralized

American and French troops; he will also postpone the actual evacuation for an indefinite period (but will not speak about it); and he agrees upon the help of the newly-arrived British troops being actively manifested. That in case of further advance by Admiral Kolchak he would be willing to give active support to the left flank; he does not reject the possibility of help to Yudenitch on the right flank. In short, he will do all he can, but again added that the success of our common cause demanded great secrecy. It was very difficult for him to send military forces to the aid of General Denekin because, as far as the North was concerned, he had a pretext—that of supporting the British troops already there. But the idea of supporting Denekin, were it even by Volunteers, would be carried out by him; he would send up to 2,500 Volunteers under cover of instructors and technical troops, and if these will fight side by side against the Bolsheviks—this will, of course, be natural."

Golovin's general impression was: "In Churchill we have not only a man who sympathizes with us, but also an energetic and active friend . . . He told me that in all Russian questions he recognizes only Admiral Kolchak . . . and said: "I am myself carrying out Kolchak's orders"

Questions in the House of Commons failed to extract from Mr. Churchill anything more than a suggestion that the report contains inaccuracies. But a Blue Book on the North Russian affair is promised. The really wonderful thing is that Mr. Churchill survives his costly failures. All his war gambles, all his expeditions, come to grief, his friends perish, and every movement that he patronises seems doomed to collapse.

—'Common Sense,' (London).

## Conference Doldrums

SINCE the armistice, the Entente Allies have been amusing themselves — and us — with economic juggling. One conference has followed another—each one frittering along the outermost edge of the issue involved,—each one dissolving ineptly away—and each one a failure, signal and complete, to amend the world condition, as obtaining under capitalist civilization—the very objective for which they were called into being.

The reason for the failures is not far to seek. The so-called Allies are, in reality, allies no longer. The object which held them in temporary union has been accomplished, and now each ally is individually intent on acquiring the commercial supremacy so lately wrested from their vanquished rivals. Jealousies, aggressions, recriminations rampant in the camp of the Allies are not merely dividing the Allies, but shattering the wall of their Empire threatening the very existence of the civilization they are fain to perpetuate. Each individual ally seeks to remodel war ruined Europe in the formula of democracy most agreeable to their respective capitalist interests, unable, because of well founded suspicion, to reach any mutual solution; and all of them striving, by ways devious and dark to reconstruct the prostrate Europe of today, in the terms of the vitality of yesterday to continue a social tradition that is gone, as irrevocably as the Sauria of the Peruvian. That is why failure and bitterness rest on the efforts of allied statesmen, grovelling in the filth of hypocrisy and deceit, to

serve the behests of their capitalist overlords.

The imperialist necessities of post-war capitalism are altogether different from the national necessities of pre-war times. Then nations were in process of making, now they are completely developed; then capital was reaching to fuller growth; now it has attained maturity. No single nation is, today, an isolated self-sufficiency. Capital has bound them all together in the ties of commercial intercourse, and a blow, vital to one, spreads along the nerves of trade to the uttermost ends of the earth, carrying injury or destruction to all, in ratio to their places in the schemes of imperialism. Great empires have arisen, with their congeries of "free" states and the maintenance and continuance of those empires, demand chameleon policies, conforming to the ever changing alignments of developing interests.

The ambitions of imperialism must conflict. The natural resources of the world are the prizes in the game of empire, and as all cannot monopolise those resources, the conflict between the rivals ensues, putting its inevitable pressure on the exploited peoples of the world. Hence, big and bigger business is the order of the day, for only mighty accumulations of capital can successfully handle the plant and resources of industrial enterprise.

Those are the conditions, today, confronting capitalist councils, and they imperatively demand immediate answer. The expansion of greater industry forces imperialist capital to act. A rival im-

perialism checks, or overreaches its design, while the social forces of production, void of normal satisfaction, dispossessed and enslaved, in misery and degradation, seeth and riot and rumble, like a gathering volcano, under the throne of privilege.

The triumph of revolutionary Russia and the subjugation of Germany, have entailed the ruin of France. The quarrel over the spoils of Asia, have weakened the bonds of empire, while the recent defeat of Poland has thrown down the last barrier of the "cordon sanitaire," and brought all Europe well under the ascendant star of the new "social contract."

While capital continues, the conferences of capitalist states must devise and decree for capitalist interests, and while capital controls, so long must the orgy of wealth accumulation endure, and the natural sequences of its developed economics poison the well-spring of all social being.

But every conference that is called and melts idly away, not only fails to achieve its object, but advances the progress of the world, to the inevitable point where society must take issue on its own destiny, and build anew on the ground plan of social activity and ownership in the means of satisfaction of life and its desires. The climax is surely fast approaching, and while the heel of the White Terror is rude upon our necks, the certainty that his kingdom is passed away is like strong wine to our hearts.

R.