

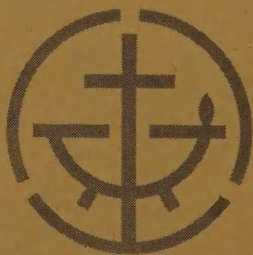
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~ RUSSIAN ~
IMPRESSIONS

G. BROMLEY OXNAM



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RUSSIAN IMPRESSIONS

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Garfield By
G. BROMLEY OXNAM, 1891

*Pastor of the Church of All Nations
Los Angeles, California*

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
1927

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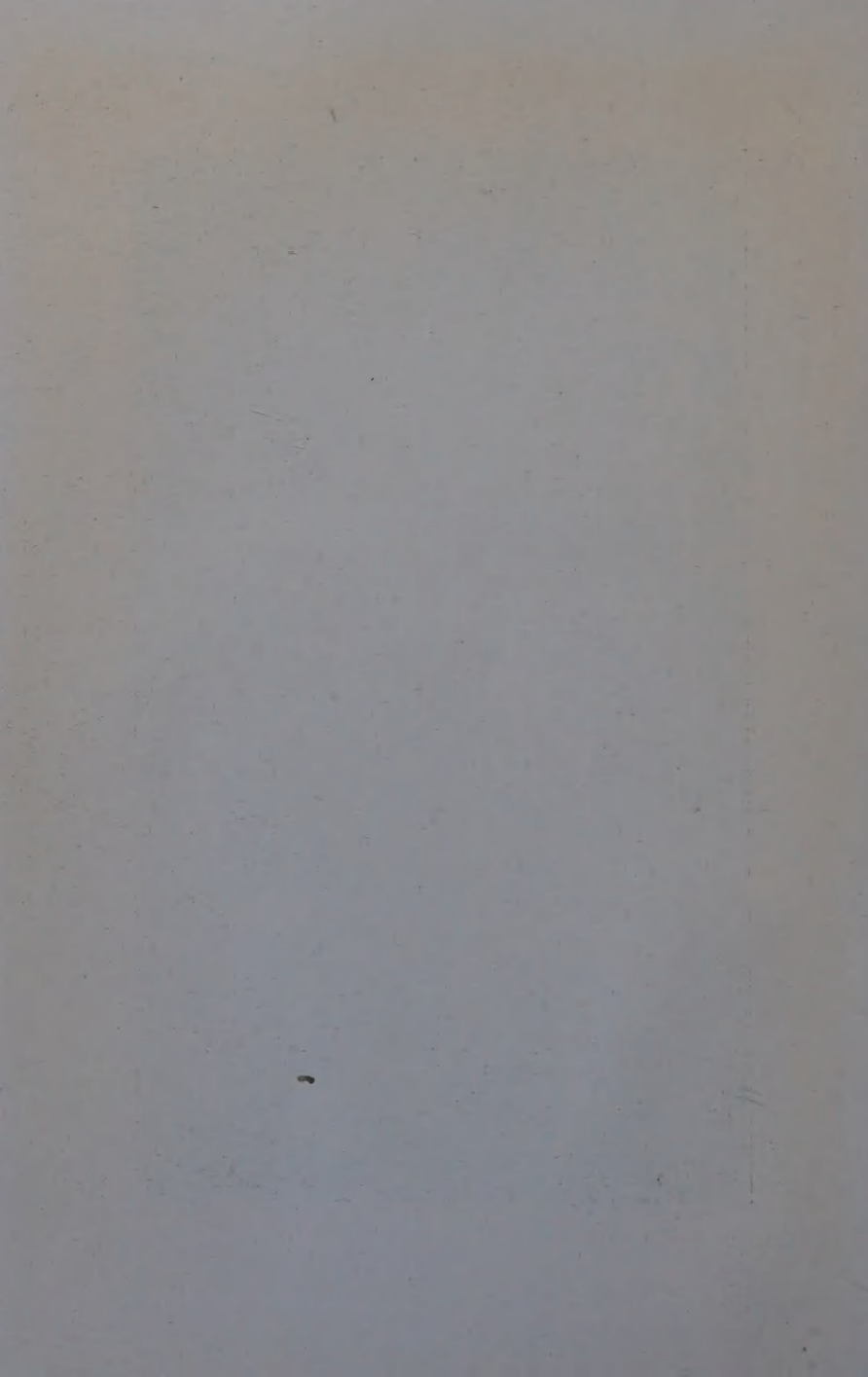
*This little booklet is dedicated to
ROBERT, PHILIP and RUTH
whose cheerful letters and con-
stant love made the days in far-
off Russia less lonely and whose
lovely greeting made the return
to California a never-ending joy.*

Clay, Russell F.



A MOSCOW RECEPTION

Madame Kameneva is the lady in the center. To the left are Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page, while to the right are Miss Louise Gates and the writer.



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Foreword

WHEN any one returns from Russia and dogmatically proclaims —“This is *the* situation,” it is reasonably certain that he does not speak the truth. There is no more complex situation in world affairs today than that in Soviet Russia. First of all, we are dealing with more than one hundred forty millions of people. Within the confines of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are one hundred nationalities. Text-books are actually published in more than sixty languages, to carry on the work in the schools. Some one has said that Russia is not the most Eastern of Western nations, but rather the most Western of Eastern nations. Some of the members of our party, untravelled in the Orient, found themselves judging Eastern mental attitudes and activities by Western standards, and thereby drawing incorrect conclusions. This was due to the fact that Russia is actually more Oriental than Occidental.

Added to the complexity that results from numbers, various nationalities, and the Oriental mind, is the fact of vastness. Russia occupies between one-

sixth and one-seventh of the land area of the globe. It is possible to travel nearly six thousand miles in one direction from Moscow, and still be in Russia. It is a land of incalculable natural wealth; great forests, untold mineral values, immense fisheries, and extensive agricultural areas. Before the Revolution Russia led the world in the production of rye and platinum. She was second in oil, wheat, and railway mileage, third in cattle, fourth in iron, and sixth in coal. Furthermore, behind the present situation lies the thousand-year story of Russian history. It is a millenium of war, bloodshed, and tyranny.

Then came the World War. Russia lost more men in battle dead than any nation. Resentment, flowing sullenly like slow moving rivers, was suddenly transformed into the rushing torrent that follows the cloudburst. Russia was in revolution. Changing our figure and using one from Hindus' "Broken Earth," revolution is like a colossal plow; the packed earth is broken; all is overturned. The criminals of yesterday become the heroes of today. Think now of the factors: numbers, nationalities, eastern mind sets, vastness, centuries of despotism, the suffering of war, revolution. Then add the theories of the Communists and their attempts to put them into practice, plus Allied stupidity and blundering intervention, the famine, the virtual breakdown of the industrial life of the nation as a result of pre-war inefficiency, war-time over-use, and Communist bureaucracy, and other factors too many to recount, and you have as the sum, a total

of factors revealing a problem so complex that the keenest mind is baffled.

I do not believe any person is sufficiently versed in the Russian situation to warrant the use of dogmatic generalization. I do not think any Commission can go into Russia and return with recommendations, calculated to solve the problem, summed up in neat little statements, listed as first, second, and third. The sincere student seeks to relate his impressions, keep his mind open, continue his research, and endeavor to be in a position to create better understanding between the nations, but that is about all he can do.

I was a member of the American delegation that entered Russia during the summer of 1926. Its leader was Sherwood Eddy, and as a result of his wide international understanding, his position as one of our leading Christian statesmen, and his friendships which have resulted from years of world travel and study, he was able to arrange interviews for the delegation with leaders of note in England, France, Germany, Italy, and at the League of Nations. The delegation sought through such contacts to ascertain the attitude of government officials, business men, labor leaders, educators, churchmen, refugees, and others, toward the present Russian regime. Interviews were had with such men as Premier Baldwin of England; President Von Hindenburg of Germany; Gaston Jeze of France; the leaders at the League of Nations; Ramsay MacDonald, J. H. Thomas, Arthur Henderson and Frank Hodg-

es of British labor; and people of similar station in the other lands mentioned.

While in Russia, with four of our party able to speak Russian and twelve speaking two or more languages; given freedom to travel where we pleased, visit what we pleased, and see whom we pleased, various members of our party met about thirty leaders of the present government, among whom were Stalin, Chicherin, Lunacharsky, Smidovich, and Smilga. In addition, we met a few people of prominence in the old regime, who are thoroughly opposed to the present government and live in constant fear. We met the heads of the various branches of the Church, were received by the President and Cabinet of the Tartar Republic, travelled from Berlin to Moscow, thence to Nizhni-Novgorod, down the Volga to Kazan, then into the villages, and back to Moscow. Some of the members of the party journeyed into the Ukraine and the Caucasus regions; others into the Donetz Coal Basin; while one member made the trip from Peking to Moscow and return. All of us visited Petrograd. We returned variously, some by way of Poland, others by Latvia, others by Esthonia or Finland.

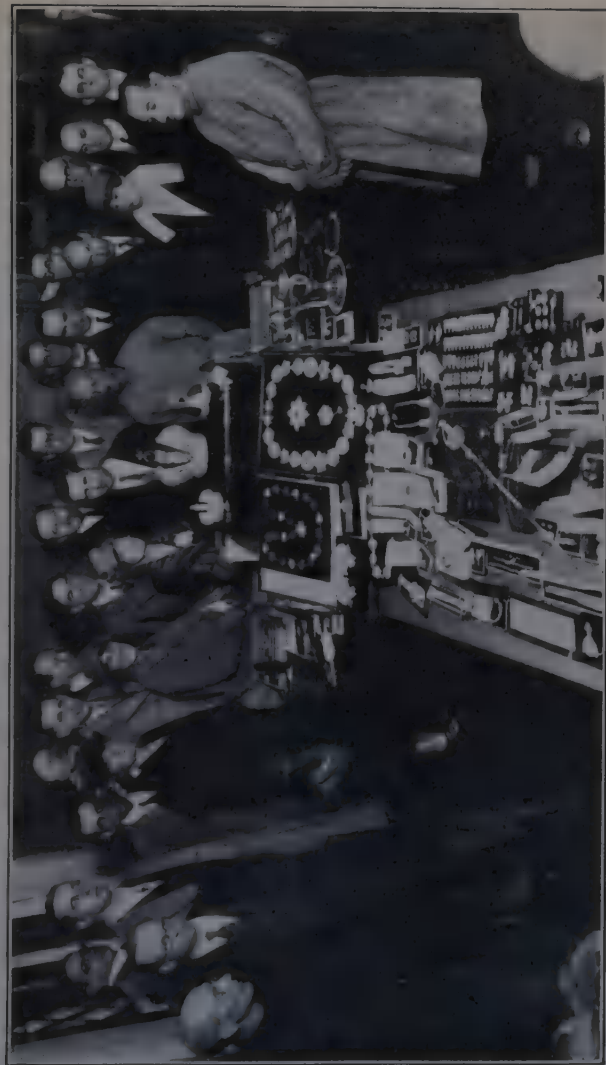
Some of us had spent several years in the study of Russia. The group was composed of twenty-four members, from twelve states, and of seven different vocations. It had but one objective, namely, to ascertain what is going on in Russia. It has brought back its impressions, which will be found in numerous magazine articles and heard in many lectures, addresses and sermons. Each member has been free

to state his own impressions, and has spoken solely for himself. The lectures that follow represent my impressions, and the group in no sense is responsible for them. The student of Russian affairs must recall that these talks were given to popular audiences. They seek to accurately relate impressions for the purpose of enabling our people to understand Russia better. They are in no sense an attempt to be a complete treatment of the theme—Present Day Russia. It will be noted almost immediately that numerous important fields have not been entered. There is no study of the peasant, though of course he is referred to often. The cooperative movement, which is of great significance; the trade unions, which constitute perhaps the most powerful single group in Russia; the new legal system; the condition of women, and the like, are omitted.

These lectures were given first as a series of Sunday evening sermons at the Church of All Nations, Los Angeles, California. They were given later before Teachers' Institutes, Business Men's Clubs, Schools, Colleges, Women's Clubs, and Church bodies. The chapter dealing with "Religion in Russia" appeared as a syndicated article in the Christian Advocates of the Methodist Episcopal Church. If it be these talks aid in developing a better understanding of the problems faced by Russia today, and help to remove the misunderstandings that have resulted from the propaganda that has come from both sides since the Revolution, then perhaps their publication may be justified. What is needed in order to behold the present day Russia is a motion

picture camera. Change is constant. The Revolution is a living thing. Unfortunately, we have been trying to look at Russia through a stereoscope. In the old days we took a card with two pictures of the same thing upon it, and upon looking through the stereoscope we beheld, with focus deepened, one picture. We have done the same thing in viewing Russia. Regardless of how many pictures that have passed before our eyes, we have seen only the picture of our prejudices. This is the result of the radical propaganda that has revealed Russia as a heaven, or the reactionary propaganda that has pictured it as a hell. Russia is neither an Elysian Field nor a Brimstone Corner. What we need now is the faithful picturization of the cinema camera.

I wish space permitted reference to each member of the party. I shall treasure the friendships through the years. The spirit that was present in this group was indeed a token of a better day. Members of widely divergent viewpoint were at one in the desire to arrive at the truth. A spirit of tolerance and respect, the practice of Christian brotherhood, and loyalty to convictions honestly reached characterized the group. I must express my debt of gratitude to Sherwood Eddy, whose invitation made possible my inclusion in the party, and whose zealous pursuit of truth, courageous acting upon conviction, and personal incarnation of the ideals he preaches, are a constant source of inspiration to me.



THE CROWN JEWELS

The American Delegation views the famous treasures of the Romanoffs

I

Romanoff Russia and the Red Revolution

IT WAS LATE one afternoon in December, 1918, that I met Catherine Breshkovsky. We were about to sail from Yokohama, but learning of her presence in the city, we called upon her at the hotel. She entered the room with face alight, and reached forth both hands to welcome us, exclaiming "You are Americans!" It seemed quite impossible that this woman, lovingly called "the little grandmother of the Russian Revolution," was more than seventy years of age. Her mind was keen. Her step was light, and her spirit resolute. There was hatred for the Bolsheviki upon her lips, but the dream of a free Russia was in her heart.

As a lad I had read of the tyranny of Czarism. The word *Russia* had been synonymous in my mind with despotism and oppression. In meeting Breshkovskaya I saw for the first time one of the nobles, for she was of noble class, who had striven to lift the yoke of oppression from the back of Russia. After that interview I read the tragic story of her life written by Alice Stone Blackwell, and also some

of her experiences as reported by Ernest Poole. I found that this little woman had spent nearly thirty years in the prisons of the Czar. Relating the attempt of eight men to escape, she said, "All were brought back to Kara. For this we were all punished. One morning Cossack guards entered our cells, seized us, tore off our clothes, and dressed us in convict suits alive with vermin. That scene cannot be described. One of us attempted to commit suicide. Taken to an old prison we were thrown into the 'black holes'—foul little stalls off a low grimy hall which contained two big stoves and two little windows. Each of us had a stall six feet by five. On winter nights the stall doors were left open for heat, but in summer each was locked at night in her own black hole. For three months we did not use our bunks, but fought with candles and pails of scalding water, until at last the vermin were all killed. We had been put on the 'black hole diet' of black bread and water. For three years we never breathed the outside air. We struggled constantly against the outrages inflicted upon us."

I came home from the Orient resolved to know Russia better, to study its history, to read its literature, and to learn if it were possible the truth relative to the causes that had produced the Revolution, and the events that had followed in its train. After two or three standard historical studies, together with close reading of Maurice Baring's *The Russian People*, and the more reliable treatises dealing with the economic and cultural backgrounds of Russia, I turned to its literature. William Lyon Phelps'

Essays on Russian Novelists, P. Kropotkin's *Russian Literature*, and D. S. Mirsky's *Contemporary Russian Literature* proved to be indispensable introductory volumes. Then came the never to be forgotten hours with the marvelous novels. No wonder Professor Phelps remarks "Russian fiction is like German music—the best in the world." Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* was the first great Russian novel I read. It was costly reading because I immediately purchased his complete works.

Dostoyevsky gripped me more deeply than either Tolstoy, Gogol, or Turgenev. His own tragic experiences, his imprisonment, his sufferings, his mistakes, portrayed in *The Letters from the Dead House*, *The Idiot*, and *The Gambler* dethroned Queen Romanticism in the realm of my literary interest and established King Realism once and for all. In *Crime and Punishment* Dostoyevsky forces the reader to suffer with poor Raskolnikoff as conscience, preying upon the murderer's mind, drives him to surrender. Where is a purer character than Sonia of the streets?

Many people have said, since my return from Russia, "How I envy you!" Read Gogol's *Dead Souls* and know Russia better than ever the unread tourist comprehends that vast land. Study the rollicking, though tragic *Taras Bulba*, by the same author, and live the adventurous life of warring Cossacks of centuries gone by. He who reads the literature of Russia, slowly grasps the fact that instead of romance with its glorification of the past, he finds realism voicing tremendous protest. The

suffering artist found opportunity for self expression in the novel, and in him the masses became articulate.

The literature of this mighty people, voices, as their history reveals, a story of a thousand years of bloodshed, wars, oppression, and terror. The Czarina wrote to the Czar, during the trying days before abdication, urging him to be strong, saying, "Russia loves to feel the whip." Loving it or not, it is certain the people felt it for many weary centuries. The way to Siberia was in fact a "well-worn road with snows incarnadined," and its tortured travelers possessed little save the "worn sandals of a tireless faith." A little group of highly cultured aristocrats knew beauty, lived luxuriously, and worshipped in magnificent churches where priests clad in costly raiment performed the mass. No wonder someone raised the query "was there more religion in the mass within the cathedral or in the masses without parading the streets in protest?" But even the privileged lived under the fear of the Czarist tyranny, wondering whether the very members of their households were part of the dread secret police.

AUTOCRACY A FIRST CAUSE OF REVOLUTION

What I am seeking to suggest is that *one of the major causes of the revolution was the autocracy of the Czarist regime. Russia was an absolute despotism.* Its leaders believed in and used terrorism to prevent legitimate reform. When force repression seemed unable to cope with the rising demands

of the masses, they hesitated not to foment war with other lands, extend the boundaries of the empire, and the while shift the interest of the people from reform to war, playing upon the patriotism of the poor, who were lied to by priest, teacher, and official. Force repression usually develops as a natural reaction reliance upon force revolution as the only remedy.

This summer I visited many places in Russia, and ever present was the grim though palsied hand of the Czar. In Leningrad, the Palace Square! Beneath my feet were the very stones upon which nobles, thinkers, upper class folk had fallen during the early decades of the last century. Here, too, women, children, and workingmen had come, led by a priest. They trusted the Czar and believed he would make some concessions in the interests of democratic government. They were met by soldiers, shot down, and that sad day of 1905 had gone down in Russian history as "Bloody Sunday."

Across the square and into the Winter Palace the revolutionists of November, 1917 had swarmed. Today the Palace is in part used as a Revolutionary Museum. Here one glimpses a picture of Romanoff Russia seldom visioned. The first room is devoted to the December Insurrection of 1825, when certain army officers sought to rid Russia of Czarist despotism. Here are the cannons fired at the conspirators, the documents of historic interest and the portraits of the leaders. Other rooms contain pictures these poor fellows painted during their exile in Siberia, little water color sketches no doubt cre-

ated during the long, lonely hours of the Siberian winter. A painting of Fr. Muraviev hangs upon the wall of the second room. He was one of the leaders and as a consequence executed. The documents and mementoes of the revolutionary attempts from 1840 to 1860 are preserved, and the activities of "The Land and Liberty Movement," "The People's Liberty Organization," and the principal events in the movement leading to the assassination of Alexander II are portrayed. Samples of the various types of bombs are actually on exhibition.

As we walked through the many rooms of the museum, in motion picture fashion we caught hasty flashes of printing presses used for propaganda purposes in decades gone by, models of prisons, pictures depicting methods of torture used by the police, and even the carriage in which Alexander II took his last drive. The back part of this carriage was destroyed by a bomb thrown by Ryssakov. Immediately upon the right hand is the portrait of Grinievitzky, the man who threw the second and fatal bomb. A nearby room is arranged so as to represent the cell of L. Yanovich in the terrible Schlüsselburg fortress. The chief events of the French Revolution, of the meetings of the First, Second, and Third Internationals are shown, and one large room is given over to the material of historic interest in the private and public life of Lenin.

Personally, I do not believe in the use of the war method to gain ends that are right or wrong. But after having spent a morning in the Revolutionary Museum, and beholding the models of prisons, the

exhibits depicting the methods of torture, the portraits of the sufferers, which tell in chronological fashion the story of a hundred year struggle of people who were actually demanding less political freedom than the American takes for granted in our land, I could better understand why a million scourged men had risen in their awful might. In considering the causes that led to the overthrow of Romanoff rule, the student must carefully evaluate the fact of despotism. Such study will make it easier to understand the spirit that prompted the Bolsheviks to allow the hated statue of Alexander III to remain in the square opposite the railroad station in Leningrad, and to inscribe upon it the verse of Demian Byedny:

THE SCARECROW

My son and my father were executed when living
and now disgrace has overtaken me even after
death; I stand here like a brazen scarecrow for
the land that has shaken off forever the yoke of
autocracy.

It is not difficult to comprehend why Thomas Bailey Aldrich wrote:

From yonder gilded minaret
Beside the steel-blue Neva set,
I faintly catch, from time to time,
The sweet, aerial midnight chime—
“God save the Tsar!”

Above the ravelins and the moats
Of the white citadel it floats;
And men in dungeons far beneath
Listen, and pray, and gnash their teeth—
“God save the Tsar!”

The soft reiterations sweep
Across the horror of their sleep,
As if some demon in his glee
Were mocking at their misery—
“God save the Tsar!”

In his red palace over there,
Wakeful, he needs must hear the prayer.
How can it drown the broken cries
Wrung from his children's agonies?
“God save the Tsar!”

Father they called him from of old—
Batuschka! . . . How his heart is cold!
Wait till a million scourged men
Rise in their awful might, and then—
“God save the Tsar!”

I too had looked across the “steel-blue Neva,”
and had visited the Peter and Paul Prison. I had
seen the very cell wherein a scholarly soul like Peter
Kropotkin had spent long, black years. Surely his
heart must have been cold not to have heard their
cry.

RAPID TRANSITION FROM SEMI-FEUDALISM TO WESTERN CAPITALISM

Why did the revolution come? One basic cause
was the tyranny and oppression of the Romanoffs,



MADAME KAMENEVA ENTERTAINS

The home of a dispossessed rich man used by the Foreign Office and the Society for Cultural Relations to receive guests. Note the china of the former Czar. President Tully C. Knoles and Professor Jerome Davis are among the guests in the foreground.

but there was a second cause seldom considered in America. Russia was in fact a semi-feudal country. Her leaders sought to develop industry, and during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, Russia began to acquire the character of a capitalist country. Capitalist methods of production assumed an increasingly prominent place in agriculture, while industrial development went forward at an unbelievable pace. The nature of this industrial development, together with its rapidity, offers an explanation of *the second cause of revolution, which was the growth of industrialism controlled by a foreign investing class content with high return and uninterested in Russian politics, coupled with an exploited, highly class-conscious, and concentrated working group which grew to think in revolutionary terms and which considered its mission that of leading the unorganized peasant masses.*

Michael Farbmann in his article in *The Historian's History of the World*, and in his exceptionally able books, *Bolshevism in Retreat* and *After Lenin*, supports this contention with a convincing mass of statistical data. He points out that Russian industrial development is a matter of the last fifty years. The speed of its development is seen in the rapid increase of town population. Between 1885 and 1897 the town population increased 33.8 per cent. During the same period the entire population increased but 15.2 per cent. The city population was really increasing three times as fast as the rural. In 1897 the population of all Russia was 128,000,000. In 1914 the figure is generally given as 175,000,000.

Using the production of cast iron as an index figure, we find that in 1888 Russia produced 40,000,000 poods of cast iron. By 1898 the production had trebled, and by 1900 it was actually six times greater than in 1888. Between 1895 and 1900, to compare the rapidity of Russian growth with that of other industrial nations, Great Britain increased her cast iron production 13 per cent, France 58 per cent, Germany 61 per cent, the United States 76 per cent, while Russia's increase was 220 per cent. This amazing growth is seen also in railway extension. During the last five years of the nineteenth century Russia averaged annually an increase of 2812 versts. A verst is approximately two-thirds of a mile. Germany, even during the period of most rapid railway extension only averaged about 1500 kilometers. A kilometer is approximately the same distance as a verst.

Two major facts in this connection were suggested above. The first is that most of the capital used in this speedy expansion came from outside Russia. The government was anxious that this development go forward quickly. It therefore made it possible for the investing capitalist to secure extraordinary economic and financial advantages. The capitalist, interested in profits and able to secure cheap labor, did not develop an ordinary interest in political life. In most capitalist nations, big business seeks not only industrial opportunity, but endeavors to grasp political control or secure special privilege. In Russia it was apparently unnecessary, since the bureaucracy in self-interest

granted the investor the conditions he demanded. Hence there grew a capitalist group, largely foreign, satisfied with its magnificent return on investment, uninterested in politics and therefore without organized political strength.

On the opposite side lies the other fact. While Russia is not in the strict sense an industrial nation, nevertheless, her industrial life was highly concentrated. The workers in industry comprised less than 10 per cent of the population, but because of the high degree of industrial concentration resulting from the construction of large factories, this group became class-conscious and became convinced that its mission was to lead the peasant class in the struggle for emancipation. It is with considerable surprise that the American learns that there were actually more workers in Russia employed in factories of one thousand or more operatives than in the United States. The United States had three times the number of industrial operatives in 1914 that Russia possessed, but less operatives in large factories. In that year there were 1,255,000 such workers in factories employing one thousand or more in the United States, while in Russia there were 1,300,000, not including miners. Forty-three and eight-tenths per cent of Russian workers were employed in the big factories. But 20.5 per cent of American workers labor in large establishments. There were actually more workers in factories employing five thousand in Russia than in industrial Germany. This industrial group, class-conscious, developing organization, became a fertile field for

the revolutionary propaganda of direct action. It used its industrial power to secure not only industrial concessions but political change. If the figure 100 is used to indicate the number of strikes in Russia between 1900 and 1910, and we compare Russia with America, our figure would be 35, and that of Germany 17. Here, therefore, is a second great causal factor, a nation in transition from semi-feudalism to capitalism, with its capitalist class foreign and politically weak, and its working class highly concentrated, fairly well organized, becoming increasingly revolutionary, and convinced it was commissioned to act as the vanguard in the coming conflict.

THE LAND HUNGER OF THE PEASANTS

A third great cause leading to revolution was the land hunger of the peasants. Despite emancipation, serfdom was practically re-established in new form as a result of economic pressure which in turn resulted from the necessity of paying taxes and redemption fees, lack of sufficient land, and certain other legalistic and administrative measures, such as collective responsibility in the matter of taxes, and the passport system. Count Witte himself wrote, "The peasants are free from the slave-owners. But they are now slaves to arbitrary power, legal disabilities and to ignorance. . . . The peasants have ceased to be private property. That is all that remains of the reform of February 19, 1861." The peasant has believed, rightly or wrongly, that the

land belonged to him. He had been denied that which he insisted was his right. With such a mental attitude, coupled with land hunger and landlord oppression, the peasant became a revolutionary force. It has been estimated that from five to ten dessiatines are necessary for a peasant to support his family. A dessiatine is about two and three-quarters acres. About one-half of the peasant holdings averaged 4.9 dessiatines, while the other half in less fertile areas averaged about 11.1. There were, however, many holdings that averaged between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$. While Russia possesses vast land areas she likewise has a tremendous rural population. If the peasant population is used as the figure in determining the average, we find that the average holding in Canada is 11.9 acres, in the United States, 11.4; in Denmark 7; in Great Britain 7.2; and in Russia but 6.2. Russia sows but 26.2 per cent of the arable land, as against Germany's 48.8 per cent, and the yield is less than one-half that of Britain. Noting these facts, considering the vast peasant population, and recognizing that emancipation was in part designed to develop capitalist methods in agriculture, we find the "emancipated" peasant unable to pay taxes and support himself upon the newly acquired land. The landlord found it possible to secure peasant labor in payment of taxes and to buy in abandoned holdings, thereby increasing his estate.

Because of increasing shortage, the landlord let out land on shares but the system was frightfully inefficient. The peasant was an unwilling worker,

and the landlord gave little supervision. Soon the landlords began to give up this serf-labor, and refused to let the peasant work out his redemption fees and other dues. He began to employ free labor. The peasant faced a landlord class extending its holdings and now unwilling to let it out for the peasant to work it on shares. The peasant must accept a wage or leave. By 1897 twenty million peasants, because of such pressure, left the land and took up work in the towns or became artisans in the villages. The refusal of the landlord to lease, coupled with extension of holdings, naturally decreased the size of the peasants' average holding, or in a word, increased land hunger. At last the sullen peasant found leadership in the urban proletariat. Long before 1917 the forces of autocracy, transition from semi-feudalism to western capitalism, and land hunger had caused revolutionary outbreaks. The most notable warning was that of 1905 following the Russo-Japanese War. It began with a series of strikes that before long took on the character of a general strike. Concessions were promised by the government, but later as the government won the upper hand, promises were broken, the revolutionists severely punished and greater reaction set in.

The present government has produced a motion picture entitled "Potemkin," which reveals the most dramatic event of the 1905 revolution. It is the mutiny upon the battleship Potemkin, depicting at once the suffering of the people before the revolution, the sacrificial crusade of the sailors, and the

cruel stamping out of the rebellion by the soldiers of the Czar. Browbeaten sailors, corrupt officials, impossible food, autocratic officers! Such is the introduction. Then a sailor braver than the rest. He rebels only to hear the order for his execution and that of his friends. The doomed men are on the deck. Canvass is thrown over them. The marines are ordered to fire. A moment of hesitation as some sailor cries "They are our brothers!" The marines refuse to shoot. The officers are overpowered. For a short time the men are victorious. Then come the ships, and later the soldiers. What a scene is that of the soldiers, bayonets fixed, as they advance recklessly. The people of the streets pushed back, children crushed under marching feet, the line of soldiers firing at last, the streets filled with the wounded and the dying! Such were the memories of 1905. But Czarism was strong enough to crush the rebels, and tyranny was still upon the throne.

At last the World War broke. "Holy Russia" forgot, so thought the rulers. Again revolution was submerged in war-time patriotism. Millions were mobilized. But the years passed. Russia saw her finest killed in battle. She lost more than one million seven hundred thousand battle dead. Millions more were dying of disease and hunger. As early as 1915 the morale of the army began to break. More than a million men deserted before 1915 had passed into history. The German sympathies of the Czarina made it possible for the German general staff to know the plans of the Russian army,

oftentimes before the Russian officers at the front received their instructions. Soldiers were sent into battle poorly equipped, underfed, and often without arms or ammunition. They were crushed. Corruption and graft stalked behind the lines; sullen resentment broke into flaming rebellion in the trenches, while from the villages arose a cry, at first like distant thunder, but later like the terrific crash of heavy guns, "Peace and Bread." "We want Peace. We want Bread." "Give us Peace. Give us Bread." To the cry was added a new word, it was a short word filled with meaning, a tocsin cry. They shouted "We will have the land." Peace! Bread! Land! The people wanted peace. The peasants wanted peace and land. All were hungry and called for bread. The underlying forces were at work. The heated mental state of war was present throughout the empire. The soldiers were throwing down their arms, and the Germans were advancing. The fall of the old autocracy was imminent. Above all were the cries, Peace, Bread, Land.

Finally, the inevitable occurred. It need not be sketched here. The world looked on and knows. The Czar abdicated. There was an attempt to put his brother upon the throne. This failed, and a provisional government was established. It maintained power for a short period, then fell. Then followed the Kerensky regime, which weathered the Bolshevik attempt at revolution in July, 1917, and sought to keep Russia in the War. It failed to bring

Р. С. Ф. С. Р.

АДМИНИСТРАТИВНЫЙ ОТДЕЛ

Московского Совета

Г. К. и К. Д.

..... отдела

..... отделения

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По Восток. У.

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Дано сие гр. *Армен*
в том, что ему разрешается производить то-
то-ки по с/ви в гор. Москва и губернии сро-
ком по *17 декабря* 1927 г. за исклю-
чением торговых, отведенной РКК Армян и
флота под казенное и лагерное расположе-
ние, а также в *Вилья* Кремля, с тем же в перее-
отлучении хол. дорог, на с/вики которых тре-
буется от соответствующих учреждений особое
разрешение.

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Президиума МС от 3/III-26 г.
№ 84.

Зав. Отделением Административного АОН: *Курч*

Действительный:

NO PHOTOGRAPHS WITHOUT A PERMIT

peace, provide bread, or give the peasants land. The people, not thinking of the Bolsheviks as possible leaders, in fact in outspoken opposition to them, were nevertheless losing faith in Kerensky. There had developed in 1905 a system of committees or soviets which had at that time been the functioning centers of revolutionary expression. When the March revolution of 1917 occurred these committees or soviets sprang into prominence. They were formed in the army, the factories, and in some villages. They were centers of working folk discussion, and in part, administrative factors in revolutionary advance. They were unofficial, but were an instrument of popular expression. They developed increasing power.

At last Kerensky fled. The soldiers turned to new leadership. Lenin, criticized but a short time before even by his own group, called a mad man by many when he proposed seizing power, notwithstanding, was a man possessed of great courage, rigidity of purpose, unrelenting will, tremendous force, and analytical mind. He had spent a life preparing for the revolution. He perfected at last an organization ready to seize power; and with others announced a slogan that caught the imagination of the masses. It was "All power to the Soviets!" Promising land, peace, and bread; winning the loyalty of the soldiers in increasing number, with Kerensky in flight, this group grasped power, and in the month of November, 1917, one year before the armistice, Romanoff Russia had passed into history. Red Russia was born.

The Bolsheviki came to power highly organized, thoroughly disciplined, and inflexibly dogmatic. The Romanoffs, relying on force, refused reform. The Bolsheviki had not caused the revolution. They seized power during a revolution that was as inevitable as the sunrise. Like the first tremors that precede the terrible earthquake, Russia had been warned by many an outbreak. Nineteen hundred and five was a severe shock. The quake itself began with heavy seismic disturbances in March. By November the foundations of the old Russia were in ruins. Revolution had come. The Bolsheviki were in power.

II

"Bolshevism in Retreat"

THE BOLSHEVIKI seized power November 7, 1917. They sought to abolish "the exploitation of man by man," and relied upon a theoretical economic program known as Communism to realize the ideal. They advocated and used the method of dictatorship to establish their program. They were led by fearless men who had revealed their courage in many attempts to organize revolution, who had suffered years of imprisonment and at times fearful torture, and who had indicated their intellectual bent and ability through numerous articles and books, but who had had no experience in the actual labor of administering a great State. They looked upon themselves as the fore-runners of a world revolution and were well-nigh fatalistic in their rigid belief that irresistible economic forces were driving the world to Communism. Judged by the pompous pronunciamientos and the enthusiastic oratory prevalent while the flush of victory was yet upon the Bolshevik cheek, these idealists curiously enough rooted in a philosophy of materialism, driven by

“the terrible single-mindedness of the fanatic,” refused to question the wisdom of the Marxian program.

STATE CAPITALISM TODAY

Nine years have passed away. Russia has been unable to build the Communist Commonwealth. State capitalism is the term that Lenin used to describe the New Economic Policy, and it is state capitalism that we find in Russia today. The Communist, who argued differently in 1917, now insists that State Capitalism is a necessary stage in the climb to Communism. The next step is to be State Socialism, which in turn is to be followed by Communism. Whatever the future may hold, the student notes a retreat from the positions of 1917. Retreat suggests a forced abandonment of a position formerly held. The Communist talks of strategy and labors to convince his audience that the retreat is temporary. Zinoviev characterized the New Economic Policy as the “Necessary Economic Policy” that is to become the “Needless Economic Policy.” Professor Harry F. Ward in a most discriminating article published in *The Nation*, entitled, “Will Russia Return to Capitalism?” writes:

Under state capitalism business goes on as usual. The only difference apparent at first glance is the number of enterprises conducted by state agencies. All the machinery and methods of private capitalism—the market, prices, wages, profits—are being used, but there is a vital difference underneath the surface. It is in the matter of purpose

and end. The essence of the situation is the attempt to co-ordinate this machinery of the market for the purpose of securing the economic means to maintain and develop a definite plan for the cultural improvement of all the people. The methods of the market work as elsewhere. Prices are set partly by the government and partly by competition, wages are determined by a legal minimum and above that by collective agreement through trade unions, profits accumulate in properly conducted enterprises—and then comes the difference. The government takes a larger proportion of profits than in other countries, in the form of taxation from private traders and a share agreed upon in advance from concessionnaires. The profits of state enterprises are divided into three parts, determined at intervals by agreement between representatives of the several parties in the undertaking. One part goes to the state, another to the enterprise for improvement and extension, and a third to the wage-earners for their own welfare work. The further difference between private capitalism in other countries and state capitalism in Russia is that the share of profit which goes to the government is used directly for social well-being, whose promotion through a huge central plan is the chief end of the Soviet state.

The state capitalism of Russia is, of course, not absolute, and herein lies the possibility of its reverting into private capitalism instead of developing into state socialism and then communism according to the forecast of the Russian Marxists. The state is the dominant but not the sole capitalist. It has nationalized the land and other natural resources, but the land is still for the most part administered by the peasants on the ancient communal *mir* plan of periodic assignments for strip cultivation. It has nationalized banking, export and import trade, transportation, industry, and all buildings except small dwellings. Transportation it operates directly, export and import trade through various subsidi-

ary agencies; banking is a state function in which the co-operatives are permitted to share, and one bank has just been opened by a mixed concessionnaire and government company; mining and manufacturing are conducted mostly by state trusts and for the rest by concessionnaire companies in which the government is usually a partner; merchandising is done by private traders, the cooperatives, and the distributing agencies of the government trusts.

Will private capitalism advance more rapidly than collective enterprise? This is the basic problem the Communist faces. There are 22,000,000 peasant holdings working for the market and accelerating the trend toward private capitalism. Trotsky in his recent volume, *Toward Socialism or Capitalism* admits "We are inevitably led to the position where on the one end of the peasant masses we have not only prosperous but exploiting farms, and on the other, a part of the less prosperous falling into pauperism, and paupers becoming hired laborers." He argues that the Communist party knew this would occur when it adopted the New Economic Policy and does not regard the situation as holding fatal consequences but rather as producing problems to be solved. However, he well knows that it is a question as to whether collective enterprise can with efficiency develop more rapidly than private enterprise, for he says, "Should state industry develop more slowly than agriculture and should the latter with increasing speed produce the two opposite poles we have spoken of—the capitalist farmers at the top, the proletarians at the bottom—this would, of course, lead to a restoration of capital-

ism." In characteristic vein he concludes with the chip-on-my-shoulder rejoinder "But let our enemies but attempt to prove such an issue to be inevitable . . . we have every reason to anticipate that with proper guidance, the growth of industry will keep ahead of the process of stratification among the peasantry and neutralize it, creating the technical base and economic possibilities for a gradual transition to collective farms." Trotsky knows that "the fundamental economic superiority of bourgeois states consists in the fact that capitalism, for the present, still produces cheaper and better goods than socialism" and that victory will fall ultimately to that system which provides human society with the higher economic plane. He argues that the historical dispute will be decided by the comparative coefficient of labor productivity. The Communist is relying, says Professor Ward, upon three main measures to become more efficient than capitalism, "a coordinated plan, technical improvements in industry and agriculture, and propaganda to develop a psychological attitude."

It will be seen, therefore, that while clinging to the ideal of abolishing exploitation of man by man, the Communist has been forced to change, for the present at least, the program whereby he anticipated enthroning the ideal upon the earth. Our problem is to understand the factors forcing retreat. We must start, therefore, with an understanding of the original position, note the forces playing upon and modifying it, and then consider the New Economic Policy.

FORCES NECESSITATING RETREAT

Savel Zimand in his report to the Foreign Policy Association entitled "State Capitalism in Russia" states that the industrial structure of Russia has passed through four main phases since 1917. First, the short period of "Workers Control." Second, the regime known as "Military Communism." Third, the introduction and development of the New Economic Policy. And fourth, denationalization of management, although not of control of industry. These phases of industrial structure are correctly characterized, but it should be borne in mind that the Communist of 1917 did not anticipate this retreat. He may explain the retreat and his explanation is based upon much substantial data, but that he felt in 1917 his "saving" program would not work is a different question. In fairness, it must be noted, though, that when the Bolsheviki came to power they faced the dual problem of maintaining power, and instituting a new order. Both of these problems were intensified by the backwash of the World War. Russia had lost 1,700,000 in battle dead. Millions more had died of disease, hunger, and from battle wounds. Corruption characterized the civil and military life. The country was still at war with Germany. The soldiers were throwing down their arms. The transportation system was breaking under the strain of three years of war. The nation was crying for Peace, Bread, and Land. Industrial equipment was sadly in need of repair. The dispossessed classes, together with progressives,



A TYPICAL HEALTH POSTER

and even sections of the revolutionary parties, were bent upon overthrowing them. While it is totally inaccurate to say that the Bolsheviki ever possessed the backing of a majority or anything like a majority of the people during this period, nevertheless, the soldiers, sailors, industrial workers, and peasants in increasing numbers, backed them. Power was in their hands. Their opponents resorted to sabotage and counter revolution. The Germans forced the ignominious Brest-Litovsk Treaty upon them. The counter revolution was in large measure financed by the Allies, who later on made a determined attack upon several fronts. Civil war ensued, and famine struck the nation with the frightfulness of a tornado. It was under such conditions that the Bolsheviki attempted to put Communism into operation. The Communist states that all had to be subordinated to military necessity. The supreme end was to maintain power, drive out the invader and put down the counter revolution. Hence, he says much was done that would not have been done under normal conditions. Whatever the fact, let us turn for a moment to his original proposal.

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM

The ideal, the program, and the method of putting the program into practice must be distinguished. The ideal was "the abolition of the exploitation of man by man." They dreamed of a new society, wherein there would be no controlling classes, no inferior classes, none undeveloped, and the parasite eliminated. They insisted upon the

universal obligation to work, and excluded the non-worker from the franchise. The major problem we face is not in connection with the ideal but in relation to the program advocated to translate the ideal into actuality and the method used to put the program into practice. Two quotations from the Soviet Constitution will suffice to show both program and method:

With the fundamental aim of suppressing all exploitation of man by man, of abolishing forever the division of society into classes, of ruthlessly suppressing all exploiters, of bringing about the Socialist organization of society, and of establishing the triumph of Socialism in all countries, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets further decrees:

(a) In order to establish the socialization of land, private ownership of land is abolished; all land is declared national property, and is handed over to the workers, without compensation, on the basis of an equitable division carrying with it the right of use only.

(b) All forests, underground mineral wealth, and waters of national importance, all live stock and appurtenances, together with all model-farms and agricultural concerns, are declared public property.

(c) As a first step towards the complete transfer to the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic of all factories, workshops, mines, railways, and other means of production and transport, and in order to ensure the supremacy of the workers over the exploiters, the Congress ratifies the Soviet law on workers' control of industry and that on the Supreme Economic Council.

(d) The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets regards the law repudiating the debts contracted by the government of the Tsar, the landlords, and the bourgeoisie as a first blow at international financial capitalism; and it expresses its entire confidence that the Soviet Government will continue firmly in this direction, until the international revolt

of the workers against the yoke of capitalism shall have secured a complete victory.

(e) The Congress ratifies the transfer of all banks to the Workers' and Peasants' Government, as one of the conditions ensuring the emancipation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capitalism.

(f) In order to exterminate all parasitic elements of society, and to organize the economic life of the country, work useful to the community shall be obligatory upon all.

(g) In order to secure the supremacy of the labouring masses, and to guard against any possibility of the exploiters regaining power, the Congress decrees the arming of the workers, the formation of a Socialist Red Army of workers and peasants, and the complete disarmament of the propertyed classes.

The principal object of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, a Constitution for the present period of transition, consists in the establishment (in the form of a strong Soviet Government) of the dictatorship of the urban and rural workers, combined with the poorer peasantry, to secure the complete suppression of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the establishment of Socialism, under which neither class divisions nor State coercion arising therefrom will any longer exist.

We find an ideal phrased as "abolition of exploitation of man by man," a program known as "communism," and a method which is in fact "dictatorship." What did these leaders mean by their ideal? Why did they advocate communism? For what reasons did they resort to dictatorship?

A B C OF COMMUNISM

Underlying the demands in the field of program as stated by the quotation from the Constitution

was the theoretical position of the Communist aptly summed up in a paragraph of Edward Alsworth Ross in his *Russian Soviet Republic* and in the official *A B C of Communism* by N. Buharin and E. Preobrazhensky. Says Professor Ross: "The Communists aimed to do away with all exploitation of man by man. By 'exploitation' they meant any gathering by one man of the fruits of the labor of others. When one man works with the aid of a machine provided by another, they considered that the worker is 'exploited' if he receives anything less than all the value he has produced with the aid of the machine. This leaves nothing as rental for the owner of the machine. If he gets anything for the use of the machine he is an 'exploiter.' Since it is impossible for the workers in a mine or a mill to own individually the equipment they work with, and since the joint ownership of such equipment by the particular group of laborers who work with it would breed strife because of the power of certain strategically placed production groups to 'hold up' the rest of society, the Communists saw no remedy for exploitation save the ownership of the instrumentalities of production by the community or nation. The Communists aimed utterly to do away with our social system founded on private ownership of the means of production and to rebuild society on the rugged principle, He that will not work neither shall he eat."

In a bit more technical fashion the authors of the *A B C of Communism* present their case. They hold that the primary characteristic of capitalism is

the production of commodities. They insist that a product produced for the producer himself is not a commodity. A product becomes a commodity only when it is bought and sold, and since under the capitalist system all products are produced for the market, all become commodities. This system also involves private ownership in production. Given private ownership and commodity production there is a struggle for buyers or competition among sellers. Slowly there develops a situation where "the small group of the wealthy owns everything; the huge masses of the poor own nothing but the hands with which they work." To eliminate some of the waste of competition monopoly is built up, and we face a monopoly of the means of production by the capitalist class. Those left without property are transformed into wage laborers. The laborer cannot be bought and sold, but his labor power is bought. In a word, it is not the man who is purchased, but rather his capacity to labor. Added to this is the fact that he is not free to sell his labor as he desires, since hunger compels him to sell, and in legal phraseology, "Time is the essence of the contract." Why does the capitalist hire the laborer? The authors state that profit is his motive. They assume that since profit is the objective, the capitalist does not necessarily produce that which is more necessary to society, but rather those commodities from which he derives the greatest profit. They then raise the central question of the book, How is profit made? The capitalists, they contend, buy raw materials, fuel, machinery, etc., and then engage hands, or buy

labor power, as we say. A commodity is produced. It has value. What is that value? They affirm:

First of all, the commodity has absorbed into itself the value of the means of production that have been used up; that which has passed into it—raw materials, fuel consumed, the worn parts of the machinery, and so on. All this has now been transformed into the value of the commodity. In the second place, there has passed into the commodity the labour of the workers. If the workers were 30 in number, and if in the production of the commodity each worked for 30 hours, then there will have been expended in all 900 working hours. The full value of the product will therefore consist of the value of the utilized materials (let us assume that the value of these is equivalent to 600 hours), together with the new value which the workers have added by their labour, namely, 900 hours. The total is therefore 600, plus 900, which equals 1,500 working hours.

But how much did the commodity cost the capitalist? For the raw materials he paid in full; that is to say, he paid a sum of money corresponding to the value of 600 working hours. But what did he pay for labour power? Did he pay for the whole 900 hours? Here lies the key to the riddle. By our hypothesis, he has paid the full value of the labour power for the working days. If 30 workers have worked 30 hours, three days for 10 hours a day, the factory owner will have paid them whatever sum was necessary for their recuperation of their labour power during these days. How much will this sum have been? The answer is plain: it will have been considerably less than 900. Why? Because the quantity of labour which is necessary to recuperate my labour power is one thing, whereas the quantity of labour which I am able to expend is another thing. I can work 10 hours a day. To provide a sufficiency of food, clothing, etc., for my daily needs requires a quantity of articles the total value of which is equal to 5 hours. That is to say, I can do more work than the work which is requisite to recuperate my labour power. In our example, the workers

consume, let us say, in the form of food, clothing, etc., during the three days, articles to the value of 450 working hours; but they supply 900 hours of labour. There remain for the capitalist 450 hours; these form the source of his profit. In fact, the commodity has cost the capitalist, as we have seen, 600 plus 450, which equals 1,050 hours; but he sells it for the value of 600 plus 900, which equals 1,500 hours; 450 hours are surplus value created by labour power. It results that for half their working time (namely, for 5 hours in a ten-hour working day) the workers are working to reintegrate what they have used up for themselves; but during the other half of the day they are working entirely for the capitalist.

The argument is summed up in the statement, "Capitalist production is a practical instrument for the extraction of surplus value." They answer the question, "How is it possible for the capitalist to continue to exploit labor by extracting surplus value, when the capitalist is so few in numbers and the workers so many?" by the all too easy explanation that the capitalist class is well organized and controls press, church, school, state, property, and military forces. They go on a bit further to show that the present system results not alone in exploitation, since it takes surplus labor value, but in disharmony with society divided into two classes which are in continuous and irreconcilable enmity. It further results in anarchy of production, which in turn leads to crises, internecine competition and wars.

COMMUNISM "OUTWORN ECONOMICS"

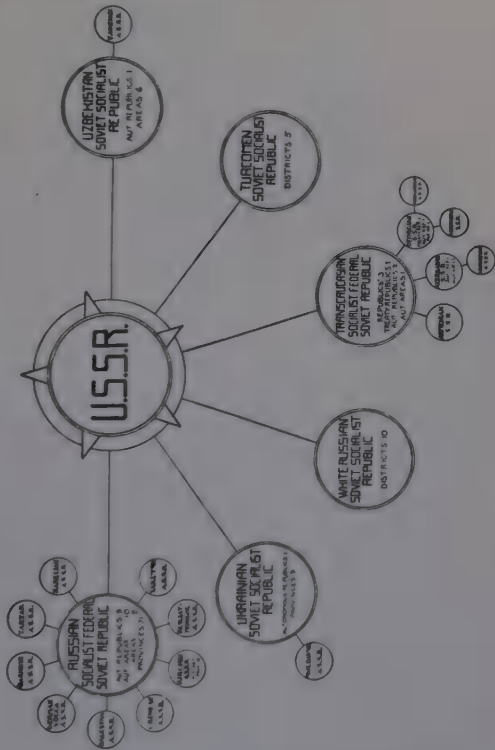
It is not the purpose of the present lecture to critically evaluate Communism from the standpoint of

economics. John Maynard Keynes had referred to Communism as "outworn economics" and says, "On the economic side I cannot perceive that Russian Communism has made any contribution to our economic problems of intellectual interest or scientific value." He adds, "Theoretically, at least, I do not believe that there is any economic improvement for which revolution is a necessary instrument. We have everything to lose by the methods of violent change." While recognizing the challenging conception presented in the plan for a coordinated industrial system working cooperatively under scientific direction for the production of goods, I cannot forget the utterly absurd notions argued with seriousness by the Communist of 1917. Consider the suggestion as to administration given on pages 74 and 75 of the *A B C of Communism*:

But how, they will ask us, can this vast organization be set in motion without any administration? Who is going to work out the plans for social production? Who will distribute labour power? Who is going to keep account of social income and expenditure? In a word, who is going to supervise the whole affair?

It is not difficult to answer these questions. The main direction will be entrusted to various kinds of book-keeping offices or statistical bureaux. There, from day to day, account will be kept of production and all its needs; there also it will be decided whither workers must be sent, whence they must be taken, and how much work there is to be done. And inasmuch as from childhood onwards, all will have been accustomed to social labour, and since all will understand that this work is necessary and that life goes easier when everything is done according to a pre-arranged plan and when the social order is like a well-oiled machine, all

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE UNION OF S.S.R. ON 1st JANUARY 1925



This chart from the Soviet Union Year Book reveals the method whereby the autonomous republics are united and political unity achieved

will work in accordance with the indications of these statistical bureaux. There will be no need for special ministers of State, for police and prisons, for laws and decrees—nothing of the sort. Just as in an orchestra all the performers watch the conductor's baton and act accordingly, so here all will consult the statistical reports and will direct their work accordingly.

The State, therefore, has ceased to exist. There are no groups and there is no class standing above all other classes. Moreover, in these statistical bureaux one person will work today, another tomorrow. The bureaucracy, the permanent officialdom, will disappear. The State will die out.

Manifestly, this will only happen in the fully developed and strongly established communist system, after the complete and definitive victory of the proletariat; nor will it follow immediately upon that victory. For a long time yet, the working class will have to fight against all its enemies, and in especial against the relics of the past, such as sloth, slackness, criminality, pride. All these will have to be stamped out. Two or three generations of persons will have to grow up under the new conditions before the need will pass for laws and punishments, and for the use of repressive measures by the Workers' State. Not until then will all the vestiges of the capitalist past disappear. Though in the intervening period the existence of the workers' State is indispensable, subsequently, in the fully developed communist system, when the vestiges of capitalism are extinct, the proletarian State authority will also pass away. The proletariat itself will become mingled with all the other strata of the population, for everyone will by degrees come to participate in the common labour. Within a few decades there will be quite a new world, with new people and new customs.

In the most elementary fashion we have noted the ideal, the program, and the theory underlying the program. The third factor is that of method, namely, dictatorship.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Communist parties, the world over, contend that revolution is in the stars, or more accurately, in irresistible economic forces at work in present day industrialism. They are at one in demanding that the proletarian party shall be absolutely uncompromising, and since they believe that these economic forces are certain to lead to crises in all capitalistic countries, they seek to create a small, loyal, disciplined militant body able to seize power at the proper time, hurl the bourgeoisie from power and crush the resistance of the capitalist. Here is the doctrine of dictatorship, which involves the abandonment of parliamentary democracy which we hold dear, stated in the Communist's own language: "For the realization of the communist system the proletariat must have all authority and all power in its hands . . . the bourgeoisie will not abandon its position without a fight . . . it follows that the principal task of the workers' government is to crush out this opposition ruthlessly . . . there can be no talk of 'freedom' for everyone. The dictatorship of the proletariat is incompatible with freedom for the bourgeoisie . . . in extreme cases the workers' government must not hesitate to use the method of the terror . . . the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only an instrument for the crushing of enemies; it is likewise a lever for effecting economic transformation . . . the bourgeoisie must be 'expropriated!' . . . Why, indeed, do we need the dictatorship? . . . We need it that we

may crush the enemies of the proletariat by force. . . . An epoch of proletarian dictatorship must inevitably intervene between a capitalist and a communist society."

My personal repudiation of such a method need not be stressed here, since in the lecture wherein I shall seek to evaluate the present situation in Russia, this matter will come up again. For the present we are simply noting the ideal, the program, the method. This was the thought of 1917.

MODIFYING FORCES

Almost immediately, forces began to play upon the Communist program, tending to modify it. Time does not permit a careful presentation of these forces. They can be but named. The individualistic psychology of the peasant; civil war and allied intervention; economic laws that communist manifestoes could condemn but not destroy; lack of capital; some of the traits of man often called "human nature"; the vastness of the country; the ignorance and inertia of the people; and the demand of the peasant for private ownership of the land.

Take the peasant for a moment, and hold in your mind the Communist dream of a collective agricultural economy. When the Communist requisitioned his grain, the peasant, individualist that he was and selfish too, said: "Why should I produce grain for these fellows to cart it away?" He answered his question by refusing to produce. The Communists shot a few peasants, but the dead ones could not

produce grain, and the living ones would not produce more than they needed for themselves. Lenin saw that concessions must be made. He tried to win his followers to the policy of concession as early as 1918, but failed. Ominous clouds upon the Bolshevik sky, such as the Kronstadt Rebellion, brought others around to Lenin's viewpoint and in 1921 the New Economic Policy was introduced. It is State Capitalism.

Carry on with the peasant and note what happened. In the new policy he was allowed to pay a tax and sell his surplus in the market. Farbman in his *After Lenin* shows that this meant the reintroduction of the market with distribution according to the law of exchange. The market led to the re-emergence of monetary price, which of course called for money. Money had been abolished, but back it came and the right to possess it allowed. We find the peasant therefore upon a capitalistic basis, to all practical purposes owning the land, selling his product, building up a surplus. Later concessions, in the interest of production, allow him to lease land and receive rent therefor, as well as to hire labor. These concessions are hedged by many restrictions, but the position of 1921 is not the line held in 1917.

As suggested by the quotation from Professor Ward's article "Will Russia Return to Capitalism?" we find that the New Economic Policy, working out into other fields of industry and trade, has restored capitalist methods of production, but with the whole scheme of things as yet under workers' control.

From the policy of 1921 to 1926 we find one concession following another until Zimand characterizes the present line-up as "Denationalization of management, although not of control of industry."

We have found therefore a theoretical program put into action, forces attacking it and tending to modify it. The modifications resulted in a major shift to a new theoretical position known as the New Economic Policy, which in fact is State Capitalism. The new program is in action. Exceptional advances in production have been made. But similar forces are playing upon the new program tending to modify it. The major force is the peasant demand for an economy that is more acceptable to him. To date, he does not find that economy one that can be designated as communism. We are witnessing, therefore, a split in the communist ranks. One group insists that the gains of the revolution cannot be conserved without revolution elsewhere, particularly in Germany. It argues that industrial Germany if in Communist hands, could supply agricultural Russia with the machinery it needs, thus stopping the demand of the peasant for changes that will make possible fair prices for their grain and machinery for their needs. The other group, led by Stalin, and today in the saddle, contends that Russia must solve her problem within Russia, by creating through sacrifice an industrial life of her own. This involves production of sufficient quantity to create a surplus in capital which in turn can be used for industrial development and extension. Will the peasant play the game until this can be

done, is the question. The Communist believes he will. The future no one knows. At the moment, the group standing for the solution of the problem within Russia and seeking to increase production is in control. Its tendency is toward greater concessions to capitalist methods of production, less activity in propagandizing other nations, more conservatism resulting from contact with the actual problems of administration.

It appears that production is almost back to pre-war levels, that the productive machine is being handled with greater efficiency, and that Russia will be able to carry on, even though foreign capital be withheld. Whether the industrial advance is sufficiently rapid to meet the ever increasing demand of the peasant is a moot question. Whether the return to the position of state capitalism is a temporary bit of strategy, or whether it is to become a permanent position, no one knows. Some insist Russia is headed toward an agrarian state, basically capitalistic in structure. Others argue that Communism is on the horizon. For myself, I have witnessed the retreat.

III

Religion in Russia Today

CHRIST TRIUMPHANT! Such was the title of a colored poster which hung in a show window of the Atheist Society Book Store. The store is located in a little side street just off the busy turmoil of Moscow's leading thoroughfare. "Christ Triumphant" is not a portrayal of the triumphal entry, but rather an amazing caricature, revealing at once much that was called religion in the Russia of yesterday, and in addition the Communist notion both of religion and of Jesus. In the center of the poster is a golden cross. It is carried by the poor, the workers, the downtrodden, the men and women of whom Masfield sings. The cross-carriers are harnessed, and the reins lead to the pudgy hands of a fat, silk-hatted person, who sits upon a throne of gold and rides the cross as though it were a carriage. The rider is none other than Capitalism. But why call the picture "Christ Triumphant"? The answer is found when the eye notes the right-hand side of the poster and beholds the Christ, an accomplice in fact, halo-clad, leading the weary folk who bear the capitalist-ridden cross of gold.

The evening before I had stood in the long line of eager folk who were awaiting the opening of the Lenin Mausoleum. It formed at the gate of the tomb, and by eight o'clock two thousand people stood double-file in a line that extended many hundreds of feet. On the left, as I faced the mausoleum were the walls of the Kremlin, casting their shadows upon the filled moat which has been made into a cemetery. It is an outdoor Soviet Westminster, where sleep the heroes of Bolshevism. Here lies John Reed, the American correspondent, who rests among his Communist "Comrades." Behind me, at the far end of the Red Square, was the Church of St. Basil with its many-shaped towers. A bit nearer were the execution block and the vacant balcony where in former days Czars sat during the execution of revolutionists. Directly across the Square to the right were statues erected since the revolution, in honor of the men who were called criminals a few years ago. Behind the statues were the great stores of the former Moscow, now run by the Co-operatives. At the far end of the Square, directly ahead, were the Museum and the Red Square gate with its Iberian shrine, thronged with people both day and night, who apparently paid no attention to the Soviet inscription upon the building nearby reading, "Religion Is the Opiate of the People," indifferent to both the words themselves and their meaning.

THE LENIN CULT RESEMBLES A NATIONAL RELIGION

Our line moved forward very slowly. From time to time I could catch a glimpse of the flood-lighted



"CHRIST TRIUMPHANT"

An Atheist Society poster, caricaturing Christ and revealing Him as triumphant in exploiting the poor, who bear a Capitalist-ridden Cross of Gold

red flag waving over the headquarters of the Soviet government within the Kremlin walls. The people in line were still. They seemed awe-struck. It was twenty-two minutes before we were within the mausoleum. Decorations of red and black! Simplicity that was austere! Inscriptions typical of the revolution! Immovable soldiers on guard! The people with hats removed! Such were the fleeting impressions that came upon me as I entered the room where Lenin lies, clad in simple khaki. He seemed asleep. It was difficult to realize that these physical remains had once been a mortal of driving personality, who had commanded the revolution from November, 1917, until the body was no longer able to carry out the orders of a rigidly purposeful mind.

It was with mixed emotions that I left the tomb, thinking of the Lenin corners in the factories, schools, and public buildings, where busts of Lenin draped in red were already taking on the stamp of a religious shrine. I recalled that I had seen his picture in nearly every place we had visited. I noted that, along with Karl Marx, Lenin is quoted by the Communist with something of the authority with which the fundamentalist calls for proof texts. Leninism seems to have become a cult, and its shrines evidence elements of religion. Is Leninism to become a new religion? It would prove to be the supreme irony of history if the Communists, bent upon the destruction of religion, should find their own hero elevated to the rank of a religious leader, and a new cult built up out of the idealism of Communism.

The Christians who study such posters, read the atheistical magazines, listen to the anti-religious lectures of the Communist students, and visit the Lenin Mausoleum, are prone to judge present day religion in Russia by such contacts. Their reaction runs the gamut from flaming resentment to abject hopelessness. But the situation is much more complex than such surface contacts suggest. In order to evaluate the present status of religion, and to attempt an answer to the question, What is the future for religion in Russia? it is necessary to know some of the complicating factors present in contemporary religious life.

THE DEGENERATE CHURCH OF PRE-WAR RUSSIA

The Russian revolutionist never knew the type of religion which manifests itself in progressive circles in America today. He faced a religion organized as a state church. The church was often corrupt, it spoke much more often for the Czar than for God, was used as a part of the Czarist spy system, and was shot through with repugnant superstition. The revolutionist, saturating himself in the science of his day, absorbed the materialistic philosophy which accompanied the scientific movement of the latter half of the nineteenth century. He regarded religion as superstition and as a tool well calculated to keep the masses in subjection. He insisted that the capitalist knew the value of this instrument and therefore subsidized religion. Hence, the destruction of religion became a part of his rev-

olutionary program, since he sought to destroy every capitalist weapon. In his belief in and loyalty to science, he, regarding religion as superstition, thought it his scientific duty to uproot it. This is one factor which in turn faces an attacking force found in the innate yearning of the Russian people for God, and their deep mysticism.

THE NEAR-PAGANISM OF THE PEASANTS

Another modifying element is the fact that the actual religion of the peasant in Russia was little more than paganism, if we judge it by the standards of the ethical and spiritual concepts of Jesus. Moreover, there are serious divisions within the Greek Church. Added to these factors is the sad situation in the Protestant or sectarian groups, where one finds a theology which out-fundamentalizes our most rigid fundamentalists.

In this religious situation, therefore, we face an organized attack upon religion by men who believe themselves loyal to science, but who are in fact largely unacquainted with the religious and scientific thought of the present generation; a church split in several major movements; a Protestant body lacking thoughtful leadership; a people innately religious and unwilling to give up their faith. It is a baffling state of affairs. The progressive churchman cannot object to the thorough-going presentation of scientific truth, but he seriously objects to the Bolsheviki's attempt to couple with that truth a materialistic philosophy. Naturally such a

churchman is opposed to the superstition and the corruption of the old church, but recognizes the necessity of some organized expression of Christianity. He cannot sympathize with the virtual paganism which is operating under the name of Christianity among the peasants, yet he desires the peasant group to retain religious faith. He is in accord with the Communist love for humanity, expressed in sacrificial service and willingness to die for conviction. He recognizes the strength underlying the ideal of abolishing exploitation of man by man, and sees value in the faith the Communist has in a new class-less society, but he cannot accept nor co-operate with their materialism, their frightful advocacy and use of force, nor their attempted extermination of opposition and maintenance of power by dictatorship.

It will be seen from the foregoing that any attempt to sketch the present situation in Russia is one wherein generalization ought to be ruled out.

The writer, in company with a group of Americans, had the privilege of spending one month in Soviet Russia, and of meeting the outstanding leaders of the various sections of the religious life of Russia. Interviews were held with Metropolitan Sergius, the acting head of the Greek Orthodox Church; with Metropolitans Seraphim and Benjamin, the leaders of the Redeemed Church movement within the Greek Church; with Father Kraznitsky, who represents the so-called Living Church—which, in fact, is well-nigh dead; and with the heads of the sectarian groups, such as Baptists, Sev-

enth Day Adventists, the Doukobors, the Molokans, and the Tolstoians. Interesting conferences were held with Smidovitch, the vice-president of the Russian Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics; with Pinkevitch, who was at that time acting head of the Department of Education of the Federation, in the absence of Lunacharsky, who was on his vacation. In addition to those listed above, we had the privilege of meeting Chicherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Rudzutak, vice-chairman of the Central Executive Committee and a member of the Politburo; Peters, former head of the dread Cheka, which was the instrument of the Red Terror, and many other leading officials.

NINETY-SIX PER CENT OF CHURCH BUILDINGS STILL USED FOR WORSHIP

It was not difficult to get the attitude of churchmen, Communists, and political leaders relative to the present situation in the field of religion. We attended church services in several Moscow churches, likewise in Leningrad, and visited churches in Nizhni-Novgorod, Kazan, and the villages. We found the churches fairly well attended, though the absence of young people was clearly evident. Ninety-six per cent of the church buildings in Russia are today used for purposes of religious worship.

Briefly, the facts are as follows. When the highly disciplined, closely organized, and rigorously dogmatic Bolsheviki came into power in 1917, one of the first acts was the separation of church and

state; the denial of the right to vote to the priesthood, upon the theory that the priest is a parasite; and the expropriation of the property of the church. Along with these acts went, of course, a thoroughgoing attack upon religion itself. The Communist pursued a dual program. There was the attack upon the organized expression of religion—namely, the church, and the attack upon the “superstition” of the masses, or as the Communist terms it, religion itself. However, the government did guarantee to all groups the right to use church buildings for purposes of religious worship, and solely for such purposes. Discussion of political matters, and engaging in any way in counter-revolutionary activities, were put down harshly.

The right to use church buildings was given to any group of twenty who would petition for such right, and who assumed virtually the responsibilities of church trustees. In considering the disestablishment and disendowment of the church it must be remembered that the church itself replied to these edicts with excommunication proclamations, and in effect declared war on government. The Bolsheviks claim that the priests who were executed were actually engaged in counter-revolution. There is, no doubt, a great deal of truth in their contention. It is in all probability true, however, that the Bolshevik hatred of religion may have been a factor in much persecution which was explained as putting down revolution. The guarantee of freedom to worship, however, was accompanied by a denial of the right to instruct children in religion.

No organized instruction in religion is allowed to be given to children under eighteen, excepting in the case of the Mohammedans, who have won a modification so that instruction may be given to those under fourteen. Parents may, nevertheless, instruct their own children of whatever age, provided the instruction is given in their own homes.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP ALLOWED IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Of course, it is only fair to say that the old Greek Church never carried on a religious educational program in the church itself, and is at present not deprived of something it formerly possessed. In the case of sectarians who formerly ran Sunday schools, the government permits the continuance of these schools, even though contrary to law. The sectarians informed us that they have greater freedom now, since all religious groups have equal right in the realm of religious worship, whereas before the revolution the Greek Church, being the state organization, was given preference and sectarians often persecuted. *Every religious leader we met in Russia agreed that complete freedom of religious worship is allowed.* All agreed upon the statement given above relative to religious instruction. There was considerable disagreement as to the persecution during the days of the Terror.

THE BOLSHEVIK ATTACK ON RELIGION

The nature of the Bolshevik attack upon religion needs careful consideration. Pinkevitch informed

us that the educational system is not being used to teach anti-religion. He feels that when the rising generation has absorbed materialistic science, religion will be doomed. Outside the educational system the attack manifests itself in the rather vulgar activities of the Atheist Societies. Anti-religious teaching is given to the young Communists. There are about two million members of this organization in Russia today. Anti-religious teaching will be found likewise in the army and elsewhere.

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

What of the future? After having warned the reader of the danger of generalizing, is it necessary to point out the greater danger of prediction? However, if the following statement is looked upon solely as one individual's attempt to look into the future, after a fairly careful study, and not as any attempt to dogmatize, it may be worth noting that in all probability religion will face a serious setback during the coming generation. The institutional life of religion will suffer, as will the individuals who are necessary for the maintenance of that life. They will suffer because of lack of support, because of the inertia of the religious groups themselves, and because of the enthusiastic crusades of the Communist. However, I do not believe that religion will be uprooted in Russia. The universal demand of man for some ultimate explanation of the universe is nowhere more present than in Russia. There is a deep yearning for God.



THE TISCHENDORF MANUSCRIPT

*Kirby Page, Dean William Scarlett and the author in the Leningrad Library
viewing the world famous "Tischendorf Manuscript" of the Bible.*

It would seem to the writer that while the present generation will see a tragedy in the field of religion, a rising generation at home in modern science but still asking for ultimate explanation, will produce leaders who will be able to bring to the hungry souls of Russia an answer that will satisfy. It will be an answer couched in the terms of progressive Christianity, wherein the best of scientific learning is accepted, and at the same time a reasonable explanation of the universe offered. I do not think this leadership will come from the Protestant groups. There is little evidence of this leadership as yet in the Greek Church. It may be that within a decade or two the Redeemed section of the Greek Church will produce the quality of leadership essential to meet the attack of materialism. For the present I feel that the suffering will be of value. It will bring the priest in close touch with the poverty of the masses, it will force the churchman to face the implications of a scientific and democratic age, and out of suffering, which has ever been an asset to our Christian movement, may come a rebirth of religion that will be of significance to Christendom.

IV

The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia and the Question of Recognition

THE PRESENT foreign policy of Soviet Russia may unite the Far East and result in the Eastern nations throwing off the yoke of Western Imperialism. Conceived in the brilliant mind of G. V. Chicherin, the policy now lives in the realm of practical politics. It represents, I believe, the most notable achievement of the present regime. It may force Western nations to abandon their traditional policy toward Asia, or it may result in war. Certainly it is worthy of the closest study. I am speaking of the major foreign policy of Russia, and am not referring to the minor policy directed by the Third International. A complete picture of the foreign activities of Soviet Russia would reveal both the policy of the Government Foreign Office and the policy of the Third International, and would explain the reason why Professor A. L. P. Dennis entitles his book *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia*.

It will be necessary for us to note the minor policy, which is now in decline, but our real attention

should be focused upon the major policy, which is now in the ascendancy. When the Bolsheviki seized power in November, 1917, its leaders were convinced that the Russian Revolution was but the forerunner of world revolution. They envisioned a new society, wherein exploitation would be no more. They believed that the crises that had developed in many countries would lead to revolution, and since revolution in their minds was the *summum bonum*, their efforts were directed towards the acceleration of revolutionary tendencies in other lands, and the development of a small, disciplined group in each country capable of seizing power when the storm broke. It is quite foolish for sympathizers with the present regime to deny the fact that the Government itself, during the early months of its existence, sought to strengthen revolutionary forces in other lands. The evidence is conclusive. It comes from the records of the Soviet Government and from the officially published statements of its leaders. There is no question but that the government did spend money for such purposes. I have found no proof that the government as such is spending money for revolutionary propaganda now, nor that it has done so since 1921. However, absence of proof is not disproof.

THE POLICY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

At the beginning, therefore, we see one foreign policy directed toward the acceleration of world revolution. At the Second Congress of the Third

International, which met in Moscow in 1920, it was definitely stated in the constitution of the organization that "the new International association of Workers is established for the purpose of organizing common action between the workers of various countries who are striving toward a single aim; the overthrow of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic; the complete abolition of classes, and the realization of socialism—as the first step to Communist Society." This Congress drew up twenty-one conditions of membership, which insisted that "general propaganda and agitation must be of a definite Communist character and correspond to the program and decisions of the Third International." It assumed that "the class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is reaching the threshold of Civil War"; and advocated the setting up of both legal and illegal machinery for the development of revolution. It attacked the Reformists in all countries as traitors to the revolution, and dogmatically insisted upon absolute loyalty to the decisions of the Party. That activities of this kind were pursued in the Baltic states, in Poland, Hungary, Germany, and elsewhere, I believe to be the fact. This revolutionary propaganda may well be designated as one foreign policy of Soviet Russia. Unfortunately it is generally known as *the foreign policy*.

As a matter of fact, this policy except for the activities of government during the early days referred

to above, has been carried on by a non-governmental body. The confusion arises from the fact that prominent government officials are prominent leaders in the Third International. This distinction may appear to be an attempt to dodge the essential fact, but it is one that must be made if the foreign policy of Russia is to be understood. I fancy the following illustration may not be watertight, but it is suggestive. In America we have a Republican Party in control of Congress, or let us say government. Mr. Coolidge is the leader of the party, and likewise the President of the United States. Let us suppose that big business interested in Mexican Oil and perhaps powerful in Republican circles, might arrange for certain newspapers under Republican control to create a public mind calling for Mexican Intervention. If these suppositions were facts, we would be witnessing men in a party causing activities likely to overthrow a foreign government. These men as party members are private citizens. Some of them might be government officials as well. As officials they would not take part in these activities. In a word, we would distinguish between Republican Party members and their work, and the same men as Government Officials and their work. I recognize clearly that such distinction would not change Mexico's problem of defence, but there is a distinction from our side. The Communist as a member of the Party, which affiliated with the Third International is a citizen of Russia. The Communist as an official, who may

even be a member of the Third International Congress, is another person as an official. Whatever may be the value of such attempted distinctions, the Communist Government Official desires them made. Personally, while I am willing to note this distinction, I believe the fact that the Communist government of Russia is bound to carry out in government administration the policies drafted at Communist Party Congresses, is sufficiently significant to call for careful consideration. The real fact is the controlling group in the Russian Communist Party sees the folly of the world revolution propaganda, the necessity of recovering production in Russia and increasing friendship outside. Of more significance than the attempt to split hairs, is the fact that the revolutionary policy has been unsuccessful. Its chief proponents have lost power in Russia, and even Zinoviev has been forced to admit, "On the Western front the superiority is on the side of the enemy. In a number of countries the Comintern (Communist International or Third International) has been obliged to retire its forces, to entrench its parties, to prepare for an obstinate and protracted struggle for position, in certain places to go underground, etc." Since this policy, so feared in America and so played up by men who keep their jobs by lying to business men too busy to check up on the red-scare-mongers, is in the decline and I do not think is likely to become dominant again, our attention will be directed primarily to the policy of the Soviet Government itself.

This policy which is the brilliant achievement I referred to at the outset, must be distinguished from the policy of the Communist International. The directing mind of the Foreign Office of Soviet Russia is Chicherin. The most severe critics of Bolshevism admit that he is one of the ablest diplomats of Europe. He received our delegation one afternoon in Moscow. The interview was set for two o'clock and we were informed that when Chicherin said two o'clock he meant precisely that moment. Ordinarily in Russia, two o'clock may mean anything from twenty minutes past two to four-thirty. In Chicherin's case it was different. We found ourselves ascending the stairway leading to his office at five minutes to two. A soldier was on guard at the main entrance and another stood at the office door. The latter was a giant, whose easy bearing, keen eye, and square jaw, together with a rifle, bayonet fixed, that was in no sense an ornament, suggested to us all that Russia's foreign commissar was reasonably well-protected. Chicherin's office is a large room, simply furnished. I was struck immediately by the number of pictures of Oriental leaders. There were several prominent Chinese and Japanese generals and diplomats represented. The marvelous vases from the far East that fairly beckoned us to come and study them were no doubt gifts. Across one wall was a mammoth map of Russia. Here and there upon the other walls were highly detailed maps of various parts of the world.

Chicherin talked to us for a long time, speaking perfect English, and answering every question with the utmost frankness. We realized immediately that he was a man at home in the state craft of yesterday, well read in history, highly cultured, and with full knowledge of where he was going. His frankness was disarming, and his mastery of world affairs most disconcerting. When we asked him what guarantee he could offer that investors would not have their new investments confiscated, he replied that the Russian Revolution had come and was over; that since they were in control their task was now one of construction, not confiscation. When pressed a bit farther as to the morality of confiscation, he referred to the American people taking the property of the Southern slave owners without compensation, and later destroying the property of the brewers and saloon owners in America without payment, and quietly remarked: "You did this I think because you believed the issues were moral. We were quite convinced that the control exercised by the old regime, together with the exploitation that resulted from the system, was as immoral, and consequently we acted as you did."

POLITICAL UNITY THROUGH GUARANTEES OF FREEDOM

Time does not permit a discussion of his interview. We must turn now to a consideration of Russia's foreign policy. I stated earlier in the series that there are one hundred nationalities in Russia. When the present government came to power and

the Czarist control was broken, many of these national groups which had been forced into the old Russian empire contrary to their wishes as that empire had expanded, sought to set up separate republics. In a word, they were seeking freedom. It will be recalled that several of these republics were actually established, and there was a possibility of Russia being divided into many nations. The new regime was pledged to the principle of self determination, but saw the necessity of political union in Russia.

In briefest statement the leaders sought to guarantee to the formerly oppressed nationalities self determination or cultural freedom, and in turn endeavored to develop a union of the various free republics and thereby create political unity. By "cultural freedom" they meant that the republic would be free to use its own language, develop its own school system, make heroes of its own great men of the past—in a word—be culturally free, and thus able to pour its cultural contribution into the stream of Russian life. Since all were dependent upon each other, the wisdom of uniting into a union of Socialist Republics became evident. This theory worked with amazing success, and we find today a union of the various republics that is a union in fact, extending from the Baltic to the Pacific.

It was out of this method of developing Russian unity that the present foreign policy of Soviet Russia developed. If political unity could be developed by guaranteeing cultural freedom, why could not the unity of the Far East be assured upon the same

basis? Zinoviev has aptly phrased it. He says, "The great revolution that transformed Russia from a chain gang of imprisoned nationalities into a brotherly family of autonomous peoples enjoying equal rights is naturally a shining beacon of hope for the enslaved masses of Asia."

BREAKING THE BRITISH LINE

Russia therefore sought three major objectives, and in large measure has achieved each one. One of the curious facts in this connection is that the stupidity of Allied diplomacy has aided Russia at almost every turn. The first objective was to break the line of British control which extended after the war, from England to India. This was done by negotiating treaties with Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. The case of Persia is typical. The treaty actually states that its objective is to renounce "the tyrannical policy carried out by the colonizing governments of Russia." It states that striving to develop friendship between Persia and Russia, "and desiring that the Persian people should be happy and independent and should be able to dispose freely of its patrimony, the Russian Republic declares the whole body of treaties and conventions, concluded with Persia by the Tsarist Government, which crushed the rights of the Persian people, to be null and void." Article Two of the same treaty reads: "The R. S. F. S. R. expresses its reprobation of the policy of the Tsarist Governments of Russia, which, on the pretext of ensuring the independence of the peoples of Asia, concluded, without the

consent of the latter, treaties with European powers, the sole object of which was to subjugate those peoples.

"This criminal policy, which infringed upon the independence of the countries of Asia, and which made the living nations of the East a prey to the cupidity and the tyranny of European robbers, is abandoned unconditionally by Federal Russia.

"Federal Russia, therefore in accordance with the principles laid down in Articles One and Four of this Treaty, declares its refusal to participate in any action which might destroy or weaken Persian sovereignty. It regards as null and void the whole body of treaties and conventions concluded by the former Russian Government with third parties in respect of Persia or to the detriment of that country."

WINNING CHINA

In these treaties Russia in large measure achieved its first objective, but its major desire was to secure the friendship of China. In the same spirit Russia turned to China, saying that she was not interested in getting control of China's territory, nor exploiting her natural resources. Russia insisted that she was interested solely in the right of China to determine its own affairs and to be culturally free, and that she desired unity in the Far East for the purpose of breaking Western control.

Since the failure of the Third International's foreign activities, Russia has seen that her future in

foreign policy lies in the East, not in the West. She has gone forward carefully step by step. Her greatest achievement is in China. It is necessary for an American to understand what Russia's message meant to China before he can understand China's response. Suppose for a moment that you were a Chinese, and that in 1839 difficulty had developed between your country and England. A war had followed, which ended with the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 that opened up five ports along the east coast of China and made possible the introduction of opium into that vast country. Suppose further trouble had occurred, and that in 1858 the Treaty of Tientsin had been signed, wherein the Yangtze Valley was opened to British exploitation. Suppose you had learned that one of the men who went up the river in this latter matter, when opium was actually forced into China, was the man who had written "In the Cross of Christ I Glory". Suppose you had seen France take Indo-China, Portugal seize Macao, Germany grab Shantung, the old Russia enter Manchuria, and Japan occupy Korea, and suppose you had seen the United States of America, not as government but through its great industrial concerns, fight for the control of the oil market. Suppose you had witnessed the development of an industrial life that has called forth the statement by a very able American, "There is great return for investment in China because labor is cheap." And suppose you knew that this meant the use of little children and women in industry, toiling long hours and living in abject poverty. What would be your

response to an offer such as Russia proffered? Suppose in addition you had seen, as I have, a sign in a Shanghai park which reads: "No Chinese or dogs admitted to this park"; what would be your reaction?

China is not becoming Bolshevik, but China is going to be free. Russia carried on her work and understandings have been entered into between Russia and China which look toward unity of action in the Far East. In April, 1920, Chicherin announced that "The Soviet Government renounces all conquests made by the Government of the Tsar in China, Manchuria, or anywhere else. . . . The Soviet Government restores to China without any compensation whatever the mining, forest, and all other concessions of which China was robbed by the Government of the Tsar, the Government of Kerensky, of the brigands, Horvath, Semenov, Kolchak, and Russian generals and capitalists."

RUSSIA AND JAPAN

Russia then turned her attention to Japan. While she could not make similar suggestions to Japan, she could suggest to that great nation the wisdom of the Eastern nations controlling the Far East, and she could offer certain valuable mineral concessions. Russia and Japan were at dagger's points from 1917 up to the time of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. Japan felt that she was let down at that conference. To this offense the frightful international blunder in-

volved in the Immigration Legislation of the United States was added. It was immediately following this that Russia and Japan entered into understandings in the Far East.

Russia has largely achieved her three major objectives, the breaking of the line of control between England and India, the development of unity with China, and the creation of an understanding with Japan. In a word, the Far East is becoming united. This may occasion one of two results: Japan and Russia may unite to exploit China. This is possible, but I doubt probable. The other possibility is that the three Eastern nations may unite to break the throttle-hold of the West. If the latter occurs, and I think it will, it will force the United States to choose one of two policies.

THE NEW STATUS IN THE FAR EAST

The first is that we will have to recognize the changed status in the East, as England is already beginning to do, be willing to sit down around the table, treat these nations as equals, and through treaty agreements work out the problems of the Pacific in the interests of the nations involved and for the good of the world. In a word, the first solution is the scientific and peaceful one. Since neither Russia nor the United States is in the League, it would seem that this would have to be worked out in some conference other than at the League of Nations.

The second solution is the resort to force. Many people believe, and one English statesman insists,

that the United States will be in conflict in the Far East before this generation passes. The Englishman argued that we have dug our Panama Canal, transferred our major fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific, fortified Hawaii and other Islands in the Pacific, and have kept the Philippines. He said: "You are the wealthiest nation in the world and will seek to invest your surplus. In South America you will face German competition. Your field will probably be that of Asia. Back of the investor is the government. Friction will occur, and it may burst into flame at any moment." I hope this man is mistaken, but he may be right. A number of our militarists are arguing this way. They accuse the person who seeks the peaceful way out of being idealistic, possessing no capacity to face fact. I am of the opinion that the student is much less a dreamer than the militarist is a wild man. Note the line-up from the standpoint of self-interest alone. There are in Russia one hundred forty million people. In China there are about four hundred million, although no one knows exactly; while in Japan, counting Korea, there are approximately eighty million. We do not know what will occur in the Philippines. In the event of difficulty in the East, certainly the sympathy, and mayhap the activity of India, with her three hundred twenty millions will be against us. These figures, added together, total nearly one billion people. In a word, there are lined up in the East one billion out of a total world population of one billion seven hundred or eight hundred million people. In the event

of conflict we would be fighting several thousand miles away from our base of supplies. In Russia there are five million men who have seen active service. There are unlimited numbers in China, and in Japan there are as highly trained officers as anywhere in the world. If the conflict comes the chances are that we would not fight it alone, since it might be the West against the East, but from the standpoint of sheer self-interest, the odds are against us. However, I do not believe the American people desire to face this problem on such a basis. It is a question of right, and right defined in terms of American ideals will insist upon fair play and a reasonable solution in the East. If we resort to force, may I use an illustration to suggest what may occur:

Upon the faculty of one of our greatest Methodist universities is a young Russian, an instructor in journalism. He is an American citizen and was with a combat division in France.

Like most of the men who were really in action, I found it very difficult to get him to talk about his experiences. We were in Berlin and had been discussing the results of the war. He made a passing reference to the Argonne. I asked, "Were you with the boys?" His answer was a quiet "Yes." After a time he told me his story. It revealed a bit of what war involves.

"I was in the second wave of the charge," he said, "perhaps twenty minutes behind the first attack. As we advanced, the killed and wounded about us increased. I hardly noticed them at first. Every-

thing seemed unreal. I knew I would be fighting in a little while, but I could not comprehend it. As I pushed ahead I thought of what I had been told about Germans. We fellows knew they were good fighters, courageous, and generally fine men. But we had heard they were deadly afraid of the bayonet. Our bayonets were ready! Hundreds of dead men with curious expressions on their faces seemed to stare at me as I went on.

"Finally, breaking in upon my thinking, came a scene I shall never forget. Directly ahead was a trunk of a tree. The upper limbs had been blown away. There before me was a German. The first word that came to me was 'crucified.' He hung from the tree. His feet touched the ground. He was held up by a bayonet which had been driven through him and into the tree. At his feet lay the American soldier who in combat had bayoneted the German. The American was dead, no doubt shot by one of the enemy. I stopped for a moment. I looked into the face of this German boy. His eyes were wide open. Upon his face in hideous expression the bayonet fear of the Germans was cast in death."

My friend stopped, looked at me in silence. Then said, "God!" I did not ask anything more. But I had learned something of what war involves.

RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA

There is one other matter, the question of recognition, in connection with the foreign policy of Soviet Russia that vitally concerns America. Should

we recognize the present regime? Our delegation, after full consideration, and being composed of people none of whom were Communists, only one of whom had ever belonged to a Trade Union and that a Teachers' Union, and all of whom were fundamentally opposed to the materialism of the present Russian government and its use of force dictatorship, nevertheless agreed upon the following letter dealing with the question of recognition:

We, a group of American citizens, having just completed a month's stay in Russia, desire to record our conviction that the United States Government should not further delay its formal recognition of the present Government of Russia on terms consistent with the mutual interests and honor of both Governments.

We believe that a conference should be called immediately with representatives of the Russian Government to settle all differences. We have reached this conviction after an intensive investigation of the political, economic, social, and religious conditions obtaining in Russia, during which we have mingled freely with the common people, had many conferences with leaders of state and thought in that country, including many foreigners residing there, and after much discussion among ourselves.

Our investigations and conferences have disclosed a wide variety of opinion among us as to the character and merits of the colossal experiment upon which the people of Russia have embarked. This variety of opinion expresses the varying attitudes of general approval, hope, doubt, suspended judgment and positive condemnation.

BASES FOR RECOGNITION

But upon these aspects of the situation which are relevant to the question of recognition we are in unanimous agreement. These we conceive to be the following:

1. It has not been the policy of the United States to base its recognition of other governments upon its approval of the character and practices of those governments.

2. The present Government of Russia has, in our opinion, in its nine years of existence, under the most extreme tests, proved itself a stable, and, so far as we can discern, an enduring Government of the Russian people.

3. All the other leading nations of the world have recognized the present Government and have established trade relations with Russia.

4. It is not compatible with the economic interests of the United States further to withhold recognition. Russia presents to the world an inestimably vast opportunity for investment and trade. Foreign capital is being invited and, despite the unfamiliar conditions under which it is expected to operate, it is already flowing into Russia in a stream which we believe is destined greatly to increase during the years ahead. We believe that the Government of the United States should put itself in such a position that it may set up a consular organization in Russia by means of which the usual service can be rendered to American business interests. This can be done only on the basis of recognition.

EXPERIMENT IN GOVERNMENT

5. Nor is it, in our opinion, compatible with the moral ideals of the American people to further withhold recognition. Differing as we, the undersigned, do among ourselves in our judgment as to the significance and worth of the present regime in Russia, we nevertheless are in essential accord as to the unwisdom of allowing any disapproval of certain features in that regime to actuate our country's further withholding of recognition of the Government.

The Russian people have been launched upon a social experiment fraught with much that is evil, but also with much that is good. How the balance stands between the evil and the good we do not undertake to say, nor do we agree among ourselves. But upon this we are agreed: That recognition

by the Government of the United States will have the effect of encouraging the influences that make for good and discouraging the influences that make for evil in the Soviet state.

The welfare not only of the 140,000,000 people of Russia but of all mankind will be profoundly affected by the outcome of this unparalleled social revolution. The best thing that can happen to the people of Russia at this time, and to other nations in so far as the outcome of the Russian experiment involves them, is, in our judgment, the establishing of normal relations with other people.

CONFERENCE PROPOSED

We believe that our own nation should at once remove the repressive influence with which non-recognition restricts the natural outworking of those economic and social forces from which no form of political organization may hope to escape. It is in the interest of all mankind that these forces be given free play through normal contacts with the rest of the world.

The Russian experiment may eventually fail. Again, it may eventually succeed. If it succeeds, in spite of our refusal of recognition, our national consciousness will recall with regret our arbitrary and short-visioned policy of withholding recognition.

If, on the other hand, it is destined by the unescapable laws of human society to fail, it is our belief that a normal relation between the Soviet Government and the family of nations, including our own, will have the effect of greatly ameliorating the catastrophe of such failure.

In view of these considerations, it is our conviction that the Government of the United States should convey to the present Russian Government an expression of its willingness to enter into conference immediately with the Russian Government looking toward recognition on the basis of a mutually satisfactory adjustment of existing debts and claims, and a guarantee against the carrying on of revolutionary propaganda by the Soviet Government in the United States.

CONFERENCE ESSENTIAL

This letter was sent to the President of the United States, and has occasioned considerable discussion since our return. It should be noted that this Resolution calls for conference. If there is to be any understanding between Russia and America, conference is essential. Russia stands ready at this moment, having put the promise in writing, to pay the debt to the United States, to reimburse private individuals who lost money in Russia as a result of the nationalizing of property, and to pledge itself to cease, as a government, any propaganda in the United States. But conference is essential since territory once in old Russia is not in the new. Should the new Russia pay the total obligation, when the Baltic states and Poland received the benefits in part of the original loan? Again, in the question of the private obligations, Russia stands ready to pay in gold for all losses of gold, foreign currency, and physical assets. It feels, however, that when an individual had his money in paper roubles that the question of payment there is one that can be settled only in conference, since such losses occurred in France and Germany during the days of their inflation. In the matter of propaganda, I believe that the government of Russia will carry on no propaganda, but I doubt that the Communist will cease it. He is like a fanatical religionist. He thinks he possesses a program for world salvation. I think he is wrong; he thinks he is right. You can no more shut him up than change

the seasons. Members of the Communist Party who belong to the Left Wing will continue to talk. America, if it will turn its attention to legitimate and constructive change in its industrial life in the interest of more abundant living, seek to remove from industry the dominant acquisitive motive and substitute therefor a motive of service, reduce autocratic rule and increase democratic control, and remove the stones of materialism from the foundations of the order, rebuilding the while upon the basis of the ethical ideals of Jesus, will have taken steps to effectively bar Communism from this land. To change the figure, communist seed takes no root in a righteous society. It finds fertile field where industrial conditions are unjust and exploitation the fact. It should be noted in addition, that there is a serious cleavage in Russia today. The administrative group, facing the problems of running a great state, tends more and more toward conservatism, concession, change. The agitational group still proclaims the war cry of revolution. But the former is in power, and the latter losing ground. Recognition would strengthen the administrative group, and weaken the agitational, thus acting as effective force combatting left wing communism. Consequently our delegation urged recognition.

We may behold the West battling the East tomorrow. We may witness sensible people, through their representatives, sitting at the conference table, thinking the problems out for the good of mankind. Russia's foreign policy forces us to choose one of the two.

Russia: an Appraisal

AN APPRAISAL, which is an attempt to estimate the worth of a given movement, drives the appraiser to generalization. It often tempts him to engage in prediction. Both generalization and prediction are dangerous when simple matters are under discussion. They are doubly dangerous when the question under consideration is as complex and as baffling as the present situation in Russia. I recognize these dangers. However, people have a right to ask—Where is Russia going? What has been accomplished? Has the experiment lessons of worth for America? Recognizing the impossibility of accurately appraising a living movement, and insisting that the reader recall the title of this little booklet, namely, "*Russian Impressions*," I am willing to put down a few statements that may point out something of the strength and of the weakness of present day Russia.

At the very out-set may I re-emphasize the distinction between the Communist's ideal, the program upon which he relied to transform the ideal in-

to actuality, and the method to which he turned to put the program into practice. The ideal was to abolish exploitation of man by man. The program was Communism. The method was dictatorship. Again, it must be recalled that a government by Communists is not of necessity Communism, and that a return to pre-war production does not thereby prove that production has been restored by Communism. Furthermore, the shift from the positions of 1917 dogmatic Communism, to the State Capitalism line of the 1921 New Economic Policy, on to the positions of 1926, wherein peasant individualism is forcing still greater concession, must be kept in the forefront of thought. An appraisal, if it be fair, must recognize that the Bolshevik leader, contrary to American portrayal, is usually a man of deep devotion, sacrificing spirit, cool courage, and thoroughly sincere in his attempt to bring to society an order that shall result in the enrichment of personality. He has proved his devotion by long years of suffering and imprisonment. His sincerity must be recognized even though the appraiser rejects his program and abhors his method.

THE PLACE OF THE PEASANT

Another word of caution, and then we may turn to the appraisal itself. The visitor to Russia spends most of his time in the cities. He visits factories, meets government officials, studies the educational and social institutions, attends the theatres, or spends his time in the wonderful art galleries. He

puts aside a few days for the villages, and these days represent his acquaintance with, what is after all, the phase of Russia that is of major significance, namely, the peasant life. Michael Fabrmann declares, and I believe rightly: "The most fundamental and permanent of all the changes caused by the revolution is the change brought about in the social position and in the economic relations of the peasants. The expropriation of the landlords and the emancipation of the peasants, these are the events which fix the lines of demarcation between the pre-Revolutionary and the post-Revolutionary periods. . . . What indeed strikingly distinguishes the new era is the emergence of a new peasant mentality. . . . The peasants are now absolutely their own masters. But they are going farther; for they are bound to make a bid for political predominance which is their due." M. Hindus, in his delightful portrayal of peasant life, tells us that the peasant has become articulate.

Appraisals which fail to recognize that the urban proletariat, assuming the rôle of dictator through the Communist party, will be forced to bow to the increasing power of the peasant, misses one of the most significant facts in present day Russia. The Communist knows he must build Russian industry to the place where it can supply peasant needs at reasonable prices if he is to remain in power. He must do this more rapidly than the individualistic demands of the peasant force concession, or face the coming dominance of the peasant and the return to capitalism.

RUSSIA'S OBJECTIVE A CHALLENGING IDEAL

First of all by way of appraisal: A great people, led by men of conviction, are embarked upon an experiment of colossal magnitude. They seek to establish a new society wherein exploitation of man by man shall be no more, wherein there shall be no controlling classes, and wherein the universal obligation to work is recognized. It is fair to say that Soviet Russia has as the object of its collective endeavor the creation of a new order wherein all men, rendering service to the state, shall have a full and complete life. The objective is abundant living.

Any one familiar with the writings of the leaders now in power, with government pronouncements and Communist Party programs, or acquainted with the social legislation, educational endeavor, and legal codes of Russia, will concur in the judgment as to objective. May I reiterate, there is a wide gulf between objective and attainment in Soviet Russia? I am dealing now with the ideal or objective. This distinction is seen in the field of education. The objective is free and universal education. Scott Nearing, in his *Education in Soviet Russia*, notes the distinction I am seeking to make. He writes: "In all of my experience I have never seen anything that paralleled the educational work that I saw going on in the Soviet Union." He sees a mighty nation organizing to battle against ignorance, and the work in these initial days is "unparalleled." But he adds: "Educational achievement in the Soviet Union is as yet negligible."

The appraiser must note the ideals, study the forces at work making toward the ideal, and decide for himself whether the ideal is to be reached. But he must state the ideal fairly. Nearing believes the Soviet Union to be "the world's largest and most important educational laboratory." When one recalls that of the Belgian recruits entering the World War, 8 per cent were illiterate, of the French 4 per cent were illiterate, the British 1 per cent, the German but 1/20 of 1 per cent illiterate, while of the Russians 62 per cent were unable to read or write, he catches something of the task ahead. While the figures show about ten millions attending the schools of Russia today, and while that figure is not much in excess of the number attending during the old regime, it must be recalled that the curriculum has been completely revised, that capital for new buildings has been sorely lacking, and that often the teaching staff which is but 5 per cent Communist in the rural areas, and but 10 per cent in the cities and universities, has not been too cooperative. Nevertheless, the attendance graph is steadily rising.

The widest extension of education is the firm policy of government, and in this field the ideal is being slowly turned into fact. In this connection it may be well to note that the theatre, the museum, the publishing house and the press are directly related to the educational endeavor of the nation. In the case of the theatre, which is a field of art wherein the Russian people have excelled, we find the commercial motive absent. The Russian theatre, as a part of the educational system, has the

same status in Russia that the Public Library has in the United States of America. It is true that certain admissions are charged, but the actual fact is that in the endeavor to enrich life, the arts have been brought to the people and purged of commercialism. I think it is quite accurate to state that for the first time in history a mighty nation is definitely seeking, as a major objective of the state, the enrichment of the life of all the people.

COMMUNISM AS AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM UNLIKELY TO ATTAIN ITS IDEAL

However, when we turn to the question of the program relied upon to attain the ideal, we face an entirely different problem. *Communism as a program may quicken our attention when we note the plan of unified action, with waste eliminated: a state purposefully directing the work life of the entire nation toward a definite goal. But when one begins to analyze the economics of Communism; runs into the dangers of bureaucracy; and notes that the Communist himself has been forced to return to capitalistic methods of production, even under workers' control; he seriously questions whether the program is calculated to successfully attain the goal.* The Communist program was discussed in the second section of this booklet. Communism is more than economics. It is also a philosophy, and that philosophy is materialism. I seriously question whether a group of sincere men and women, honestly seeking a new society, can reach their

goal by the use of an economic program that contains economic fallacies, and by reliance upon a philosophy that is the direct antithesis of the ideal sought.

DICTATORSHIP A MENACING FAILURE

Furthermore, I am of the opinion that a new day cannot be builded by the method of force dictatorship. Norman Angell has answered Trotsky's *Whither England*, wherein the Bolshevist writer seeks to make a case for revolution and dictatorship by an exceptionally convincing book entitled *Must Britain Travel the Moscow Road?* He points out that "the dictatorship began with pure Marxism. So thoroughgoing at first were the assumptions of the practicability of applying the system wholesale and immediately that money was abolished. It was to have been replaced by a system of bookkeeping permitting the worker to draw upon the common stock of goods." But dictatorship failed to enthrone Marxism. The retreat came, and now by the process of "gradualness" so ridiculed by Trotsky, the Communist is seeking to build from State Capitalism, through State Socialism to Communism. Mr. Angell quotes Lenin's speech to the Trade Union Congress of 1920, with telling effect. Said Lenin: "Under the conditions of commodity production, the peasants remain owners, property holders; every instance of the sale of bread in the open market, every sack of flour or other food carried from place to place by private

traders, every speculative deal means the restitution of commodity production and therefore the restitution of Capitalism. . . . The peasantry remain private owners as far as their production is concerned, and are establishing new capitalistic relations. . . *At the present moment we are confronted with the second problem of proletarian dictatorship moral persuasion; there are no means of forcible persuasion of the peasantry, there can be no question of such means. . . . Methods of State compulsion alone will not enable us to attract to our side the laboring peasantry as against the peasant owners. We are faced here with problems of an educational and organizing nature, and we must clearly understand why this is a far more difficult problem than the military problem, which was easier of solution."*

The second item in appraisal suggested in the above summary is as follows: *The Communist sought to put Communism into practice. Forces he had not sufficiently recognized, together with certain inherent weaknesses in Communist economics, have forced a retreat to State Capitalism under workers' control. Peasant pressure accelerates the trend toward private capitalism. Communist industrial control, educational enterprise, and propaganda, are used to change the peasant mind and win his cooperation in the attempt to achieve Communism through gradual development. Whether Communism will triumph, or Peasant Individualism, which tends toward capitalism, will win, is the issue. I am of the opinion that while Russia will re-*

cover economically, in fact is well nigh back to pre-war production, the peasant movement possesses greater strength than that of the urban proletariat. I look for greater concession, perhaps the building of a cooperative agrarian state.

The third appraisal item concerns foreign policy. This, as stated in the section dealing with that theme, seems to me to be the most significant achievement of the present regime. Its endeavor to build a classless state is of course significant, and what the future holds in that regard is unknown, but the actual achievement, wherein Japan, China and Russia have come to an understanding, is a matter of immediate and major significance. I feel certain that the new alignment in the East will mark either the end of Western Imperialism, or the beginning of a conflict that may result in war between the East and the West.

The fourth statement has to do with the conditions in pre-revolutionary days, as compared with the present. *I believe the people in Russia, freed from the autocracy of the Czar, even though under Communist dictatorship, are far freer than in the old days, that there has been a great release of life, and an amazing increase in thinking upon the part of the peasant; that there is a growing thirst for education; that the system of occupational representation (which by the way is a matter of political organization and has nothing to do with Communism as such), is giving the people experience in government, and that even though the town workers, through the present scheme of pyramidal election,*

have a heavy advantage, nevertheless the people have secured a control that will eventually break dictatorship and develop sound democracy.

We have seen, therefore, an ideal. It is a worthy one. We have noted a program. I think the program does not possess the requisites whereby the ideal may be enthroned, but I do feel that the realistic attitude of the present rulers, their willingness to learn through trial and error, to grant concession and change, with their objective ever before them, may enable Russia to attain a standard of living and a new freedom for her people that will prove of great benefit to that mighty section of the world. We may never see Communism in practice in Russia, but I am convinced we will see a new Russia, a free people, and that the world may learn much from the experiment. I feel in this connection that Karl Kautsky's argument against the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Norman Angell's consideration of the same theme, are in accord with the fact, and that Trotsky is mistaken. Dictatorship fails to obtain this objective. It is the slow process of education and development that builds the New Society.

LESSONS FOR AMERICA

Has Russia any lessons for America? *First of all I believe that Russia teaches that force repression, as used by the Czarist autocracy, results in force reaction as revealed in the Bolshevik Revolution. I believe that force dictatorship, if rigorously main-*

tained, will face the same violent overthrow. America will do well to recognize that the evils of our own order must be removed, and that without such removal force maintenance of the *status quo* will develop a counter movement of dangerous proportions. Ours is a task of scientifically appraising our order, and then of sincerely using our best energy in an attempt to build it nearer to the heart's desire.

Secondly, *Russia teaches that a dogmatic program, worked out by theoreticians, be they ever so sincere, is one destined to fail, if an attempt is made to force it into action in a world as complex as ours.* Dogmatism is a menace. It makes no difference whether it is the dogmatism of the Communist or the dogmatism of the capitalist or the religionist. What we need in America is a scientific willingness to face facts and to act upon them. An educated working group, driven by the innate urge of man for better living, and possessing the vote, is a group that will not permit the continuance of unjust industrial conditions. It would behoove all of us, in the interest of us all, to study and to act upon the facts in the interest of the common good.

Of course in the Communist program there are items worthy of careful consideration. I refer to the attempt to budget the needs of the nation to eliminate waste, to purposefully direct industry and agriculture as a unit to meet the needs listed in the budget. Russia forces America to face the "Challenge of Waste," as Stuart Chase puts it, and may suggest the wisdom of collectively handling certain of our basic problems, such as the railways, coal,

and water power. However, Russia reveals likewise the nemesis that ever pursues bureaucracy, and if we regard the experiences of the early days of workers' control, is a constant reminder of the fact that collective ownership and democratic management, if lacking in scientific and technical direction, and if burdened by high centralization, do not spell efficiency nor produce that which is essential to full living. It is no wonder that Professor Lasky has said: "Bureaucracy tends to develop apoplexy at the heart and anemia at the extremities."

Third: Russia stands as a warning against reliance upon the method of dictatorship. The working groups of America, often blocked in legitimate demands by our controlling groups, who in large measure dominate the press, the credit system, and the government, sometimes feel that the way out is to organize and to take direct action. The dictatorship of Russia, as shown in the quotation from Lenin, has failed to impose Communism upon the peasant. The American worker does not want Communism, but he does want a just industrial system. He sometimes feels the way to get it is to overthrow the present owners. May he not learn from Russia that overthrow and an attempt to impose a new system is destined to failure? New societies grow slowly; they are not just made, like Topsy.

In the fourth place, Russia, in taking the commercial motive out of the arts and placing upon the educational system the duty of developing the drama, opening the museums, and bringing the beautiful to mankind, has rendered the world service.

Is it too much to hope that the day may come in America when the community theatre, the civic museum, and the people's pictures may be as much a part of our social life as the Public Library?

Russia furthermore drives home the lesson that you cannot imprison ideas. If America abhors Communism, and I believe it does, Communist ideals will not be kept out of our land by edicts from the Secretary of State. The only way to drive out Communistic thinking is to present better thinking to the populace, and let the better win by its intrinsic worth. If we could have fewer societies parading under patriotic names and inflaming America with news about a "Red" scare, and more honest men frankly trying to adjust themselves to a new day and build a society that can be called righteous, we would not need to worry about the so-called "Red" menace. The most tragic fact of the moment is that a number of leaders who are thoroughly selfish and as materialistic as the Communist, are bent upon maintaining things as they are, whether things as they are are right or wrong, and they are using the fear of Bolshevism to block legitimate and constructive change. They label everything from child labor legislation to the social teachings of Jesus, as Bolshevism. I think we need not fear Communism in this land. If we ever have to face it as an issue it will not be because of a few soap-boxers agitating change, but rather because of a number of ignorant, two-fisted men, called successful, who have accumulated money, and now by force and through selfishness block endeavors to

enthroned the ideals of Christ in our social order. It is they who create the reaction that leads to revolution. It is a sorry thing that the splendid men of America who are possessed of high idealism and who honestly desire righteousness, do not separate themselves from the dominant few who take the action described above, and actually lead a movement wherein all of us can work together for the setting up of a better world.

President Masaryk has stated the matter admirably. "Bolshevism doesn't spread by infection, it isn't that kind of a disease. If the soil isn't ready, it won't grow: if it is ready, it will spring up like a fungus and grow in spite of all laws against it."

Let us turn our attention to the constructive task of creating America the beautiful, dreaming of the day when we shall have our alabaster cities and when our good shall be in fact crowned with brotherhood.

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