CHAPTER XIX

THE WHITE ARMIES: IN RUSSIA AND LATER

A speech delivered by General Wrangel at a political conference in Brussels and published in the "English Review" of October 1927, this article is, by the courtesy of the Editor of that journal, here reprinted as the final part of the Memoirs.

At the end of the year 1917 the Government of Kerensky could no longer retain the executive power in their feeble hands. It was seized by a set of people who built on the lowest sentiments of the populace, operating as demagogues do, and promising peace and plenty with idleness. None of these promises were kept. That did not matter to the Bolshevist ringleaders. Russia in its quality of a national state was no concern of theirs. What they sought was a base whence to diffuse their unholy influence over the whole world.

The moment that the Bolshevists laid hands on the executive power, Russia, as a national entity, ceased to exist. Even the name which served to describe it disappeared. All the interests of the State, as such, were sacrificed to those of the Red International. Everywhere this International waged determined war against every element of the national spirit, aggravated class conflicts, and destroyed all the foundations of morality—religion, the fatherland, the family.

Yet, in spite of all, Russia still exists as a nation. Immediately after the Bolshevists seized the reins of power, a few men, stirred by love for their country and jealous for its greatness and glory, raised the national flag that had fallen in the mud. They started in the south of Russia an implacable struggle against the oppressors of their country.

Their appeal was heard; a crowd of officers, soldiers, students, intellectuals, politicians, workers, and peasants flocked to the Don. All those whose hearts were right and courageous, and who could not admit that Russia

was dead, gathered under the national flag. There were men of every class and condition of life, of the most varied ages and political views. Enrolling themselves in the ranks of the National Army, they forgot every item of political or social divergence.

They were all united by the same warm love of their country, and the same desire to sacrifice themselves for her.

Such, in November 1917, was the birth of the White Army. It was the incarnation of the national sentiment, of the revolt of Russian patriotism. United under the folds of the tricolour, they fought from that time for the national cause. This Army, loyal to all the obligations taken over by previous national governments, still continues the struggle for the honor of its country's name, for the resurrection of Russia as a Nation. Its way of fighting has altered; the outward forms which in belong to armies have gone, but the idea which its making has remained untouched.

What is this idea? It is life devoted to the fatherland, eagerness to save her at the expense of life itself, a passionate desire to tear the red flag down from the Kremlin and hoist in its place the National flag.

The struggle which began in the south of Russia soon raised echoes elsewhere, in the north, the north-west, and Siberia. I will not pause here to tell you past history, I will only recall the brilliant successes with which the White Armies began. The troops of General Denikin occupied a third of Russia and advanced within a short distance of Moscow. In the north-west General Youdenitch was already in sight of the fires of St. Petersburg. In the west, Admiral Koltchak had almost reached the Volga.

Yet victory was not in reserve for the White Armies. The troops of the north were driven to the sea and forced to give up the territory they occupied. Some of them perished, while others were obliged to take refuge in Norway. In the northwest the Army of General Youdenitch had to retire to Esthonian territory on which it was interned. The army of Admiral Koltchak in Siberia had to fight in retreat and was dispersed. Finally, in the south of Russia the troops of General Denikin retired to Novorossiisk. What was left of them passed into the Crimea. After a year of heroic struggle this last strip of Russian soil was abandoned.

The failure of the White Armies was due to a number of reasons, and I will not weary the reader by examining them in detail. I will confine myself to mentioning the chief of them. A prominent place is due to the political and

strategic errors of the leaders who did not sufficiently regard the state of feeling among the masses of the people. They exaggerated the importance of their early successes. They did not think sufficiently about securing the possession of the territories they occupied, organizing them, raising new levies to fill the gaps in their ranks, and looking after the provision of victuals and munitions.

The political ignorance of the people accounted for a good deal. They had not yet lost their illusions concerning the Bolshevist power, they still went on believing in the lying promises of the Maximalist agitators. Lastly, the Bolshevist Armies had at then disposition all the resources of an immense country, its reserves of food, its stocks of arms and munitions.

On the other side, the White Armies were short of everything. During the first months of the struggle the only arms and munitions we could draw on were those taken from the enemy. Support from outside was indispensable. It could only come from those by whose side the Russian Army had fought during the Great War. The White Armies who had refused to recognize the shameful peace of Brest-Litovsk and were loyal to then alliances thought they had the right to count on this support.

But the Western Powers were far from realizing the essence of the Bolshevist idea, the danger it threatened to the world. They did not consider fairly the importance of the struggle the White Army was carrying on. They did not understand that this Army, in fighting for its own country, was also fighting for civilization and the culture of Europe. Not only did the White Armies fail to receive sufficient help in time to be of use, they had even on several occasions to run foul of obstacles raised by the former Allies of Russia.

It must be noted that the English alone afforded material assistance to the White Armies. But this help was slow in arriving and inadequate. Support in the shape of armed forces, to a very small amount, to tell the truth, was given by the English, and in part by France. Unfortunately there was never any certainty that this help would not be abruptly withdrawn, and often this happened without any previous warning.

The result was the loss of thousands of lives and immense stores left to plunderers. In the north-west the English, while they supported General Youdenitch and promised him their help, were combining at the same time in his rear with his political enemies, thus giving them the chance at the decisive

moment to stab General Youdenitch in the back.

In the south, the French forces under General d'Anselme, which had occupied in 1919 the port of Odessa, gave up the town when the enemy approached. This action without any warning made the position of the Russian troops and the civil population desperate. Lastly, there can be no excuse for the handing over of Admiral Koltchak to the Bolshevists by General Janin. The Admiral had put himself under General Janin's protection. Handed over to the Bolshevists, he was immediately shot.

In the spring of 1920 the White Armies of the north, north-west, and Siberia had to admit defeat. In the south the troops of General Denikin were thrust on to the Black Sea. The British Government had up to this point lent assistance to General Denikin in the shape of arms and munitions. Foreseeing the success of the Bolshevists, and judging from it that the time had come to pass from the struggle in arms to a rapprochement with the enemy of yesterday, it now requested the head of the White Army to cease all hostilities.

The Government of Mr. Lloyd George took upon itself to enter into negotiations with the Bolshevist Government concerning the amnesty to be granted to the White Army and the peoples of the Crimea. It threatened, if we on our side refused, to deprive us of all assistance.

At this moment our situation seemed desperate The remains of the Armies which had fought in the south of Russia, after evacuating Novorossiisk, numbering about thirty-five thousand, had fled into the Crimea. It was no longer an Army, but a disorderly crowd which had grown slack in its discipline and was morally and physically exhausted after a retreat for hundreds of miles in the height of winter, and a series of defeats. Munitions, artillery stores, and cavalry had been abandoned at Novorossiisk for want of sufficient ships to carry them. In the north, the Crimean Peninsula was covered on the Isthmus of Perekop by weak detachments of no more than five thousand five hundred men. The Army found itself pinned on to the sea, on a scrap of ground, lacking the chance to revictual and fill up its losses in men. The Commander-in-Chief, General Denikin, was so broken by all this that he retired from his duties. The post of Commander devolved on me. Fate had reserved for me a heavy charge. While I fully understood the weight of responsibility that I was taking on, while I knew the difficulties in the grim conditions of continuing the struggle, I judged that I could not decline the

post. I could not promise the Army victory; all I could do was to promise it should come out of an almost hopeless position without loss of honor.

In the answer I sent to the British Government I could not consider the possibility of direct negotiations with the enemy. I left the initiative to Mr Lloyd George, and made Great Britain responsible for its decisions.

Meanwhile I worked feverishly to restore the morale of the army and increase its fighting power. I wrote to King Alexander of Serbia, then heir to the throne and Regent, and begged him to give my Army shelter in case of need. I arranged at the same time that measures should be taken to make evacuation easy, if that course became inevitable. As might have been easily foreseen, the negotiations started by the English with the Bolshevist led to no result. The Government of the Soviets evaded all answer on the business and demanded a series of political concessions. The British Government, informing me of this, insisted that I should enter into direct negotiations. They warned me that a continuation of the struggle might have fatal results, and that in any case I could not count on any assistance from them. It was clear that the British Government, which sought closer relations with the Bolshevist Government, wished above all to see hostilities come to an end. It did not apparently consider that the result would be the sacrifice of thousands of lives.

The Army was already pretty near reorganization, and I answered these threats in May 1920 by ordering the offensive. The troops, by this time rested and reconstituted, showed their old bravely, and the first encounters with the Bolshevists brought victory back to our ranks. The British Government followed this up by recalling their representatives and Military Mission from the Crimea. Between the two parties in the struggle, Mr. Lloyd George did not hesitate to fix his choice on our enemies. The course of events since has shown how unsound his calculations were. Very different was the attitude of the French Government. It declared its disapproval of any approach to the Bolshevists and expressed its sympathy with my action. Unfortunately this attitude did not lead to a true understanding of the international danger presented by Bolshevism. France wished to create a strong Polish State as a means of support against Germany. At the time when hostilities began between Poland and the Government of the Soviets, France thought it necessary to support the White Armies, which might attract to their front a portion of the Red forces. Later, M. Millerand, the French President, made a public acknowledgment that the help which had been lent to the White

Armies had no other aim beyond the saving of Poland. It was said, particularly in an article that appeared in the official newspaper, *Le Temps*, that France had used every means to save Poland, and that one of these means "was the establishment of a threat to the rear of the Bolshevist Armies which was backed by the forces of General Wrangel. The pressure brought to bear by General Wrangel's forces helped to save Warsaw."

The French Government was led by these considerations to recognize in June 1920 my *de facto* Government. This recognition had an especial moral effect, but France had not the time to bring material help of an effective sort into the fray. However, it was this official recognition that enabled the Army to receive a part of the Russian stores available since the Great War in various countries.

Fighting continued successfully in the south of Russia during all the summer and autumn of 1920. All the exertions of the Bolshevists proved futile. But after the defeat before Warsaw of the Armies of the Soviets, the egoistic and shortsighted policy of Mr. Lloyd George, then acting as mentor to the political world of Europe, had a new success. Hostilities were prematurely suspended on the Polish front, and once more the Bolshevists were saved.

Our Army was abandoned to its fate.

It was evident that after the Armistice and the conclusion of the peace with the Poles the Bolshevists would direct their forces against the Crimea, and the White Army could not struggle against such odds. What happened was that the Soviet Government concentrated on the front occupied by my troops more than five hundred thousand men with all their cavalry. Exhausted by long months of incessant fighting, and weakened by all sorts of privations, the White Army was overwhelmed. To save the remnant of the troops and the people who had put themselves under their protection, I gave the order in October 1920 for retreat. The troops fell back by forced marches on the seaports and embarked according to a plan previously arranged. The civil population, those who served in the rear, the sick and the wounded, women and children, were the first to be put on board. The evacuation took place in perfect order. I inspected personally on the cruiser *Kornilov* the harbors used, and I was able to assure myself that all who wished to quit Russian soil found it possible to do so.

Three years of determined struggle, of fighting and suffering, of heroism,

victory, and defeat, followed by fresh victory, then came to an end. We left the last strip of the land of our fathers.

In my order of the day concerning the evacuation I did not conceal the fact that our future fate was unknown to me, that we had no longer any Russian territory to move on, and that we had no resources left. I gave everyone full freedom to settle his own destiny. This order of the day, which warned everyone of the future to be expected, stopped nobody. From October 31st to November 3rd one hundred and twenty-six ships left the ports of the Crimea, carrying one hundred and fifty thousand men who refused to live under the Bolshevist yoke. We left our country for the unknown, for privations, sorrows, and sufferings.

The number of those evacuated was one hundred thousand officers and soldiers and fifty thousand civilians, including among these thirty thousand women and seven thousand children. Of the one hundred thousand officers and soldiers, fifty thousand belonged to the fighting troops, forty thousand to those who served in the rear. There were three thousand pupils from the military schools, and more than six thousand were ill, invalided, or wounded. The fifty thousand civilians included all ranks of society, amongst them peasants and workers. It was no emigration of privileged classes and professions. It was the exodus of National Russia with all the elements that go to make it, its civil organization and its Army. These exiles cherished in their hearts profound faith in a victorious return to the land of their fathers. Of this crowd of *émigrés* it was the Army that from the national point of view formed the most valuable part. It was the only group organized and consolidated by the blood all had shed, the idea they shared. Its new existence showed that the fight for the honor of the country and the remaking of Russia as a nation was not yet ended. It was evident that the Army ought to become the centre to gather round it the Russian *émigrés* scattered in all countries. It was indispensable to keep this nucleus intact.

The moment evacuation was over, the following problems confronted the High Command: provision for all those who had left the Crimea without a roof over their heads, food, or medical assistance, the reorganization of the Army to meet these new and exceptional circumstances, the taking of measures to start by degrees arrangements which would allow them to provide for their existence by their own work without burdening the finances of the countries which would afford them shelter, the regathenng round this nucleus of all the scattered portions of the old Russian Army and of those

who had taken part in the struggle against the Bolshevists on the various fronts, and finally, the concentration round the Army of all the other elements of the nation.

After their arrival in the Bosphorus, the one hundred and fifty thousand refugees were divided into several groups. The principal one, composed of the military units, was portioned out into military camps twenty-five thousand men at Gallipoli; fifteen thousand at the island of Lemnos, fifteen thousand at Tchataldja, in the neighborhood of Constantinople. Finally, more than thirty thousand men were sent off to Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece. The sick and wounded were distributed among Russian and foreign hospital ships. The vessels of the Russian Fleet with their crews, amounting to five thousand men, were sent to Bizerte. The remainder of the civilian refugees were distributed in camps and barracks and maintained at the expense of Russian charitable organizations.

The Russian troops, distributed into camps, maintained at my urgent request their organization with its military ranks and discipline. Realizing the importance of the preservation of order, of the maintenance of discipline and submission to regulations, the representatives of the French Government at Constantinople consented to the complete preservation of the military organization and left the troops the use of their own arms and colours.

But this state of things did not last long. Short-sighted politics, politics of a day-to-day sort, went on. This kind of politics, when dealing with old allies, was thoroughly immoral. The Powers of Western Europe yielded to the demands of their crowds of workers, who were fascinated by the success of their Russian comrades. They stopped all assistance to forces which had fought the Bolshevists. They went further: they put themselves in the way of closer relations with the Soviet Government. England opened the way, Italy followed, and then France. In the last days of November 1920, M. Leygues, President of the French Senate, declared that "he was disposed to authorize commercial operations between French and Russians, and that he did not think it necessary to continue the embargo against the Russian Soviets." "So far as the Government of General Wrangel is concerned," he added, "the defeat of his Army being admitted, France regards herself as relieved of all obligations to him, and will only assist his soldiers on humanitarian grounds." Clearly, in these conditions, the Russian Army was bound to be considered not only useless, but even a nuisance. It offered, in fact, an exceptional case from the standpoint of international law, and formed an obstacle to the

creation of relations and friendly ties with the group of Soviets. The results of this change of politics were soon felt. In January 1920, at Constantinople, General Charpy, commander of the French troops in occupation, issued an order of the day that the principal thing to be considered at the moment was the evacuation of the military and civil camps as quickly as possible. The General indicated a series of measures to be taken for that purpose. In accordance with these directions the commanders of the French camps published in February notices encouraging the men to return to the Russia of the Soviets. It was explained that the French Government had taken all the necessary measures to guarantee the safety of those who returned. At the same time the dwellers in the camps were warned that revictualling would shortly be cut off. In spite of the efforts I made to warn the men of the danger they would incur if they returned to Russia, this threat to cut off their provisions induced something like one thousand five hundred men to sign on the lifts for repatriation. These were sent in the middle of February to Novorossiisk. Some time later, proposals were made to the Russian officers and soldiers that they should emigrate to Brazil as colonists of the State of Sao Paulo. They were promised—on no particular authority—financial help and the grant of free concessions by the Brazilian Government. On this occasion, thanks to my warnings, those who signed were hardly any. Shortly afterwards it became clear that the promises did not coincide with the facts; all those who allowed themselves to be caught were punished for their excess of trust. Those who, in spite of my advice, left for Russia, underwent all sorts of trials. Some of them were shot.

Those who embarked for Brazil became slaves or something near it—not colonists.

I protested, but in vain. In the middle of March the French High Commissioners renewed, with threats about stopping provisions, their demands that the Russian refugees should choose one of three solutions out of the difficulty: return to Russia, emigration to Brazil, or discovery on the spot of work to support their needs. None of these solutions could be accepted. A return to Russia, as earlier experience proved, was risking one's life. Brazil did not take colonists. Looking for work in the desert of Gallipoli or Lemnos was a cruel jest. At this point it will be well to explain that these demands were not due to the question of money. The number of men who found themselves revictualled by the French had materially decreased, for nearly twenty thousand had already left for Serbia. Further, after the

evacuation of the Crimea, I had remitted to the French Government, as a guarantee for the expenses in which it might be involved, securities which amounted in all to one hundred million francs. I protested again, and explained that, if the French Government insisted that my Army should be annihilated, the most honorable means would be to allow that Army to return to Russian ground weapon in hand, so that it might at least find death with honor. A series of measures was aimed against the refractory Russian General-in-Chief; my orders to the troops were intercepted, and I was deprived of the chance of visiting the camps.

Finally, I was invited to leave for Paris on the invitation of the French Government. I answered that I was ready to leave on condition that during my absence the dispatch of my men to Russia and Brazil was suspended, and that I was allowed a free return to Constantinople. The answer I received was that the dismemberment of my Army was inevitable and could not be further delayed. Carrying out the orders of the High Commissioners, the commander of the camp of Lemnos, General Brousseau, demanded an immediate answer with a choice of one of the three solutions I have mentioned above, and asked for a list of those who wished to leave for Russia. Subordinates, unfortunately, took measures deeply offensive to the Russian command. Violence was even used during the embarkation. Some men who were thrust on shipboard threw themselves into the water and got back to the shore. These incidents made a very painful impression everywhere and in the Russian Press. A series of protests was raised against the operations of General Brousseau.

This tragedy of the defenders of Russia as a nation found an echo in part of the French Press. It protested against the violent treatment of those who a few months earlier were fighting under a flag recognized by the French Government. The Government found itself obliged to explain. An official Note published by the Havas Agency declared that the measures taken to propel the Russians towards Russia were dictated by "humanitarian" considerations (!).

At the same time the Government made known its resolve to remove those who had evacuated the Crimea from their dependence on the authority of General Wrangel, who was opposed to the measures taken. "All the Russians who find themselves in the camps," said the Note, "should know that the Wrangel Army no longer exists, that their former commanders have no orders to give them, that their decision depends on nobody; and that

revictualling cannot last any longer." It was easy to declare on paper that the Army of General Wrangel did not exist and the orders of its chiefs had no effect. It was less easy to translate these affirmations into fact: Bound by the same idea, by their faith in their chiefs, united by the blood they had shed and the privations they had endured in the camps of Gallipoli and Lemnos, the troops went on considering themselves under arms, subject to their officers, and in the first place to their Commander-in-Chief.

"The Army which for seven years shed its blood for the common cause with France," I wrote to the High Commissioners, "is not the Army of General Wrangel, but it is the Russian Army, unless the French Government recognizes as such the Army whose chiefs signed the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The desire of the French Government to see the disappearance of the Army of General Wrangel and the discipline of his troops cannot compel the soldiers and officers of Russia. They will never consent, out of deference to the French Government, to betray their flag and their chief."

At last, towards the month of April, General Pellé came to Constantinople as the French High Commissioner. He verified one after another the ineffectiveness of the orders dictated from Paris, took the Russian question in hand, and changed completely the attitude hitherto adopted. The threats to deprive the Russians of provisions stopped; rations, however small, continued to be served. General Brousseau was removed, and relations with the Russian Army palpably improved.

I cannot, however, pass in silence over a detail characteristic of the attitude of the States of Europe towards the White Army. During the negotiations I started to distribute my Army in various countries. There was a question about transferring it to Hungary. The Hungarian Minister of National Defence, in answer to my request, wrote that, in spite of the sympathy a country like Hungary, newly freed from the Bolshevist yoke, felt for the soldiers of General Wrangel, it was impossible for him to authorize such a step without ascertaining the sentiments of the Governments of the Entente, the signatories of the Peace of Versailles. The conference of the representatives of the Entente examined this question on July 21, 1921, and communicated its answer by Note a month later. In this document, signed by the High Commissioner of Italy, Prince Castagnetto, the High Commissioners of the Entente Governments called the attention of the Hungarian Government to the fact that—

> The entry of the Army of General Wrangel into Hungarian territory could not fail to excite commotion and facilitate anti-Bolshevist intrigues which are contrary to the true interests of Hungary and of all the civilized world.

So the Allied Governments testified that it was not Bolshevist, but anti-Bolshevist organizations which represented a danger to the interests of Hungary and of the civilized world.…

And this was said to a country which had gone through the horrors of Bolshevism and suffered the massacres of Bela Kun!

The effect of the period of existence at Gallipoli and Lemnos with its many privations was to bring the men still closer together, to eliminate the weak and the waverers, and to give those who remained the strength to overcome all the privations which eventually awaited them. Thrown, in the middle of winter, without shelter or clothing, on the desert shore of Gallipoli or the arid island of Lemnos, unity of feeling tightened the ranks of the Russian Army.

Shortly on the site of the camps rose a little town built by the Army. Each stone, each bit of wood, each tent was carried by hand, for want of vehicles. The camps were adorned with odd churches, made out of the most unexpected materials. Choral songs, orchestras, and stages were organized. The ruins of Gallipoli were ornamented with drawings recalling the Fatherland. The approaches to the camps were brightened with regimental emblems marked out by the help of pebbles. Inscriptions bore witness to the deep love of the Fatherland, the sentiment of duty—

Remember that thou belonged to Russia

Russia knows that thou wilt do thy duty

Thy duty will only cease with death

Everything vouched for the fact that life at Gallipoli or Lemnos among the ruins, the destitution and the cold, with quite insufficient rations, could not injure the morale of the Army or reduce its bravery.

After my arrival at Constantinople I took measures to organize the Army, so as to allow it to manage to satisfy its own needs by its own work. The principles which guided me were these: "The Army, not wishing to be a burden to the countries which gave it a place of refuge, feeds itself by

working, till the day when it will be called to arms to do its duty to its country."

The negotiations lasted long and met with great difficulties. At last, in the spring of 1921, the Government of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes agreed to employ a large part of the cavalry to guard the frontiers, and the Cossacks of Kuban, as well as the engineers, for various works of public utility. A little later Bulgaria agreed to welcome almost the whole of the rest of the forces. The transport of the troops began in May 1921, and by the beginning of 1922 they were already distributed in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Czecho-Slovakia. The last detachment left Gallipoli in the spring of 1923.

With the arrival of the Army in the Balkans a new period of its existence began. To set troops to work and make them change their weapons for the spade and the pickaxe is a delicate business psychologically and difficult in practice. This was done by slow degrees, in accordance with a plan of minute detail prepared in advance, and, even so, there were great obstacles to get over. The Balkans are, from the economic point of view, but little developed. They do not offer enough things to take up, and cannot supply work to large numbers of people. We have to arrange work on our own account. That was made possible by the organization of the Army all ready to hand. While waiting for its psychological adaptation to the new ways, it was impossible, without injury to the morale of the troops, to distribute the men into too small groups. Gradually the Army got to work, and the number of men who were paid for by the High Command decreased. At the beginning the High Command had to be responsible for the needs of all the officers and under-officers whose whole time was taken by general organizing. As the various units got to work, and the men got accustomed to the new order of things, the cost of keeping the chiefs lessened; officers and under-officers set to work in their turn, and the number of persons whose needs the High Command saw to was reduced. At present all the chiefs without exception are gaining their livelihood. The Russian officers and soldiers themselves gain their bread, with no difference between them, by heavy work in the mines, factories, and yards. The support of the families of the soldiery, the women, the wounded, and the sick who had been incapacitated for work during their services in the ranks, required a large expenditure. But this help was regarded by the Army as a debt of honor. At first the charges were borne by the High Command. By slow degrees the troops at work supported their families and the sick.

I took measures to form a fund for help in each unit. These funds were

maintained at first by the savings made out of the advances by the High Command. Later they were made up with money kept back from the men's pay. The men readily recognized the necessity for this arrangement, and supported if with the utmost goodwill. A part of these sums is the property of the regiment. It provides the expenses of *liaison* and secretarial work, and is used to help men who are unemployed. The other part is the property of each man, and is advanced to him in case of illness or urgent need. It is returned to him if he leaves the regiment. The formation and increase of this capital, guarantee the man against anything that can happen, cover the expenses of removal to look for new work, and allow of the organization of infirmaries, the support of those out of work, etc.

In all this there is a formal principle, always maintained. No chief can receive any assistance, whether it be a salary or relief, at the expense of the deposits made by his men.

When the Army had got to work, it became clear that economic conditions and the smallness of the pay would not allow it to stay long in the Balkans. The necessity of a wider distribution in the countries of Western Europe, where industry is better developed, became beyond doubt. This prospect was no longer to be feared, for the Army had adapted itself to its new conditions and the danger of disorganization was removed. I started negotiations to send small detachments to France. These departures continued regularly from this time and still go on. The men who isolate themselves and leave their useful work, and the small groups who change then country in search of it, remain united to the Army. After their removal they rally round the nucleus existing on the spot, or form new groups. No man, no detachment, remains isolated. Small units and individuals are bound up together.

At the head of the new groups, chiefs are selected who secure connection with the central services of the Army. The military organization of these groups of workers offers many advantages. The men do not feel isolated. They retain a bond with their comrades, with all those who have shared their ideas for years. They do not feel lost in an environment which is strange to them. They can assist each other, improve their position, organize funds for mutual aid, evening lectures and libraries, and meet for religious services. This system of holding together has, further, a practical reason in its favor, for it influences the improvement of wages. The organization and discipline of military groups of workers make inevitably an impression on the managers

of the businesses concerned. Very often these are ready to spend considerable sums to improve the position of the group. In numerous instances the management give a favorable hearing to the requests of the leader of the group, and grant large sums for the creation of churches and libraries, and to house the officiating minister and give him a salary. A joint request by the members of the group, conveyed through the medium of its chief, is commonly accepted, when individuals would ask in vain.

While the Army was geographically distributed to facilitate its search for work, I attempted to rally round it all the military figures who had taken part in the Great War, not only on the Russian front, but also in France and at Salonika, as well as those who had joined in the fight against the Bolshevists on the various fronts and found themselves scattered over all the countries of the world. All these men were linked together by a single idea—a boundless love of their country; they were attracted to each other, and to the Army, the only organized national centre. Anticipating these sentiments, I took measures to form out of all these men a single whole. My efforts resulted in 1924 in the foundation of the General Union of Old Soldiers of Russia, which brought together all the officers' organizations and all the units of the Russian Army in exile. This General Union of Soldiers is regulated by Statute. This Statute, which admits certain variations demanded by local conditions, is formally recorded in the countries where those affiliated to the Union happen to be. The Union is, then, a legal organization existing under the protection of the laws of the country where it operates. It counts among its members more than forty thousand men with strong ties of union. It is an entire Army, an Army of workers with a flexible organization and a very strong sense of discipline, though that is entirely voluntary discipline is a matter of personal choice, for there is no means of punishment apart from purely moral measures. It is an order of knights.

All the members of this Army of workers live by their own labor. They give up a part of their pay to support the system, and help those who are ill or unemployed. Here is a thing unique in our practical and commercial century: an organization whose members not only receive no pay, but pour out their pennies gladly to remain in its ranks! These sums are almost enough for the needs of the Army, yet the organization to be kept up is huge. It has cost unheard-of efforts and the strongest of wills; but the Russian Army in exile is today indestructible. It has no fear of poverty; it is used to the hardest work. Since it modified its outward form, it has no more fear of those who wish it

ill, for it is under the protection of the laws of the countries which have given it shelter. It fears only one thing, the idea of ceasing to be the Russian Army. That is why it cannot give up its chief mission—the fight for the resurrection, the honor, and the glory of the fatherland.

The General Union of Old Soldiers of Russia is an organization of evident weight. It is the only national Russian organization which represents abroad with lively strength the idea of the nation; it forms the counterpoise to the International, which has seized the land of Russia and bent it beneath its yoke. As it owes no allegiance to any political party or any foreign Government, it represents by itself a great political force. The Union of the Old Soldiers of Russia preserves and maintains the orders of the old Imperial Russian Army at the moral level it desires by means of lectures, conferences, and clubs during the brief hours of leisure, and keeps up military attainments among its members. It brings together under the inspiration of one idea some tens of thousands of men, it unites them in a single military family with the motto, "All for one, one for all," it supplies them with a means of mutual help; and so it makes life easier for Russian patriots, and helps them to bear the calamities that have fallen upon them. There can be no doubt that, as soon as the Bolshevists fall, however that may happen, the Union is destined to play a decisive part in the resurrection of the national force in arms and in the reestablishment of law and order. The Red Army, which is a political organization intimately connected with the political regime whence it sprang, cannot survive it, and will disappear with it.

Today the Russian emigrants are divided into several political clans which go on talking with passionate zeal. These discussions surprise foreigners, they do not realize that the very existence of these differences shows that the difficult life of the exile has not killed his spirit, that we are seeking eagerly the larger hope, and that out sentiments turn with ardour to our country. In these wide divisions of emigrants the Union of Old Russian Soldiers has found general sympathy, and at this moment it counts friends and supporters in all the political camps of the Russian Dispersion.

What is, then, the programme of this organization? What are its political ideals? They are to fight to the death against the Communist power which has subdued Russia, to deny any possibility of treating with it; to believe in the Russian people, and the conviction that this people alone has the right to choose the forms of its future government and to arrange its country on its own lines.

Representing national Russia, we do a unique service to our country. Owing no allegiance to anybody, we are ready to advance with all those who are against Communism and Socialism. We seek nothing for ourselves, and do not desire the restitution by force or the old preferential rights of the governing classes. As servants of our country, we are ready to join all the Russians who have fought and are fighting now against the Bolshevists, and all those who to this day have been forced to remain in Russia under the yoke of the power they hate and are obliged to obey.

Six years have passed since the day when we left our native soil. By painful work the Russian Army gains its bread, enduring affronts and humiliations. But in spite of all its privations and misfortunes it has not lost its faith in the approaching triumph of the sacred cause. Slowly the eyes of Europe are being opened to the real meaning of Bolshevism. The nations of Europe are beginning to understand the danger of the Red madness, of the risk the world of civilization runs in the existence of an international hot-bed which uses the immense resources of our land to keep up its destructive work. The heart of our country has been quickened by the forces of sanity, they will grow and cannot be stopped. We are no longer alone in our struggle, owing our existence to none but ourselves, we wait calmly for the day when our forces will be recalled by our country, and we shall give them to her joyfully. The other day I visited the grave of the Unknown Soldier. What a magnificent symbol of heroism, love, and an Army's self-sacrifice for its country! Passers-by uncovered to pay homage to the hero. Every country has put up similar monuments. Everywhere the memory of the hero and patriot is commemorated. The Russian Army alone is forgotten. Its high deeds, its privations, and its sufferings are nowhere remembered. Deprived of its country, hunted and disowned, it is forced to earn its bread by hard work, in the mines, the factories, the yards. The unknown Russian soldier, who has shed his blood so lavishly for the common cause, still waits for the moment of his honoring. His tomb is deserted. He has no crown, no flame of remembrance. But we are confident that the hour of recognition is at hand.

History, which knows no favoritism, will tell the importance of our struggle, the capacity of our sacrifices. It will know that the fight we carried on for the love of our country, for the resurrection of Russia as a nation, was indeed at the same time to safeguard the culture of Europe, the struggle for an age-long civilization, for the defence of Europe against the Red terror. On that day the nations of Europe will salute the Russian Army, paying homage

to its valor, its sufferings, and its death agonies.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

General Baron Pyotr Nikolayevich Wrangel was a Russian engineer and military leader born on April 27, 1887. Volunteering for the cavalry at a young age, he distinguished himself with bravery and tactical ingenuity in the Russo-Japanese War. He was promoted rapidly, commanding a cavalry squadron in World War I. Wrangel was one of the first Russian officers in that war to be awarded the Order of St. George (4th degree), the highest military decoration of the Russian Empire. As political turmoil swept through his country, Wrangel was a trusted confidant and advisor of many high ranking officers, even briefly serving as the Czar's aide-de-camp.

After resigning his commission rather than serve under the failed Kerensky government, Wrangel briefly retired to private life until he was almost murdered by a Bolshevik terror squad. He then joined General Denikin's Volunteer Army, where he rose to international prominence for his many victories and integrity. Eventually forced out of the Volunteer Army after clashing with Denikin, Wrangel was abroad when the White Army collapsed after its failed assault on Moscow.

While others scrambled to save themselves, Wrangel returned to Russia from his safe exile to rebuild the anti-communist movement. Under the command of Wrangel, the White Army retook Crimea and the surrounding area from a communist force many times its size. Afterwards, they fought a series of brilliant holding actions while trying to build international support. When victory finally became impossible, Wrangel led the orderly evacuation of White forces and civilian refugees.

Once abroad, Wrangel continued his career of service, working to improve conditions for the White émigrés scattered across the globe. He died suddenly on April 25, 1928. His family believed that he was poisoned by Soviet agents. He was survived by his beloved wife Olga and his four children Peter, Alexis, Helene, and Nathalie.