



DELHI UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY

DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SYSTEM

Cl. No.

U58 : J : N3

H1H7

Ac. No.

388322

Date of release for loan

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below.  
An overdue charge of Six nP. will be charged for each day the book is kept overtime.



# THE SOCIALIST SIXTH OF THE WORLD

by

HEWLETT JOHNSON  
DEAN OF CANTERBURY

FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION

48, BENHAM HALL LANE

BOMBAY 4

### PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This book is a reprint of the edition printed by Current Book Distributors, Sydney, for the Australian Friends of the Soviet Union. A slightly abridged version of the original book, we are reprinting it for Indian readers as it gives the essential parts of the Dean's great work.

Printed by Sharaf Atfar Ali, at the New Age Printing Press, 100 B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, and Published by R. V. Raman for Friends of the Soviet Union, 48, Benham Hall Lane, Bombay 4.

# CONTENTS

---

|                                 | Page |
|---------------------------------|------|
| The Dean's Message to Americans | 1    |
| Preface                         | 5    |

## BOOK ONE

### APOLOGY AND EXCUSE

|                                       |    |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Excursus and Autobiography         | 8  |
| 2. The Rise and Decline of Capitalism | 21 |
| 3. The Moral Denial of Christianity   | 30 |

## BOOK TWO

### THE SOVIET BLUE-PRINTS THE NEW SOCIETY

|                                    |    |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 1. The New Experiment              | 42 |
| 2. Tsarist Background              | 45 |
| 3. The Programme and the Plan      | 48 |
| 4. The Drama of Socialist Planning | 52 |
| 5. The Summons to Science          | 59 |

## BOOK THREE

### THE SOCIALIST SIXTH OF THE WORLD

|                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| 1. Industrial Revolution     | 64 |
| 2. Burning of the Past       | 65 |
| 3. Black Gold                | 66 |
| 4. Harnessing the Rivers     | 67 |
| 5. Steel Foundations         | 69 |
| 6. Our Servants the Machines | 71 |
| 7. Arteries and Nerves       | 72 |
| 8. Socialist Harvests        | 74 |

## BOOK FOUR

### THE GREATEST GOOD OF THE GREATEST NUMBER

|                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. The Moral Results of Socialist Planned Production | 76  |
| 2. New Horizons ... ..                               | 86  |
| 3. The Open Gateway ... ..                           | 87  |
| 4. The New Womanhood ... ..                          | 91  |
| 5. Soviet Women in the East ... ..                   | 100 |
| 6. The Democracy of the Workshop ... ..              | 104 |

## BOOK FIVE

### THE PLAN AND THE PEOPLES

|                                  |     |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| 1. The Equality of Races ... ..  | 108 |
| 2. The Golden Ukraine ... ..     | 115 |
| 3. Awakened Asia ... ..          | 117 |
| 4. Escape from the Ghetto ... .. | 120 |

## BOOK SIX

### MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL HORIZONS

|                                                    |     |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Towards the Fully Developed Man ... ..          | 124 |
| 2. "The Most Democratic Constitution in the World" | 128 |
| 3. "Love is the Fulfilling of the Law" ... ..      | 134 |
| 4. "From the Spark to the Flame" ... ..            | 143 |

---

## **"The Final Victory Can Never Be In Doubt..."**

### **THE DEAN'S MESSAGE TO AMERICANS**

I write this on the fifth day of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. I write to reaffirm my faith in that great land and in the principles and forces which I have tried to describe in this book. If what I then said is true, as I believe it to be, then no matter what vicissitudes the immediate future holds in store the final victory can never be in doubt.

Before looking at what lies ahead, let me glance back at what already has been said. Perhaps I may, with all modesty, claim that the events of these momentous days have not been altogether unforeseen. Ten months ago I wrote that Russia "may be forced, as the U.S.A. may be forced, to intervene" in this war. That intervention has now occurred. I strongly recommend the reader to study carefully the whole of the Epilogue written on September 1st, 1940. It gives me confidence in saying what I now think.

At this moment everyone in England from the Government and Foreign Office downward, every military "expert," and every newspaper leader writer, anticipates complete defeat of the Red Army and a cataclysmic disaster for the Soviet Union. In fact according to the hardly concealed official view the greatest debacle of history is about to take place.

### **American Opinion**

Let me quote two examples from the same page of yesterday's "News Chronicle." First the American military expert, Major Fielding Eliot, says: "There is nothing in what little we know of the Red Army, Red Air Force or of the internal conditions of the Soviet State to give colour to any hope that the full weight of the German offensive power can be resisted indefinitely by the Russians." The leading article on the same page reads: "If a miracle happened, and the Red Army were able to prolong its defence into the autumn and bog Hitler's forces, we should still need every scrap of war production to administer the *coup de grace* to the Nazi regime next year. If, on the other hand, the Soviet armies crumpled after a few weeks—and that is a possibility seriously to be reckoned with—then our production during these weeks might make all the difference between defeat and victory for us. Nothing is more certain than that, when Hitler has finished with Russia, he will turn upon these islands."

Granted their premises, there is some excuse for this attitude. Twenty years ago Russia was the land of the illiterate peasant, lacking any kind of modern industrial equipment or technical skill. Germany on the other hand was, with the exception of the U.S.A., the most highly industrialised country in the world. Hitler had no need to build up an industrial machine: he had one ready at his hand and with it he was free to train and equip the superb war weapon he now wields. Soviet Russia on the other hand had to build the army and the defence services. The task before Russia was, and is, superhuman. Twenty-three years is a short time to refashion a nation.

It is not surprising, therefore, that not understanding the enormous creative forces realised, and being profoundly antipathetic to the new ideas and new methods, these writers should be caught in the toils of their own propaganda. They have told themselves and their readers so often that communism was a failure that they came to believe it themselves and naturally cannot shake the delusion off at this crucial moment.

#### **Dean's Prophecy**

Against this defeatist attitude, however, born as it is out of that abysmal ignorance of all things Soviet, still too common in Great Britain and America, the following is what I wrote and offered to the "News Chronicle" yesterday, and which politely they turned down:

"Message to the British Workers:

"At 3-05 a.m. on Sunday, 22nd June, 1941, Hitler signed his own and Nazi-Fascism's death warrant. At that hour treacherously he attacked the Soviet Union. In doing so he made certain his own ultimate defeat. Against the heroism of the Red Army, against the no less heroic labour of the 193 million Soviet peoples this Frankenstein monster of a war machine he has created will crash as upon a rock. That is as certain as day follows night.

"Hitler has three months in which to crush and conquer Russia. There is no individual or country who can do that.

"Even if we assume the very worst, and, as a result of treacherous surprise, he was to win great initial victories, capture for example Moscow, six hundred miles from the frontier, still there would be the great base in the Urals six hundred miles east to fight from. Were that to fall, a thousand miles further east still lies the third great base of the Kuzbas.

"These great industrial centres cannot be reached and captured by any army in the world in three months. And that, were all opposition to fade. But behind every inch of ground they may capture the Nazis will find the armed

workers and peasants of Russia ever waiting to strike. There will be no acquiescent populations to be terrorised as in every other conquered country. The Russian people own their land, own their factories and fields. They will fight, as they did in the revolutionary wars, to the death for them. They can never be conquered.

"But that assumes the worst. I do not believe the Nazi military machine, despite all the ruthless efficiency and perfection it has shown, will sweep away the Red Army as the French and British, Polish, Dutch, Yugoslav and Greek armies were swept away to defeat. In numbers, arms and equipment they are more nearly equal. In leadership, courage and morale the Red Army will show what a people's army is like.

"I believe eventually it will be the Nazi army that will be sent reeling back, broken and defeated, to Germany. If they do, then a new and better chapter in the history of the human race opens. For Russia stands for all that is progressive; for justice and equality between classes and races; for the ending of exploitation between man and man; for a juster and nobler economic and social order. That is why she has been so hated. That is why Hitler now attacks her.

"It is true to say that the destinies of the human race are staked upon this great battle whose opening shots are now being fired. On one side is light and progress, on the other the darkness and corruption of reaction and slavery and death. Russia, in fighting for her own socialist freedom, fights also for ours. In defending Moscow, they defend London.

"How can we help? By our air pressure, by the reinforcement with the best machines and men of our armed forces, and by their use at the appropriate moment, by striking in the West as the Red Army strikes in the East. For this every man and woman must work. I appeal to every progressive man and woman, to every miner, railwayman, factory and munition worker to work as never before. That way they strike their blows for freedom; that way they bring assistance to their Soviet fellow workers now fighting for them; that way they release those workers of Europe caught and crushed in the Nazi toils, helpless slaves in the fascist machine; that way they end this war more speedily than ever we dared hope before. Perhaps by doing so we may truly lay the foundations for a world without war."

### **Faith in Working Class**

In those words I have crystallised my faith in the new forces of the working class that the U.S.S.R. has happily released. A new civilisation has been called in to

reshape the old. Proudly I nail my colors to the mast of the new and no less proudly do I demand of the working class of the United States and of all my friends in that great land that with discipline and unity they unleash all their creative energies and bend themselves day and night to the mighty task of supplying their brothers and comrades here and in the Soviet Union with every needful weapon. I know from all too bitter experience what helplessness lack of weapons in the front line means. China, Abyssinia and Spain were defeated because brave men need more than words for their defence. They need machines and weapons such as their enemies possess.

I write this in the wrecked remains of my ancient and beautiful Deanery, dive-bombed last October whilst we sat at lunch. There was not then, nor is there now, any anger nor bitterness in my heart. Only a profound pity for the pain and folly of this world, and the firm knowledge that difficult and stern tasks must be accomplished in order that the enslaved workers and people of Europe may be set free.

Our great and lovely Cathedral stands ringed about with the havoc caused by bombs. Gaunt and ugly gaps mar the former beauty of our peaceful precincts and of the ancient city streets. Yet the Cathedral rises above it all calm and unharmed, the beautiful Bell Harry Tower reaching unscathed towards the skies. Here I see a symbol of the infinite spirit of mankind, and of the inscrutable, ultimate and beneficent purposes of God.

HEWLETT JOHNSON, The Deanery, Canterbury.

## P r e f a c e

1. The aim of this book can be stated briefly. It attempts to explain in simple non-technical terms a great experiment in a new order of society. Its appearance to-day is the less inopportune, because suspicion still exists on both sides between two great peoples. The need for wider understanding is paramount.

2. The experiment which is being worked out on a sixth of the earth's surface is founded on a new organisation of economic life, based on clearly defined principles which are thoroughly understood and gladly accepted. These principles, now on trial, differ as far as east from west from our own competitive system of every man for himself and devil take the hindmost, with the profit-making motive as the chief incentive; men being used as means and not ends, with all the consequential exploitation of the mass of the people that inevitably follows.

Our system lacks moral basis. It is only justified on the grounds that no alternative exists. It gives rise, when Christian men and women accept it and acquiesce in it, to that fatal divergence between principle and practice of Christian people, which is so damning to religion, and which found its sternest critic in Christ himself. The gap between Sunday, with its sermons on brotherhood, co-operation, seeking of others' good, and Monday, with its competitive rivalries, its veiled warfares, its concentration upon acquisition, its determination to build up one's own security, becomes so wide that many of the better men and women of to-day remain outside the Church altogether. Hypocrites they will not be. The young especially, with their modern passion for sincerity, are in open revolt.

Such is the moral aspect of contemporary economic society. Its scientific aspect is the wholly irrational wastage of wealth, the artificially induced shortage, the poverty amidst plenty, which is as patently foolish as it is grossly immoral. Frustration of science is the counterpart of denial of morals.

Folly culminates in wastage of human material. Stunted and narrow lives are the result. The upshot is pitiful and dangerous on a twofold count. It thwarts the individual by denying to him the thrill and satisfaction of a developing human life. It robs society by leaving uncultivated and unutilised whole ranges of potential ability.

Slumps and booms, unemployment and mis-employment, the dole and the multi-millionaire, the scales weighted for financiers and against the workers, frustrate society and produce strains and stresses whose logical conclusion is war.

### Hope of the World

3. In opposition to this view of the organisation of economic life is that of the Soviet Union, where co-operation replaces competitive chaos and a Plan succeeds the riot of disorder. The emphasis is different. The community rather than the self-seeking individual stands in the centre of the picture. The welfare of the whole and of each individual within it replaces, as the ruling factor, the welfare of a select class or classes. The elimination of the profit-seeking motive makes room for the higher motive of service. The rational organisation of production and distribution of wealth welcomes science as an ally and transfers the emphasis from scarcity to abundance.

4. A new attitude towards human life is the natural counterpart of the new economic morality. Individuals, all individuals, become ends as well as means. The development of the human potentialities of each individual receives fullest opportunity and encouragement, and leads to a new humanism. The mass of the people are inspired to play a creative role in life, and culture receives a fresh stimulation. The cultural heritage of the past is treasured and revered and becomes the springboard for the future. *Provided* that no war intervenes to wreck the growth, the removal of economic shortage, and the substitution of plan for chaos, promise to open up new avenues of freedom, liberty, and creative personality.

5. The method of this book is as simple as its aim. The author is not so vain as to imagine that his own experiences in life are unique, or that the problems which life propounds to him are felt by him alone. As he states them he feels that he is merely putting perhaps into clearer words what many others feel and experience. The personal biography with which the book opens, while endeavoring to do this, may serve the further useful purpose of providing a picture of the personal bias from which not book is free. The autobiographical section will at least explain the interest in economic and social affairs, and the unashamed sympathy with the "underdog"; whilst the story of the technical training may give some guarantee of a reasonably sound judgment in technical matters. In case some should feel that this technical training has led to undue emphasis, or emphasis in too great detail, upon the economic aspects of the new order, it is well to remember that without such an economic basis the new order would rest on insecure foundations. Only on a sound base can a noble edifice arise.

6. It is the moral impulse of the new order, indeed, and its human consequences, which constitute the greatest attraction and present the widest appeal. The sections

which deal with these therefore form the longest and most important sections of the book.

Of any system we may appropriately ask, as the primary question, either from the moral or scientific point of view: How does this affect the life of the mother and child? How, that is, does it affect life at its very source and in its most impressionable stages? We may proceed through appropriate stages to inquire how it affects the community as a whole, and the relation of community with community, nation with nation, race with race. Finally, we may ask what hope it holds out for a harmonious international system. These human consequences and values are to the writer indissolubly bound up with Christian religion and tradition. The final chapter examines this connection and explains why, alike from a Christian, a scientific, and a technical point of view, he finds absorbing interest and much encouragement in the Soviet experiment.

#### **Balanced Viewpoint.**

7. Finally, there is need to guard against a too rosy and optimistic view of life in the Soviet Union. My own approach in this book is from the sympathetic side. I ask in the first place for a sympathetic understanding of the problem. I lay stress on the successes and the good things of the experiment. There are shadows as well as lights, and I am well, and oftentimes painfully, aware of them. But if I have said less of the defects or lack of success, it is chiefly because other writers have already (and with overemphasis) done the task for me; and because I feel that this over-emphasis and concentration upon defects, while ignoring the massive moral and material achievements, accounts for the unsympathetic attitude of many who should, and if they knew more would, welcome the experiment and learn from it—an attitude not only unfortunate for themselves, but productive in many respects of the very shadow we deplore.

Unfortunately, from the very first, our popular view of the Soviet experiment has been, as many come slowly to recognise, sadly warped.

Mutual distrust and suspicion still exist. This book seeks to remove them and replace them with an attitude of tolerance and sympathy. As is so psychologically true in our dealings with individuals in general, so also with the Soviet order: it is by seeing what is good, and welcoming it, that we shall be more likely to change what is bad, both in ourselves, and in our friends of the U.S.S.R.

I would particularly stress the cautions outlined in this final section of the Preface.

## BOOK ONE

# Apology and Excuse

### 1. EXCURSUS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

We call our Western economic and social order Christendom. It is hard to justify the term. Looked at through the eyes of artisan, engineer, employer of labor, or Christian minister, and I have been all four, I see it rather as an order flagrantly un-Christian and palpably unscientific—an order which, if it possessed any substantial understanding of what Christian ethics really involved, or suspected its practical and immediate application, could dismiss it as a dream, or, like Hitler and Rosenberg, suppress it as a menace.

Our order is neither Christian nor scientific, and I find it hard to say in which capacity, as Christian or scientist, it offends me the more. When I read, as a headline in the "Observer," not long before the war: "Poland's good harvest severe blow to recovery," I recalled the words of an American Professor of Agriculture after seeing ten million acres of cotton ploughed in and five million pigs slaughtered: "If this will bring national prosperity, then I have wasted my life." The thing is monstrous. An age of science has given place to an age when science is frustrated; and the restriction preventing plenty succeeds a former decade of destruction when for one rare moment we had permitted our productive machine to show its paces. In no sense is our economic order scientific.

Still less is it Christian. Placing a premium on selfish motives, it inflames the acquisitive instinct, tolerates hunger amidst plenty, and smashes human lives. While half our population is undernourished and a sixth of our children disastrously underfed—the words are those of Sir John Boyd Orr, Britain's leading dietetic expert—machines, save in time of war or war scare, stand idle, and many hundreds of thousands of workers, capable of producing food, clothing, and housing in abundance, drag out a miserable existence of enforced and demoralising idleness. Our order has for its cornerstone the motive of industrial gain and the method of ruthless competition. Production of things men need, and of things it were better they should do without, is planless and irresponsible, resulting in grave inequalities, where immense wealth flaunts itself amidst squalor, and poverty breeds hatred and contempt.

#### Strong Words Needed

If this is strongly said, it is because it is warmly felt and needs the saying. Years serve only to increase the

challenge. Hardness develops into ruthlessness and brutality. The situation worsens.

Naturally, like most men with any pretensions to an interest in moral problems and their human settings, I have read, studied, and travelled ; seeking out and examining various attempted solutions and national experiments. Germany had long been the centre of interest, and China, too. Then Russia crossed the path like a brilliant meteor, and flung down its extraordinary challenge. Most arresting, and calling for close and continuous study, was its programme, designed to replace private profit for gain as the driving force for industrial production, by the motive of service to the community ; and to give to every man, woman, and child, regardless of color, race, or language, and in a Union extending over a sixth of the globe, equal opportunity for remunerative work and abundant leisure, equal education in childhood and youth, and equal security in sickness and old age.

Here was something wholly new. Here was something, laid down as a programme by men at the head of affairs in a great nation, which we as Christians had been told by our own men of affairs was pleasant as an idealistic dream, and might even happen in a far-distant future, but was wholly impracticable in the world as it is to-day, and would be fatal if applied.

In profession, at least, this Soviet programme regards men as persons and plans for them as brothers. There is something singularly Christian and civilised in this attitude and intention. For if the earth is God's and if men are really His children, it must be a sorry sight to Him to see on one side of His table those who surfeit, and on the other those who starve, whether the fare is thought of in terms of food or culture or the beauties and decencies of life. Still less can He look with pleasure on the harshness and cruelties of the rush for gain, or the ruthless maintenance of vested interests. Russia's programme at least benefits a world of brothers. Or if, to put the Christian conception of human life in another, though a kindred way, community is the essential truth about humanity, rejecting community, we fly in the face of reality every day, with inevitable frustration as the result of our blindness and ignorance.

As an interested student of Russian affairs for a quarter of a century, whilst I have seen and heard things which have shocked and disturbed me, I have heard and learned and seen many more which enthuse and encourage me. Like Christian in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," I have often been tempted to say : "These things put me in hope and fear." Happily, as the years go by, the hope enlarges and the fears depart.

I do not expect to see Utopia in Russia. I do not expect to see Utopia anywhere. A Utopian world to me would be a dead and static world. What I do see emerging, however, is a new stage in the history of human progress, and this book is written to describe what I see and explain why I welcome it. And as an aid to the reader, who can always estimate better the value of an appreciation or a criticism if he sees it against the personal background of the critic or admirer, and against the problems with which life has confronted them, I shall make no apology for beginning, as I stated in the Preface, with a chapter of personal biography.

### **Bourgeois Boyhood**

I was born in 1874, in Kersal, then a fashionable suburb two miles from the centre of Manchester, where Bishop and Dean had their residences and "carriage folk" lived within easy reach of warehouses and city offices.

My family were of the prosperous middle class, my paternal ancestors coming from Oundle, where their pleasantly carved Georgian tombstones still stand against the walls of the ancient Parish Church. On my mother's side was Huguenot blood, with tales of rebels and martyrs in a treasured pedigree.

My maternal grandfather was a noted Lancashire preacher, who, for fifty-three years, held his vicarage at Astley on Chat Moss, a beautiful old Tudor house, where the grandchildren gathered for the Christmas holidays. A Doctor of Divinity, and somewhat of a scholar, besides bringing up a family of eleven children, and equipping them for various honourable and even distinguished positions, on an income of some £300 a year, he taught and shepherded the village boys, all of the working class, to such advantage that many reached eminence in a variety of directions, one as founder of a Manchester Commercial Exchange, another as Chairman of the London School Board, and another as Bishop of Carlisle.

In Astley I learned that brains are no monopoly of a single class. Astley gave the lie to the Nazi pseudo-scientific doctrine of superior and inferior castes and enabled me to learn early that Britain was suffering enormous losses through untended talents. Not all village children had teachers so capable and disinterested as those at Astley in that half-century, nor have all children even to-day access at least to equality of education and training.

The family manufacturing business, of which my father was the head was one of those comfortable lesser industrial concerns, always in the hands of a single family, never making vast fortunes, but living on, after comet enterprises have flared up and sputtered down into obscurity again. It celebrated its hundredth anniversary when I was a small

boy, and my father entertained the staff and employees to a centenary banquet.

I spent many hours as a boy in those "works," as we then called the factory; especially in the engine-room with Jim, the diminutive millwright, who worked miracles on a lathe which would now be a museum piece, and helped us as children to fill our treasure-boxes with bobbins and shuttles and bits of wire-cloth woven then on hand-loom, with men at each end plying the shuttle, and boys on an elevated platform in the centre pulling up the beams which drove home the weft.

There was an intimacy in those days between operatives and employers, and a homely air pervaded the factory. Later, in modern industrial concerns, my experience of a harder and less human atmosphere quickened the quest in me as in many more, for the moral equivalent of that which had gone.

As we grew up, a family of nine children, we moved on, as most people of the well-to-do class then did, from smaller to larger houses, from the smoky northern to the sunnier southern suburbs of the town, which then went sprawling across the meadows on the Cheshire side. All around us was the hum of a prosperous expanding world. I used to ride out, as a boy, on my small penny-farthing bicycle, whose big wheel was only thirty-six inches high, amongst streets of new suburban houses and thriving gardens: the ring of a trowel on a brick still thrills me, as one of my earliest impressions. We lived in a world of creative activity, amongst a class of boys whose future, given the needed ambition and industry, was attractive and assured. Industrial adventure and expansion were at their height.

### **Life in Cheshire**

As the years sped by, we passed farther and farther from the industrial areas of the town, and at length went to live in a comely Grange in the heart of Cheshire, twenty-five miles from the city, doing on the smaller scale what my uncle was doing on the large; for he, as Chairman of the Master Miners of England, had now built a vast mansion in the heart of Warwickshire. Operatives and employers began to see less of one another. It was less easy for workers from the small homes in the dreary streets to see us in the Grange than formerly, when we lived in a house with a number on the door. These discomfiting thoughts grew as, later, Christian social sensitiveness developed. In the main, however, life ran smoothly on and one accepted the customary distinction of class and the inequalities of wealth and opportunity as part of a Divine order, to be mitigated rather than radically changed.

In many respects it was a healthy life. My mother, who loved the task of teacher, taught her nine children up to the age when they went to the public school or the grammar school, managed her considerable establishment, and took the lead in social and religious activities. She not only possessed cultivated tastes, but was athletic and adventurous before the days of women's sports. She walked, with my sisters, sixty miles in two consecutive days around a Scottish island, firing my brother and me to do the same feat in a single day. She bathed daily in the sea in fair weather and foul, and, when in her old age she lived at the seaside itself, continued her bathing far into the autumn days and up to her eightieth year. She was as unconventional in dress as in a hundred other things, and never wore corsets or high-heeled shoes.

Owing so much to a singularly happy home, and to the wisest of mothers, I can conceive of no social order as healthy in a high sense which denied these things as the basis of its life; which lacked cultivated homes and capable, intelligent, public-minded womanhood, living in complete equality with the men of the home. For from my mother I had learned that active public and social life was by no means incompatible with the beauty and simplicities of home. Quite the reverse. It knit the home in bonds which outlived childhood and reached on into maturity. The wife and the mother had avoided the sacrifice of wider interests for nursery and kitchen, and was none the less competent in either sphere for that fact. Thus it was that, later, when I came to examine modern Germany, modern France, or modern Russia, the first question that I asked related to the home and to womanhood.

### **Took Science Degree**

An outstanding feature, as I look back on my boyhood, with its spacious country life and long summer holidays by the sea in Wales or Scotland, was its freedom and its all-pervading sense of security. We were never urged to win scholarships, or worried with thoughts as to our future livelihood. We suffered less strain than children to-day, though our lives and thoughts were perhaps no less active. Growth in that home was simpler and more natural. More wholesome, I think.

At the early age of seventeen I attended the Victoria University of Manchester to study science and engineering, and, taking a degree in science before the age of twenty-one, became an Associate Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers a few years later. A vital part of this training was the study of geology, in which my tutor was Professor Boyd Dawkins, friend of Richard Green, the historian, and a leading authority on primitive man. Dawkins, whose

prize I won, was an enthusiastic disciple of Charles Darwin, and in a masterly way introduced us to the doctrines of evolution, and in doing so flung me into depths of religious gloom. Under the impact of evolution the fundamentalist beliefs of my youth cracked up. I eventually found myself robbed of faith in God and human immortality.

When, at a later date, and by ways and in modes which lie beyond the purpose of this book to describe, certain essential religious beliefs returned, it was less as the result of asking the old question, "Is the Bible true?" or "Is Christianity true?" than by asking a series of wholly new questions, as for example: "Does a belief in Purpose, in the Conservation of Values, and in Christ's life and character as the truest Image of Reality give the best explanation of the realistic facts of the world, particularly of the facts of goodness, kindness, generosity, and heroic sacrifice?" And the faith which came was different from that which went—a faith more humanistic, more searching in its claims on conduct, less content with conventional Christian platitudes, less divorced from daily living. If the Christian outlook on life was true at all, I argued to myself, it must demand more than the easy-going religious attitude of the ordinary religious world. I no longer wished to live at ease. I must go where life was difficult and dangerous. I read the story of Father Damien and his work among the lepers. I read biographies of missionary lives, and amongst them the story of Mackay, the missionary engineer in Central Africa. His biography determined my course. I would be a missionary engineer.

### **Apprenticeship to Life**

That decision was followed by apprenticeship in a Manchester engineering factory, which brought me face to face with a new challenge, as vital ultimately in its religious and practical consequences as the earlier challenge of evolution. Two ardent young socialists occupied lathes next to mine and opened the ideological attack. I met it with the assured confidence of a young man from college arguing with artisans. The fact that I was physically the match for any one of them hardly added to my humility. My family tradition had been conservative as well as fundamentalist, though our particular form of evangelical belief had made wide demands on charity, on willingness for personal sacrifice, and obedience to "the call of God" at any price; it had involved a semi-Quaker austerity of puritanic living.

My young antagonists had a better ally than they knew in the Christianity which was at that moment making my inner thoughts none too comfortable. For life in the family of a "Christian" industrial employer was always

weakened by an inner conflict. It was a double life. The atmosphere of Sunday was one thing: that of Monday another. "Business is business" was a motto with a sinister meaning, and I failed to equate business and Christianity. The tension grew, and with the growth of inward doubts opposition to the socialist lads at the bench increased in vehemence.

Later years alone revealed how vitally the new ideas were undermining the old complacencies. Gradually I became aware, during the six years I served as apprentice, assistant manager, and then in more responsible work in the ranks of the employing class—for I stayed on in the engineering world longer than was my original intention, and ultimately joined, for a while, my father's firm—that by its very nature, the competitive, profit-making, and increasingly ruthless industrialism, in which I was now immersed, was at war alike with scientific training and Christian morality. The heaven of socialism was at work.

### Worry and Anxiety

During the later years at Manchester University, and throughout my apprenticeship, the financial horizon of the family had passed under a cloud. The family business had met with reverses, and the home felt the pinch. We still lived in the large house: the facade remained, but worry and anxiety hid behind it. By the time my wage reached the sum of thirteen shillings a week I determined, despite my parents' wishes, to live on my own earnings. Lodgings with supper cost six shillings; other meals at a cheap cookhouse another six. Tramcars, newspapers, or cigarettes were avoided. I washed my own overalls, left my lodgings at 5-30 a.m. and returned at 6 p.m. At weekends I walked home into the country, avoiding the fare. Financial worry was a new experience, felt less on my own account than for the anxiety it caused my mother. To me it proved a blessing in disguise. For poverty must be endured to be understood, and poverty endured served as an ally to the claims of Christian morality, which were now becoming increasingly insistent.

My work-companions were men with families, endeavoring to live on seventeen shillings a week. The poverty in their case was infinitely worse than mine. And as my Christian faith in the Fatherhood of God was utterly dependent on the complementary truth of the brotherhood of man, and demanded its practical expression, I asked what right hand I, or any other Christian, to live in comfort, as I had done nearly all my life, and as my class did continually, while others suffered constant economic hardship? True, as I tried to argue, they were less competent than men of my class and on that account earned less. But

then again they were less competent because heavily handicapped from the outset of life as to food, quiet, education, and a thousand other amenities. Sophistries failed, and the sense of great injustice grew. Either these men were to be regarded as human personalities and treated as such with equal respect, or they were not. My Christian faith said they were : in practice we denied it. If they were, then we ought to treat them as brothers.

### Brotherhood in Practice

I knew what brotherhood meant in practice. I had five brothers. In Scotland we owned a Loch Fyne fishing-smack with fine seagoing qualities. Being, as the Scots fishermen described us, "well acquaint with sails," the six brothers manned and navigated that boat alone day and night, and in all weathers, around the western Highlands. Each had his allotted task. The eldest brother was captain, the youngest did odd jobs and washed the dishes. The eldest, by virtue of his office, had special needs, space to spread the chart, and leisure to study it. But at meal-times the dish-water sat with the captain, and should there be shortage of food, it was the captain and not the youngster who suffered. Why? Because the youngest and weakest was his brother.

I thought of the laborers in the works. These men, living on seventeen shillings a week, hard pressed when in work and destitute when out of it, were, if my Christianity told me true, to be regarded as my brothers. Were they weak and inefficient? So was my young brother in our Scottish boat. Was their function lowly? So was his. Weakness, therefore, constituted a greater, not a less claim, upon a Christian community, if the brotherhood theory was to hold good. Yet, at meal-times, they, unlike my young brother on the boat, got the leavings only, and barely that. I was uneasy.

Sundays quickened my misgivings: my daily Bible reading, too, for I got up at 4-45 each morning to seize half an hour of study before the day began.

I had the opportunity at this time of seeing both the hardship and the heroism of some of these people in their own homes. I remember, for instance, a husband and wife, whom I had visited at the request of a friend, the man being paralysed and bed-ridden. One evening I found him alone: his wife was absent. At 5 a.m. that morning she had arisen, as usual, prepared the children's meals, tidied them for school, tended her husband; and then set off at 8 a.m. to earn a livelihood for all the family at a millinery establishment in town. Returning at 6, she had fed the family, and now was out again. Where? To nurse a neighbor sick with influenza. It was superb.

### Rich and Poor

These are the kind of people, I argued to myself, who do the hard, dull work. These get the leavings. Others grow rich. It seemed grossly unjust, and entirely un-Christian. To be a true Christian one should share with these workers as with brothers; their very helplessness added to their claim.

But it needed more than sharing. Sharing would touch but the fringe of the problem. Justice, not charity, was the only remedy. Charity had become inadequate—a dangerous clearing of conscience. The problem cried aloud for a new and more scientific approach. The constitution of industry demanded overhauling. Was socialism, after all, a possible solution?

These thoughts ripened but slowly. Circumstances diverted my attention. I was advanced to a position of greater responsibility and moved away from the close companionship of the bench. The financial position at home brightened and I joined the family business, which was now embarking on new colonial enterprises.

My social misgivings also found temporary relief by week-ends spent at a club for working lads, conducted by Arthur Taylor, a remarkable young Manchester merchant. It was social work of the older order, but the finest of its type, performed with great competence, utter unselfishness, and on an astonishingly large scale. I married, later, Arthur Taylor's sister, a woman as competent and single-minded as he, and possessed of the same charm. Long years of wonderfully happy domestic life followed.

The scientific and engineering work, in which I was engaged, was extremely attractive, and indeed the problems of production have never up to this moment lost their fascination. But social and religious instincts and interests could not be satisfied with a career of professional engineering, and my wife more than sharing my feelings, we offered ourselves for missionary work in Central Africa where an engineer's training might prove of practical use.

A missionary society accepted us, but required a course of theological study. Desiring the best, and the family fortunes now permitting it, I spent four years at Oxford, where literary and historical criticism and philosophy completed what the evolutionary teaching had begun and gave a new release to thought. A close analysis of the evolution of religious and social ideas made me expectant of change and kindled a fresh, but rather academic and dilettante, interest in socialism.

After receiving my honors degree, and being now rejected by the missionary society as unsuited for their particular theological requirements, I founded and edited "The Interpreter," a theological quarterly journal, designed

to commend to educated men the things the university had taught me; and at length, though somewhat reluctantly, yielding to the urgent request of Bishop Jayne, of Chester, I was ordained and went as curate to the parish of St. Margaret's, Altrincham, where I remained for three years as curate and sixteen years as vicar, never for a moment regretting the steps that had led me there. Nothing could have been more happy or instructive than those nineteen years as parish priest.

### Parish Priest

Altrincham is a wealthy suburb, eight miles south of Manchester, and in St. Margaret's parish was gathered as distinguished and delightful a company of industrial and professional magnates as in any parish in the land. The heads of great business corporations lived there. At one end arose an ultra-modern industrial manufacturing company, thrusting its sheds and workers' dwellings far out amidst the old Cheshire farms, and at the other end, in a stately mansion, lived one of England's oldest noble families, the Earls of Stamford, one of whom, a man of many attainments, great simplicity of life and beauty of character, subsequently appointed me as Vicar of St. Margaret's.

In my apprenticeship I had found myself at the poorer end of the social scale. Here was the other end, providing the completion of the process of social education begun amongst the artisans and laborers. Here were people whom I came to love, to respect, to learn from, and to admire. People, also happily big enough to be kindly and tolerant to a curate now tainted with socialism. For at this time and in these circumstances, socialism was renewing its claims upon conscience and reason alike. The study of scientific socialism, side by side with the study of Christian theology, led me to the conclusion, which Herr Hitler is clear-headed enough to see, that Judaism and Christianity provide the high road to socialism and communism: from his point of view on that account to be eradicated; from mine, to be welcomed.

The capitalist friends amongst whom I now lived were at a further remove from the smaller capitalism in which I had been reared. The productive power of this new capitalism surpassed immeasurably that of the old, but the heads of the new order lived in less close contact with their operatives. Employer and employee dwelt in distant worlds, with fundamental interests almost inevitably in conflict. Each, in fact, now lived a narrow life.

In 1914 the war came, and though at that time being ninety per cent. pacifist at heart, my wife and I volunteered at its outbreak for service, she as nurse and I as chaplain.

My views were too broad, perhaps, for the Chaplain-General, I was never called up. My wife, however, who, to prepare for missionary life, had been trained as a nurse, and who was a competent organiser, was soon placed in charge of three great hospitals, where she worked with extraordinary devotion and skill, and where she laid the seeds of the illness from which she subsequently died, in a true sense a war victim. Both in the Altrincham parish and subsequently at the Manchester Deanery she left a mark which will not soon be forgotten.

St. Margaret's parish, however, was not wholly composed of ultra-rich people, and it afforded many chances of continuing my friendship with artisans and laborers; life would have been poorer without them. Our social connections, in particular with the children of the well-to-do artisans, of the poor, and the very poor, extended far beyond the parish boundaries.

The same thought arose with regard to the poorest of these children as with the laborers at the factory. If they really were God's children, and therefore my brothers and sisters, then their childhood demanded just those things which had made my own childhood profitable or bright. The standard of our own childhood—my wife agreed—should be the standard of theirs. And as foremost among our own childish delights and education had been prolonged holidays in lovely seaside places, we began at once to take our schoolboys to the sea; not for one hectic day, but for many days, and not the noisy haunts of trippers, but to the nobler, quieter spots of Wales. The numbers sometimes approached 400.

### Boys and Girls

Returning from these camps one year, a group of little girls asked: "Is it fair always to take the boys and never the girls? Boys get everything; girls nothing. Girls are left at home when boys go away. Why not girls sometimes?" That led to the first English camp for girls. Convention said no but my wife said yes, and the matter was settled, and led to a succession of Girls' Camps, in Abergele, Llanafairfechan, Rhos, Barmouth, and Harlech.

As the children grew older, and work replaced school, they begged us still to take them to the sea. And to our objection that we could hardly add two more camps—one for grown-up boys and another for grown-up girls—to those we already held, they sensibly replied: Why not then one camp more, taking the seniors together? In consequence another convention was smashed, and we held a first joint camp for senior boys and girls, with excellent results. In later years the seniors travelled with us far afield—to France, Switzerland, and Germany.

In such ways as these a parish unfolds infinite possibilities and suggests more. Things learnt as a boy in the home could be practised here on a wider scale. Why not in a whole country, or a world? The Christian religion certainly demands it. Science says it is possible.

My earlier experience of the nature of our modern industrial order had widened out now. Working as employee and employer, living amidst the inseparable poverty at the one end, and the trust and struggle and wealth at the other, I had seen, despite all the fineness of character which could be found in either extreme, the moral havoc it had wrought in both.

Modern industry separated the classes and drove them ever wider apart. The very rich lived with small first-hand knowledge of the very poor. The after-dinner talk in smoke-rooms told it. Great business transactions took place in central offices in town, or in palatial board rooms in fine and well-planned works. What happened in small homes in industrial areas, as the result of Board-Room policies and economies, seldom reached the imagination which moves emotion and leads to action. Rich men are not callous. The great majority, in their private lives, are good, kind, generous, and considerate. Face to face with distress they act with spontaneous liberality. But business life moves in a world growingly remote from the human consequences of business action.

### Unchristian Society

I recall my own earlier resentment at the un-Christian nature of the industrial order when I lived at the lower end of it and experienced its accompanying poverty and harassing insecurity. I recalled, too, the weakening of that early resentment as life got busier, as tasks became more creative and interesting, and as the money-making motive was fed through the effort to win one's own security and freedom by means of personal acquisition; and when specialisation of function had flung us as employers farther and farther away from the employees, physically as regards our dwellings, and mentally when employer and employed met in a purely business way and mainly through a Trade Union representative. Here in the parish I was surrounded by men who had travelled farther along the same unimaginative road. The results were becoming increasingly unhappy for both extremes. The country, to which both belonged, was also a loser.

It was unhappy for the worker, especially for the poorer worker—for the man who was too poor to realise unaided his latent possibilities. I recalled frequently the careers of the boys in my grandfather's parish, successful because someone was there to lift them up into a life where talent had opportunity to develop. I compared the

lot of these Astley boys and the lot of boys in the modern factory with them. One such modern factory lad stands out vividly in my mind, typical of many more. A clever lad, straight from school at the age of thirteen. His recitation of Shakespeare has left a lasting impression. The task of this "nipper," as the lads in a factory were then called, was to finish coachscrews, which means clamping the rough, bolt-headed iron in a vise, and pushing it forward between screw dies beneath a stream of soapy water. The boy learned the task in an hour: repeated it fifty-two hours a week for months, and at length became—a tool. The keen edge had fled from his mental life.

### Link with Chaplin

Some few boys, during my days of apprenticeship, escaped by fitting themselves through desperately hard work in their spare hours for other means of livelihood. One by music. Another by trick riding on a bicycle. Another, Charlie Chaplin by name, employed in a neighboring works, through playing minor parts with a company of local actors, and destined at length, through his consummate art, to move a whole world to pity at the pathos of the mechanical product of modern industry.

Most boys succumbed. The bright promise of childhood died. Dulled in mind, dependent on stimulants, on the weekly sweepstake, or the sexual excitements of the street, they perished mentally, esthetically, and spiritually. The Board Room, the Stock Exchange or the Cabinet knew as little of these deaths, for which the industrial policy they administered was ultimately responsible, and which could, with knowledge and with will, have been prevented, as the mechanically minded pilot whose bombs dealt death to infants. They would have been as loath to do it as he, had they known to what extent the policy of profit-making in industry was responsible for the murder of human brains.

The society on which I was now looking, drifting apart in extremes of poverty and wealth, seemed as dangerous in its inefficiency and instability as un-Christian in its spirit. The interests of the two sections into which it was split were always and essentially opposed. Looked at from the angle of the rich employer, labor was a cost of production. But since it was an axiom that all costs of production must be reduced to a minimum—competition between firm and firm and country and country demanded it—the incessant drive towards reduction of wages was only natural and logical: wage costs are bound to be regarded in a strangely impersonal way around Board Room tables.

On the other hand, the wage was the operative's only means of achieving maintenance, security, or any measure

of culture for himself and his family. His all was at stake : he must fight for wage maintenance and wage increase. The root of discord was never far away, though in this case or that it might be hidden or unrecognised.

## 2. RISE AND DECLINE OF CAPITALISM

### Nineteenth-Century Evolution

Everything in the parish, as in the workshop and at the bench, had left me more convinced that production conducted by profit for private gain, combined with fierce competition between firm and firm, was thwarting society at both ends and robbing the country of needed brains. If, as a minister of religion, I attacked gambling, base excitement, deceit, and a lack of interest in culture and spiritual things, and left unchallenged one of the major causes from which these evils spring, I was straining at gnats and swallowing camels.

Capitalism, which has, in a primitive form, been with us since the Middle Ages, and had sprung into a new prominence at the end of the sixteenth century, now completely dominates human life, and dictates, consciously or unconsciously, to men and women, not only how they shall live, but whether life be permitted to them at all. Capitalism dictates the policy of industry and the policy of States. Its root principles, I was compelled at last to admit, are morally wrong, its neglect of science shameful, and its results disastrous.

Capitalism has divorced the mass of industrial and agricultural workers from ownership of the means of production. The things by which men live are beyond their own control. Production of vital commodities—food, clothing, housing, and the like—is carried on and permitted, not with a view to the ascertained needs of the community as a whole, but merely as a means of livelihood and profit for select and fortunate individuals. The result is want for some, opulence for others, and confusion for all. Never have the needs of the community as a whole been considered in one general plan with an eye to the maximum safety and well-being of each. All has been left to chance and profit.

### Capitalism's Role

Capitalism may indeed have had a certain justification in a poorer and ruder age, when the capital needed for the expansion of an infant industry could only be accumulated if some men pinched and saved. Capital accumulations to-day are largely made by ploughing profits back into industry and by exploitation of workers, who are employed as long as profitable and then left derelicts, as witness the present depressed areas.

Capitalism had a further justification when competition and private profit stimulated enterprise and inventiveness, helping to establish the machine and raising the standard of living. Though, even so, the human wreckage it left in its wake was appalling. To-day privately owned capital no longer serves a useful purpose; it becomes a hindrance rather than a help to science, to invention, and to enterprise. The productive power made possible by science and invention outruns capitalist control; capital accumulates enormous aggregates in relatively few hands—Henry Ford's capital is an instance—and becomes a danger and an embarrassment. Capital demands new sources of raw material and new markets. The road is paved by it to economic imperialism, to rival spheres of capitalist exploitation, to native and imperialist rivalries, and to war. Capitalism had war at heart from the first. If capitalism begins in petty commercial strife, it ends in world war.

Experience of industry, alike as artisan and as member of the possessing classes, had driven me at last to these conclusions. I had seen the thing from within and from without. I had seen the outside of the platter, fair to look upon, the inside foul. Personal experience of poverty on the one hand, and intimate knowledge of the circles of the rich on the other, had driven the lesson home and left me in no doubt as to where my duty as a Christian minister lay. No longer could I resist the conclusion that capitalism was doomed. No longer must the livelihood of the community rest in irresponsible hands; blast furnaces remaining cold, mines undug, and houses unbuilt, unless somebody's private profit sets forward the lighting, the digging, and the building. Shivering miners cannot dig the coal they need; naked men cannot weave their own shirts and coats, nor can the man who lives seven in a single room enter a brickyard and build himself a house; though he kicks his heels for a dozen years in idleness, he must remain in misery if no one can make a profit from his labor. The public that needs these things and can produce them has no access to the land and the machinery of production. Private profit takes precedence of human life. Christian morality, if it is to be true to its mission, must find these things intolerable and demand their reform.

### **Lust for Profit**

Capitalism seeks not the greatest good, but the greatest profit. If more money is made in "pools" or whisky than in food and clothes for the children, then capital finds its way to these more profitable but less socially useful enterprises. Business is business. It is not a Sunday-school party. Wage troubles are a nuisance. The Board Room

in London is far removed from the depressed colliery village. Workers suffer. Their life depends on wages and wage rises. The proprietor's profits depend on reduction of costs, of which wage is one. The two are at variance, and the worker pays the price. The consumer also has his part of the price to pay, for industry suffers incredible losses; it moves in jerks, and often refuses to move at all. Cotton was in great demand after the last war. Fresh mills arose; the workers were spurred on, in the interests of recovery, to produce in abundance, and all, they were told, would be well. They did so. The slump came. They, and the less quick-witted employers with them, were ruined. Lancashire to-day is a depressed area. Do we wonder at ca'canny?

The thing is not only immoral, it is hopelessly inefficient. Control by a single owner or a group of owners, instead of control by the whole community, leads to inevitable confusion and loss, to booms and slumps, to bankruptcies and the scrapping of capable concerns, to unemployment, poverty, and brutality and at length to war. Private ownership of the means of production has outlived its day. It is doomed.

Happily there is an alternative.

The instruments of production can be owned publicly, and worked, not for private profit, but for public service, the needs of consumers being the controlling factor. Production can be worked by plan, the people as a whole deciding what they need and producing a sufficient supply to meet it. The nation could make its budget, as the competent housewife makes hers, planning what proportion should be spent on defence, on food, on housing, clothing, education, health, and provision for the future. Booms and slumps and unemployment could cease. Inventions could be set free and encouraged. Commodities could be increased and education fostered. Leisure could be used for creative development. All could live a civilised life.

Service replacing profit, planning replacing personal whim, production could become both scientific and moral, having for its motive the provision of the means of well-being for all.

This age, marred by the private ownership of the means of life, with all its crippling effects on science and industry, with its immoral emphasis on acquisition, and with its inevitable consequence of wealth and poverty, of class distinctions and class discords, must go. Science, civilisation, and Christianity alike demand it.

### **Nineteenth-Century Consummation**

The moral outrage which we have thus traced has its counterpart in a scientific outrage. The machine suffers

equally with the human element. The competitive, profit-making industry and the capitalistic accumulation of wealth which in earlier days had been an aid to production now served to cripple it. And science, once the welcomed handmaid, is driven into the wilderness. My engineering interests had not ceased after my ordination, and I could follow more attentively perhaps than those who were actively immersed in daily engineering tasks the sinister trend of wastage and frustration.

Ours is a power age, and power, by utilising the machine, can unlock the door to plenty. Physical science supplies us with the complete and immediate solution of the material problems of human existence, if unhindered by economic causes. Unfettered in its earlier stages, science had advanced by leaps and bounds. Capitalism, in those days, had proved a true friend to science. The process had been long and full of interest.

Up to the sixteenth century man had taken what Nature had given him. He had gleaned Nature's gifts in his own areas, and when these were exhausted had sought more beyond his borders, a quest which had inspired the great navigators of the sixteenth century to open roads of communication to the ends of the earth. Science had made this possible by inventing and perfecting instruments of travel—calendars, compasses, chronometers, and maps.

The seventeenth century saw the earliest beginnings of another quest, more important still, and rendered necessary by shortage of human labor. The hordes of slaves which had helped the southern empires were not available in the kingdoms of the north. Human muscles standing at a premium, science increasingly stepped in, seeking and finding other sources of power; and man, slowly wresting from Nature the secrets of unlimited non-human sources of energy, harnessed them to human tasks. The power age had begun, damming river, harnessing falling water, extracting coal and oil, the bottled sunshine of a million years, and with their explosive forces driving our vehicles, wielding our hammers, axes, picks and spades, living arduous work from our shoulders and setting us free for higher tasks. The golden age had begun.

Within the last two centuries power development has increased with incredible rapidity. In 1712 a steam engine was invented which developed 56 horsepower. In 1772 a single engine produced 765 horsepower. By 1871 it had grown to 20,000 horsepower. By the 1890's a single reciprocating engine produced 234,000 times the work of one man. Our twentieth century has even greater things to show, and now we have a turbine unit, working on a twenty-four-hour basis, producing 9,000,000 horsepower.

Modern power-plants work in terrible solitude, ignoring

human labor. Steel arms overhangs the wharves where coal-barges advance. Huge scoops descend, close down on a ton of coal, lift it bodily to an elevated track, along which it passes, being weighed automatically in transit: it then descends to moving grates which feed it to the boilers. Clinkers fall on belt travelling in water-troughs, and pass to the waiting trucks. Coal at one end, clinkers at the other; and in the space between heat extracted, steam raised, turbines driven, and power greater than all the power available in England when Elizabeth was Queen, sent pulsing across the countryside. And all this operated by a score or so of men. There is no conceivable limit to the utilisation of solar power for productive purposes.

### Machine Age

And as with the development of power, so with the development of the machinery which harnesses it to the use of man. Machines in the nineteenth century were able to replace the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Machines of the twentieth century replace the intelligent operative on innumerable processes never dreamed of as possible before. Not only does power undertake the coarse work and supply us with electric shovels, which shift 30,000 cubic yards of earth in twenty-four hours of work, a task which, in human labor, would absorb for ten hours the work of 155,000 coolies; but it serves us with equal willingness and precision in the finest processes. A modern electric lamp-making machine casts off its shower of bulbs at the rate of 422 a minute, rivalling man in delicacy of handling and multiplying his labor in this instance by 10,000 times.

The machine replaces human labor in every branch of industry, and multiplies man's productive capacity beyond computation.

Science makes for national independence. No need now to seek slaves in war to drive our tools, and less need to seek commodities from the ends of the earth.

What an asset the scientist is when we dare to utilise him, and utilise the wealth that even one man can make possible. Sir Robert Hadfield read a paper in 1932 before the Oil Industries Club, and claimed that economics to the value of £500,000,000 had resulted from the use of only two of the many steels he had invented. The savings due to Edison's work have been estimated at £3,000,000,000. Fifty men, in the Kimberley mine in California, by the use of automatic appliances, load 5000 tons of lead ore a day—one-eighth of the world's total output. The boot factories in Northamptonshire can, in a few months' work, turn out all the boots actually used in this country in a year. The tractor drawing the combined harvester and thresher

has increased the output of the wheatfield worker some seventyfold. For the first time in history it has enabled crop-farming to be carried on without seasonal demands on labor.

### Scientific Discoveries

Science, which had been aided and befriended by nineteenth-century capitalism, had rewarded her benefactors a thousandfold. The social and political atmosphere had been propitious; the world situation was ripe for advance. Progress and achievement were staggering. Industrial development and technical improvement were eagerly sought and substantially encouraged. Scientific institutes were founded and study was endowed. In an age of Liberalism and of continuously expanding prosperity, every fresh industrial conquest stimulated further scientific research. New scientific discoveries led to new industries, and new industries craved fresh scientific discoveries. The world lay open to industrial adventure and enterprise. Raw materials were available and new markets awaited the enterprising industrialists. Science and capitalistic industry walked hand in hand. It was a happy and a fruitful partnership.

The twentieth century inherits the labor of this fruitful partnership. Science and industry combined to bequeath to us all that was needed to make poverty an anachronism. What, we might well ask, should we lack to-day, were the men now idle operating the machines? Would any lack shirts or sheets? Ask American cotton farms and Lancashire mills. Would any lack bread? Ask the Canadian prairies. Would any lack clothes? Ask the sheep-farms of Australia and the woollen mills of the Yorkshire dales. And ask Brazil, Malay, Spain, and where not besides, if we need lack coffee, rubber, sugar, oranges, or a hundred other commodities.

### Food Destroyed

Nor is that all. The prospect is brighter still; we are by no means limited to our present resources in machinery and power; greater energy awaits us whenever we desire it, new machines, more cunningly devised, together with new materials and processes long ripe for practical application. Hindered by no internal or intrinsic difficulties or unfitness, nor by reluctance of consumers for further commodities or services, these benefits linger wholly and solely because of the inability or unwillingness of the present organisation of production to supply the commodities and services which are physically possible and morally desirable. The tragic fact, however, confronts us that, speaking generally, and excluding war industries and heavy industries, new discoveries cease to be welcome guests.

The productive powers of the industrial machine become an embarrassment rather than a boon: there is small incentive to increase them. The social organisation of distribution is at fault. Mass production is not mated to mass consumption. Machines and processes, by means of which scientists provide for our every material need—houses, food, clothing, and the means to leisure and security—are run slow by deliberate policy; we limit our Rolls Royce to ten miles an hour. The gift which should enrich all impoverishes each. We spurn it; sabotage it; and when but recently, despite all our efforts, commodities, unrestricted at their source, had increased astronomically, we ruthlessly destroyed with one hand what we had made with the other.

Half a million sheep were burnt to cinders in Chile; six million dairy-cattle and two million sheep destroyed in the U.S.A. Twenty-six million bags of Brazilian coffee were dumped into the Pacific Ocean, and a shipload of Spanish oranges shovelled into the Irish Sea, while the empty vessel steamed into Liverpool on a sweltering August day amongst children to whom oranges were an unobtainable luxury.

#### **"Insult to God"**

We fling God's gifts back in His face. Fish are shovelled into the sea. Wheat burned. Fruit is left to rot on the trees. Hundreds of thousands of acres of cotton crops ploughed into the land again. Rubber-growers bewail improved methods of increasing production; rubber pests are hailed as angels from heaven.

Destruction on so preposterous a scale, and welcomed with such indecent eagerness, called forth an appropriate rebuke from the common man and unsophisticated person, especially when occurring side by side with human destitution.

Our financial capitalism is wiser now. It wields a more deadly weapon than destruction against the embarrassment of plenty amidst poverty. Restriction is the new remedy. Restriction is safer than destruction. Destruction calls forth anger. Restriction lulls its dupes into false beliefs. Destruction reveals the fact of an age of plenty. Restriction produces the delusion of an age of scarcity. I knew at once the deadly nature of this weapon, and said so, when the order was issued for the restriction of 121,000,000 lbs. of tea in India, Ceylon and the Dutch Indies. Every larder in Britain could have been supplied with 15 lbs. of an essential commodity had tea been distributed and not restricted. To a scientific engineer, whose job it is to economise human labor, this destruction of the fruit of the machine was not only pitiful; it was the logical and exasperating climax of a process

of bungling and wastage which he had long been aware was inherent in the system of financial capitalism. For lack of planned distribution of commodities, through planned distribution of adequate purchasing power side by side with planned production, human effort was misdirected and paralysed. It brought adequate satisfaction neither to the individual nor to the community. Factories were built and demolished; serviceable plants destroyed before half worn out; fully developed town sites abandoned and unspoilt areas ruined; railway trucks profitably employed at less than 3 per cent. of their seventeen years of life, and, in the effort to rid ourselves of accumulating commodities, enormous sums of money spent on useless advertising.

Furthermore, and beyond the wastage of misdirected energy, the actual achievements of applied science represent but a fraction of what could be done if new scientific theories, already approved, were practically applied. Application lingers far behind discovery. Industrial organisation is at fault. In this respect even the eager nineteenth century was a culprit. Faraday, for example, discovered electro-magnetic induction in 1831. It was not applied to industry until 1882, when Edison built the first power-plant. Discoveries of the twentieth century which await translation into practice multiply daily.

### Science v. Capitalism

New sources of energy await us since we have broken into the nucleus of the atom; and new forms of matter, made possible by the new ranges of temperature and pressures, are now placed at our disposal.

Science blazes trails. Capitalist industry avoids them. The community suffers.

Science, in the twentieth century, stands at the parting of the ways. Capitalism, her former master, fails her and treats her with contempt. Financial resources are denied and science is set to trivial or harmful tasks. Less than 2d. in every £1000 of industrial output is spent on the advancement of scientific knowledge. Capitalism is run for profit, and when, for any reason, it ceases to be profitable to increase production, science is shunned. When science threatens, by a new process, to make machinery obsolete, or, worse still, to make the process, and even the commodity itself, obsolete, then invention is smothered.

Vested interests of privileged owners of the means of production cripple the scientist at every turn and rob the public. Low-temperature production of iron would turn blast furnaces into scrap. Blast furnaces are costly, and owned by powerful individuals. And powerful individuals in groups exercise great pressure on scientists and govern-

ments. And governments in capitalistic lands display small intention, in general, of supporting communal interests against interests of particular groups if those groups are powerful enough to force their demands.

In one direction, however, science is a welcome guest to modern governments. Science is indispensable for war. Science is needed on the battlefield with weapons of offence and defence. Science is needed to secure within the national unit the commodities which render it self-supporting in time of war. Out of £450,000, the totally inadequate sum given by our Government to civil research, £90,000 are spent on Fuel Research, which has succeeded in giving us, at a cost of between four and five times the world price of petrol, an alternative source of an essential fuel in time of war. That fact alone is eloquent.

Science is wanted for warfare ; elsewhere it is advised to take a holiday.

### Under Hitlerism

The sequel to all this is seen in Germany. Germany needs scientists primarily for war ; she has no use for theoretical science.

Germany is especially illuminating in this connection. For in Germany capitalism reaches its zenith and reveals its tendencies and its spirit. German standards of living, for example, have fallen. Mr. Douglas Jay, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and a leading economist, estimates in 1939 that "the real income per hour of a German worker who had a job on January 30, 1933, has fallen since by over 30 per cent." Germany's own Year Book shows, however, that during the period 1932-37 the number of millionaires increased by 1266 and multi-millionaires by 180. Students in German universities have in the same period been almost halved in number ; 133,000 in 1932-33 ; 72,000 in 1936-37.

Science in the nineteenth century had become international. Science worked for the good of mankind as a whole. To-day the horizon narrows. Scientists are encouraged to operate within the closed systems of economic nationalism.

If the object of science is to promote human welfare, through the delights of knowledge, through closer contact with reality, and through the mastery of Nature in the interests of man, then to turn scientists from wider tasks to the mere increase of profits for individual firms by reduction of working costs, or to make one nation independent of another for purposes of war, is to prostitute science to commercial gain or narrow national interest. The nobler aspects of science, together with its international character, depart.

Science is faced with two alternatives, and two alone.

Two masters seek her allegiance. The capitalist order, which has little use for her now save in the matter of war. That way lie scientific decadence and death. The other way is that of the socialist order, with its complete and large-scale planning for maximum output, with its eager welcome for every contribution which science can give, and with its willingness to equip science and the scientist more amply for the purpose of peace than capitalism for the purpose of war. Science must choose, and the choice is a matter of life or death.

### 3. THE MORAL DENIAL OF CHRISTIANITY

If capitalism thwarts science, it also outrages Christianity, making impossible the Christian demand for justice, freedom, a creative abundant life, and an ever-widening fellowship for each human soul.

These four demands, which find an echo in every normal human being we meet, spring naturally and inevitably from the attitude of the Founder of Christianity towards individual men, and towards the goal of human society. To Him every man was of infinite worth, and His goal for society was the creation of a community of all human beings, irrespective of colour, sex, or race. Jesus makes this claim for man with simple objective directness. He reveals it as the fundamental truth about man; to deny it is to court inevitable disaster. Where John the Baptist had dug down to one great universal affirmation, saying that God is a God of Justice, Jesus dug down to the other great affirmation by adding that God is a God of Love; that He is the Father of men, with a care for all individual men so great that He numbers the very hairs of their head. This affirmation carries as its corollary—that all men, as God's children, are brothers, to be regarded as such and treated as such. Jesus, it has been well said, was the first man in history to take Monotheism with complete moral seriousness: one God, one Father of all, one family of men; therefore, no racial distinctions, no national distinctions, no class distinctions—one brotherhood of men under one God.

There is nothing more fundamental about Christianity than that. Grant that, and the demand for justice, freedom, and abundance of creative life for each individual, together with an ever-widening fellowship, follow as day follows night. Grant that, and an economic order, which not only frustrates science, but produces and tolerates wealth beside poverty, creates and perpetuates class distinctions, and fails to provide opportunity for all in the matter of work, leisure, education, or security, stands condemned.

### Jesus, The Man

By no ingenuity could I square capitalism with Christianity. The teaching of Jesus became clearer as He was rescued by modern critical scholarship from the stained-glass windows where we see a dreamy, pious, impracticable, and wholly otherworldly person, the "gentle Jesus meek and mild" as taught to little children, submissive in all circumstances, uninterested in politics, and avoiding challenge to damaging social conditions, or drastic rebuke to responsible ruling classes.

His personality was mysterious; and with an apocalyptic side to His teaching which we only partly understood. It had also an intensely practical side, and was stern as well as kind, and capable of an anger which could flare to white heat, and a bitterness of speech never surpassed by the most militant opponents of class rule. Even the apocalyptic element may have had more to do with this world than some suppose.

Jesus at least never left the doctrine of brotherhood in the clouds. He brought it down to earth. He attacked everything which made brotherhood difficult or impossible. He welcomed all that fostered brotherhood, or any circles where its growth was easy.

Jesus believed that the common people were nearer to the new world of His vision, where a community of brothers live under the rule of a common Father, than the cultured, educated, wealthy upper classes; the common people were kinder, and less proud. To the common people, therefore, He addressed His beatitudes—the people of the soil, the peasants, fishermen, and artisans like Himself. He tells the common people that the new world is for them, not for the rich, the prosperous, the self-satisfied: "Rejoice, ye poor, ye sinners, ye despised, the new world is meant for you." It was to the common people that He turned for disciples.

### Good Samaritan

Common humanity was basic for Jesus. It was something transcending race, religion, and wealth. Such common humanity demanded the sharing of material possessions here on earth. The story of the Good Samaritan leaves no doubt as to the meaning of Jesus in this matter. Priest and Levite—the clergy of that day—perceive a wounded man lying on the roadside, and leave him there, making Church and prayer an excuse for the neglect of common humanity. They failed to see a brother in the person of a needy man. Their religion therefore was vain and a hindrance: "If a man say he loves God and hates his brother he is a liar." In vivid contrast to the orthodox priest, a stranger, religiously unorthodox and of

inferior races, steps across the road and gives assistance with all that he has—his care, his oil and wine, his money and his mule—and thus built up community on the basis of common humanity and common need, and through the sharing of material things.

Wealth, pride, and false spirituality are a hindrance to the building up of the new humanity. Jesus scorned the false spirituality which excuses pride and ignores the hungry. His hostility flared up when, at a feast, He saw His well-to-do, socially ambitious fellow-guests scramble for the best seats and ignore the feastless crowd. He urges the snobbish place-seekers to sit with lowlier people at lowlier seats, and scatter their invitations, not to the closed circle of the rich, but to hungry men. His words burst like bombshells. One foolish guest, to change the conversation, looking up to heaven exclaimed: "Blessed are they that eat bread in the Kingdom of God," speaking of the future, of heaven, and of eating; whereas Jesus was speaking of the present, of earth, and of giving. It is the voice of false religion throughout all the ages, making heaven an escape mechanism and neglecting the sorrows of earth.

Wealth was abhorrent to Him precisely because it breaks the bond between man and man. Wealth establishes social differences and social insensitiveness. Therefore wealth is condemned, in the story of Dives and Lazarus, in the abrupt reply of Jesus to the rich young man, and in the subsequent words: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God."

Never was this repugnance to wealth and self-sufficiency, and the pride these beget, expressed more pungently than in the words: "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"; and never more beautifully than in the story of the Prodigal Son, where wealth, sought and gained, had isolated the young man from father and home, and landed him destitute among strangers and in a far country.

### Christ Was Militant

Wealth over against poverty meant to Jesus estrangement from God and man. What was true in His day is a hundredfold more true to-day, where wealth, accumulating in individual hands, gives undreamed-of power to its possessors, perpetuates class distinctions, and utterly dispossesses the worker.

Jesus was drastically outspoken in these matters. His love was tender indeed, but never submissive and never sentimental. It was militant, challenging the ruling classes and multiplying enemies against Himself. The revolutionary spirit of Jesus was bound to clash with the narrow nationalism of the Pharisees and the vested interests of

the Sadducees. These were the classes who controlled the police, and when He attacked these they slew Him. His death was no accident. He had identified Himself with the depressed classes. He had challenged the possessing classes.

That identification and that challenge are as essentially a part of discipleship to-day as they were in the first century. And are likely to cost the Christian disciple as dearly. That, indeed, is not the whole of Christianity, nor the ultimate end of Christianity. Rather it is the indispensable beginning. The integration of humanity at which it aims, needs, in the Christian view, to be completed by a still higher integration. But the higher cannot come until the lower is begun. That is why if our brother hath aught against us—we are bidden to leave our gift to God before the altar and go and first be reconciled to our brother and then come and offer our gift.

### Denial of Justice

"England is the land of justice." Nine in ten of the comfortable classes take this for granted. Yet it is false. Where is justice when, in times of slump, two million unemployed are restrained by force from access to land, machines, and tools with which they could be profitably employed, and condemned to eke out a miserable existence in enforced idleness and dwarfing poverty? Where is justice when, in an age of potential plenty, millions live in needless want; and half Britain is paralysed by fears of sickness, old age, or the other insecurities and vicissitudes of life?

An earlier section pictured the achievements of science and scientific industry, with its immediate promise of abundant life for all. Place beside that picture the facts of present and avoidable poverty in England, and say where justice lies. With milk restricted and herrings flung back into the sea, millions of British children are undersized and underfed, one-sixth of the whole child population disastrously so.

This is no wild statement or rough guess, it is based on cold calculations.

Sir John Boyd Orr, for example, one of Britain's most distinguished dietetic experts, in his recent book on "Food, Health and Income," calculates that half our population is inadequately fed. Estimating ten shillings per head per week as essential for a completely adequate diet, he observes that only half our population can afford that sum. He classifies the population of British as follows:

|           |                  |     |                 |
|-----------|------------------|-----|-----------------|
| 4,500,000 | persons spending | 4/- | a week on food. |
| 9,000,000 | "                | 6/- | "               |
| 9,000,000 | "                | 8/- | "               |

|                                |      |                 |
|--------------------------------|------|-----------------|
| 9,000,000 persons spending     | 10/- | a week on food. |
| 9,000,000       "       "      | 12/- | "       "       |
| 4,500,000       "       " over | 14/- | "       "       |

The class spending under 4/- per person a week on food contains one-sixth of all British children. Where is justice there?

An English Bishop recently declared that the number of underfed people in England is extremely small and for the most part it is their own fault. I know that Bishop: he is a good man, but in this matter he is ignorant, even of his own neighbour's lives. He lives in an extremely prosperous town, of some 87,000 inhabitants.

### Intolerable Misery

The matter has not been allowed to end there. Since the Bishop's remark a Council, representative of twenty local societies, under the vice-chairmanship of the former Medical Officer of Health, has conducted scientific investigations in the Bishop's city, examining the circumstances of one hundred typical working-class families. Its findings have shocked the conscience of the whole community.

To speak of justice in face of intolerable misery is absurd. Multitudes live under conditions of unimaginable cruelty and injustice. They are deprived of needful commodities to which by strict rights they are entitled. For the abundance which now flows from the industrial machine is not, in equity, wholly and solely the property of those who happen to "own" the land and machines, as the following argument and analysis of the past will show:

Man achieved his present power of almost limitless production when he gave up his independence and worked in a team. Only in a team do we advance. But to enter a team is to sacrifice independence: in a team we lean on others. It is so in Alpine climbing. Man cannot conquer the high Alps alone; in a team Everest itself is threatened.

Long ago, in primitive days, man was an entirely independent creature, hunting his own food, sowing his own land, and making his own clothes. His output was small. In combination, however, with other men, his stride lengthened. No longer striving only to clothe and feed himself, he began to associate with his fellows, and to specialise his tasks. In a team his productive power increased enormously. Mankind, as a whole, grew richer, but at each fresh stage the individual lost somewhat more of independence.

Association in production at length paved the way for wholly new possibilities of wealth. Learning and science sprang into being, and scientists discovered limitless sources of power; power which drove the machine that science had invented; power which dispenses with all but a mini-

num of human aid. Machines became self-driven, self-controlled, and poor man, whose willingness, as a whole, had permitted team methods of production, found himself at last in ever-increasing numbers pushed away from the land he had given up, and then away from the machines, whose very existence was made possible by team work of the whole civilised, organised community.

### Multitudes Suffer

Multitudes thus suffer, in their unemployment, a grave, though generally hidden, injustice. Torn from the soil, lured into associations, specialised in their tasks, they are left helpless unless admitted to a fair share in the fruits which fall into the lap of the owners of the community-produced machine and of land made valuable by team work of the same community.

Morally this point is of the utmost importance. A further simple illustration may make it clearer.

When man tilled his own acre, leaving others to sow and reap and weave, he remained a craftsman and earned his keep, losing, however, his power to stand alone. Justice demanded that he should share equitably in the increased output. The arrival of the machine enabled man to produce vastly more than before, but it robbed him of his craftsman's skill. The machine which displaces man is the fruit of the corporate enterprise we call science. It results from community, and a share of the increase at least is the property of the whole community and of each individual who makes up the community.

When, at last, through help of the machine, man makes not even a shoe, but only the twentieth part of it; and when, at long last, the machine makes the whole shoe with no touch from human hands, then man is indeed in a sorry plight. The team work and its product, the machine, to which he had consented, and to which now he cannot do other than consent, but which, as a member of the community which gave it birth, he has a right to consider as in part his own, has robbed him of his independence, his craft, his very maintenance, giving him nothing in return. That is the culminating point of injustice.

It is the culminating point of absurdity too. For though millions of shoes pour from manless machines, they fail to find wearers. Penniless, workless men cannot buy shoes. Injustice and folly have stalled the machine. Justice demands, therefore, that the community should own and control productive machinery, though with reasonable consideration for those who for so long have been permitted by the community to acquire an absolute right over the land and machines.

### Denial of Freedom.

The fact of freedom and liberty for the individual in Britain is assumed as readily as the fact of justice, and with little more reason. The masses lack many vital elements of freedom. In particular they lack the freedom to choose their own work, into which they can throw their whole heart and express to the full their own personality, be it as doctor or dustman, artist or artisan. Without the satisfaction of essential impulse all other forms of freedom are secondary and relatively unimportant. Freedom in Britain is mainly the privilege of the industrial and commercial owning classes and has an interesting history. It tends to develop into licence and threatens society with grave dangers.

That there are, however, exceedingly valuable elements in British freedom which are to some extent shared, and which were purchased at a cost which historians alone can gauge, cannot be denied.

### Freedom of Press

Freedom of the Press is a phrase lightly used. To spread opinions through the Press is a freedom enjoyed mainly but not exclusively by the rich. To own and operate a great daily newspaper is the privilege of the super-rich: those who pay the piper call the tune, and it costs a large fortune to run a modern daily newspaper. That gives to the Astors and the Beaverbrooks an overweighted influence in world politics and domestic economics. The extent to which the very rich possess, through their great wealth, the real freedom of the press, and through it sway British Governments, can be gauged by readers of the Astor-owned "Times" newspaper, which in order to extend control over influential circles is supplied at half price to the poorer clergy.

All that is true. And yet our liberties, both of Press and speech, are things of priceless worth and must be defended with our last breath. We may lack control of mass propaganda through the possession of great daily newspapers with circulations of a million copies or more, but individuals or groups still possess the liberty to publish daily newspapers of their own if they possess the ability to do so.

Let no one underestimate the value of such freedom of Press or speech as we still possess, or cease the struggle to maintain it undiminished.

And we British possess other liberties of no small value. There is the liberty to refuse work or wages. Men cannot legally be compelled in Britain, as they can in Germany or Italy, to work. Of course, in nine cases out of ten hunger compels them. Earn wages or die is the frequent alterna-

tive. But if a man can find the means to live without wages for a shorter or longer time, he is still permitted in England to refuse a job. This privilege, though it suffers from the gravest limitations, is of value and can be used as a powerful weapon to raise the standard of life or prevent its decline. The liberty to refuse wages can be made formidable by combination of worker with worker in a Trade Union and serves as a powerful leverage for the welfare of the industrial classes.

Let us, however, while recognising the boon of liberty of press, speech, and refusal of work, recognise also the nature and history, and consequently the limitations, of the liberty which we possess. For not all is liberty which is described as such, and lesser liberties often need limitation in the interest of larger liberties.

### **Lip Service to Liberty**

Bourgeois society acknowledges with its lips the social ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and believes them to be rooted in eternal law which reason has discovered. They are right, but bourgeois idealists are frequently unconscious of the degree to which they have woven their own interests into these conceptions. Equality and fraternity have slipped conveniently into the background, and liberty looms large. Struggling merchants and industrialists of the eighteenth century hardly recognised the extent to which selfish and vested interests had entered into their struggles for political and religious liberty. Successful plutocrats of the twentieth century are much more conscious and much more frank: they demand freedom for an unfettered exercise of economic power which borders on licence and chafes at all governmental restraints.

Such freedom is, in fact, highly dangerous. There is, of course, no absolute freedom, all freedom is relative. Only law can give us freedom. A freedom which consists in absence of all restraint becomes impossible if universally applied. Absence of restraint on the road, or on the high seas, paves the way to disaster. Civilised societies impose road, rail, sea, and air restraints which though irksome to fools are entirely consistent with the widest measure of liberty of transit for the largest number. My liberty as an individual motorist on the king's highway is not hindered because I and others, who wish to move about, must observe the laws of traffic lights.

Absence of restraint in the social order is equally disastrous. A man who seeks freedom to administer his business entirely as he chooses, or live upon inherited wealth all his life without adding one stroke of work to the communal wealth, is not only a robber but a fool. The restraint of a task of work loyally performed nourishes life,

materially and spiritually: it gives exercise to physical, mental and moral powers.

### Women in Mines

Most will agree that restrictions on unsocial aspects of "liberty" were altogether desirable. A hundred and twenty years ago employers and employed had a wider "liberty" of this kind than today. There was less restraint on both employer and employed. A man could work for sixteen hours a day. A child could work at six years of age. A woman could work for twelve hours underground drawing truck-loads of coal along rough, wet, dark, and muddy roadways with a harness round her shoulders like a horse.

That liberty no longer exists. Neither are employers at liberty to give, in lieu of wages, a ticket entitling an employee to goods at an employer's shop where he might be cheated by specially high prices.

We can now return, with the ground largely cleared, to the point where we recognised the value of the liberty to refuse work or wages. If we must not underestimate that value, neither must we overestimate it. How grave are its limitations is better appreciated by those who depend on wages than by those who pay them. A man may be free to refuse wages, but such refusal means that somehow he must live apart from wages. Broadly speaking refusal is impossible precisely on this account. The worker, apart from a Trade Union, has no reserve or resources. He cannot live without a wage, he cannot get a dole if he refuses work, he cannot set up for himself, and thus he is dependent upon those who own the means of production. He is forced to accept the wage or starve. A man's liberty to refuse wages is thus, largely though by no means wholly, illusory.

There is another aspect of liberty which is of as much importance as any yet discussed. Hitherto we have spoken of liberty from the angle of freedom from restraint. That is a negative angle. Such freedom is good news only for those who possess financial resources: it has a less happy message to those who lack them.

Freedom from external restrictions which would debar us from enjoying the goods of life is a very different thing from freedom of access to them. It is freedom of access to good things, freedom of opportunity, which the masses lack and which Christianity demands.

### Formally "Free"

When, as an engineer apprentice, I worked and lived on 13/- a week, I was as free as any man in England to smoke cigars or visit the Riviera. No law hindered me. In other lands men suffer such restraints. Negroes, in some States, no matter how able and willing to pay for

them, are debarred from certain luxuries and privileges: even the sunny side-walk of the street is prohibited ground. Not so here. I was "formally" free, as the logicians say, to do these things. And we Britons possess a wide "formal" freedom and a wide permission to enjoy at our own sweet will a multitude of luxuries and amenities.

But "formal" permission is not actual opportunity. Permission and opportunity stand poles apart. The labourer has "formal" freedom to smoke cigars. Being poor, he lacks opportunity; the "formal" permission is useless. In the matter of cigars he lacks freedom. Formal permission avails him not at all. And so it is throughout the whole of society. Real freedom, the freedom which matters, is rare. What freedom has the average British housewife among the tempting West End shops? Lack of money in the purse reduces freedom to zero for ninety-nine out of every hundred shoppers. It is the favoured few, the middle and upper classes, the men who possess both formal freedom and freedom of opportunity, who are loudest in their boasts of England's liberty, and as keenly sensitive to any encroachment or restraint in the creation or employment of their wealth as they are insensitive to the fact that British liberty largely is a dead letter to the masses. Those who boast loudest are least active in extending the liberty of opportunity.

The British worker, then, possesses a wide formal, but a narrow actual freedom. He is free to go to church, and to go to the church of his choice. He is "formally" free to go to any job he chooses. He is free not to go to a job. "Formally" he is free to tell his foreman or manager, either by post or by word of mouth, what he thinks about efficiency or method in shop control at his particular factory, or about the treatment meted out to him and his fellow-workers. Of what avail, however, is all that freedom? His opportunity is limited to his necessity to keep a job. That necessity shuts his mouth on the things that concern him most. That necessity hinders his mobility and his choice. His actual daily task, its nature and control, and his freedom within the shop matter to a worker infinitely more than the many boasted freedoms of democracy—more, for instance, than the right to vote for the candidate of his choice at parliamentary or municipal elections. His freedom to give notice and seek another job, in a day when—as is so frequently the case—a million or more are unemployed and thousands are awaiting to step, on almost any terms, into the place he vacates, is obviously strictly limited; so, too, is his freedom to fit himself for another job if he discovers too late that his present work is unsuited to his tastes or aptitudes. A couple of weeks stand be-

tween him and starvation: his wage is accurately gauged to provide his maintenance and no more.

The tram-conductor, the turner, and the shop assistant who criticise shop management are marked men: only under the aegis of a powerful Union dare they voice their complaints.

If individual freedom means "doing what I like," expressing my personality in thought, word, and act, then more is needed than mere lack of restraint. Real freedom demands provision of opportunity for all, and a land in which the overwhelming mass of people lack adequately paid work and ample leisure to enjoy its fruits, a land where, amidst potential plenty, half the population are underfed and lack freedom of opportunity in respect of education, choice of a profession, provision for health and insurance against old age and the accidents of life, might for a while cease to boast of the liberties they possess and begin to strive for the liberties they lack.

#### **Denial of Creative Living**

Perhaps the most damning feature of modern industrialism is its denial to men and women, and especially to youth, of creative life. The best things in this world are not the most costly. The love of Nature, the companionship of books, the joy of music—these are the most accessible experiences, these cost least in money and, many suppose, they are available for all. But are they? Books need money for their purchase, and leisure and education for their profitable and enjoyable perusal. Music needs leisure and training, and love for Nature needs access to the countryside. How much chance have hundreds of thousands of my fellow-countrymen of enjoying even these least costly avenues to the abundantly creative living which Christianity demands as the birthright of all?

Imagine yourself living under the conditions that millions endure, impoverished so that you lack adequate nourishment, crowded half a dozen of you sometimes in a single room; how much would you be interested then in these simple and most abiding and most accessible experiences? How much margin of spiritual resiliency and energy would you possess to seek and care for the creative things of life, and what chance would your children possess of growing up to be the kind of people who would seek them?

There is no need to labour the point. To speak of creative living as a possibility for the mass of our countrymen is a farce. If we deplore low tastes, we had better open the avenues that lead to higher. Abundantly creative living is denied to the masses.

#### **Denial of Fellowship**

All human beings are at heart moral beings. The moral sense may be twisted and perverted by the circumstances

of life or the immoral character of society. With war impending men may be taught the art of killing, as if killing were the supreme object of life; ferocity may be developed as a virtue and bayonet practice may teach men the last refinements of brutality.

But such things are outrages on innate moral feelings; it needs strict discipline to inculcate brutality.

An essential part of fundamental moral feelings is the sense of kinship with one's fellow-beings and with the world at large. No sense is happier than the sense of kinship or comradeship.

Part of our very feeling of the rightness of things depends upon our sense of community and comradeship. If that is wanting, we are stunted beings. If the community in which we live is at war with our highest ideals and aspirations, and clashes with our sense of what is moral and right, we suffer from feelings of frustration, and the harmony of life becomes a discord.

The world of financial capitalism produces precisely this sense of disharmony, and the root cause lies in the fact that modern industry treats men as means and not as ends. Men are like machines, and their function is to play their part in the making of profit.

Precisely the same idea produces disharmonies within wider circles in imperialism and in possession of colonies. So long as national minorities and colonial people are used primarily as means for acquiring imperial wealth and aggrandisement, the fundamental striving after community is violated and man's moral nature to that extent frustrated.

Hence the modern man suffers disharmony not only in his industrial and commercial life, but also in his international life. The sovereignty of States and the dominance of minorities and nationalities militate against the innate hunger of fellowship. Something in men with a properly developed sense of community never can be, or never should be, happy on a train where certain carriages are reserved for one colour and others for another, like carriages in India, this for Indians and that for Europeans. Such things, whatever we may say about their necessity in peculiar circumstances, are radically wrong. Wrong, that is, if, as our Christian faith leads us to suppose, brotherhood is the truth of our humanity.

The national sense is good and love of country is a noble virtue. But love of humanity must transcend it. The two are by no means incompatible, and both demand satisfaction in the full sense if the rightness of things is to be attained.

#### Relation Between Sexes

It is the same, finally, with the relation between the sexes. Without complete equality, without the removal of

the last trace of oppression and exploitation, the full pleasure of relationship between the sexes lacks fulfilment.

To achieve real moral unity there must be complete synthesis of self with community. In such synthesis man experiences a joy impossible without it. To reach such synthesis demands constant toil and frequent sacrifice. None can enjoy the full delights of life till all enjoy them; for only when all enjoy them does our craving for fellowship find its last fulfilment.

The following are noble words of Eugene V. Debs, and they find echoes down the ages: "While there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

## BOOK TWO

# The Soviet Blue-Prints the New Society

### 1. THE NEW EXPERIMENT

From this tottering capitalist world of storm and stress, where ancient pillars of society collapse, where morals are outraged, where science is balked, production impeded, and poverty unchecked, we turn at last to the Soviet world.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the correct, though for English readers the less familiar title than Russia, extends over two-thirds of Asia and the major part of eastern Europe, and possesses the largest continuous territory in the world. The Soviet Union covers a sixth of the earth's surface—the socialist sixth—with fourteen seas of three oceans, the Arctic, Atlantic, and Pacific, washing its shores. Northwards its territory extends to within 621 miles of the Pole; southwards it approaches the equator more nearly than Gibraltar. Its climate ranges from arctic to sub-tropical; a land of polar bears and tigers; arctic moss, date palms, and bamboo thickets.

With insignificant exceptions the Soviet Union possesses every natural resource that industry demands; iron, coal, cotton; more than half the world's total oil supply, and mineral wealth as great in quantity as it is varied in kind.

This world island, as Sir Halford Mackinder once picturesquely described it, is self-sufficient; its potential wealth is in rapid process of realisation.

The socialist sixth of the earth has passed the experimental stage. We are in a better position each year to appraise it. The order of Soviet society is far from perfect. In many directions the Soviet Union has a long way

yet to go. Difficulties in the beginning were inevitable. The size of the Union made them appear insuperable. Naturally the new order lies open to criticism in a hundred minor points. But the major achievements of the past twenty-two years are so great, and the progress during the past six years when at last the regime has been completely socialised is so colossal, that no longer can the outer world afford to ignore what is happening. Evils which in other lands frustrate science and make a mock of Christian morality melt away as the new socialist civilisation of the East replaces the plutocratic order and dominance of the West.

### Land of Opportunity

In the Soviet Union all factories, mines, railways and shipping, land and trading organisations are the property of the people as a whole. The economic and social life of the country is planned in the public interest. Complete equality enables citizens, irrespective of their race or nationality, to participate in governing the State according to their ability. Complete equality of sexes, "equal pay for equal work," is a fundamental law. Equal opportunity for education is provided universally, the school-leaving age is in process of being raised to seventeen, and payment is made to students at universities. Work is provided for all; unemployment is non-existent; economic crises have ceased, prices steadily fall and wages rise. The maximum working day is eight hours, the average day under seven. All workers receive a paid holiday of at least two weeks a year. Free medical attention is provided for all; all workers receive wages while sick, as though they were at work. Women receive a prolonged leave of absence with full pay when off work both before and after childbirth. No citizen profits anything from the manufacture of arms. The Soviet Union stands for democracy, peace, and the right of nations to self-determination.

The Russian programme gripped me from its earliest formulation. Majestic in range, practical in detail, scientific in form, Christian in spirit, it has embarked on a task never yet attempted by modern or ancient State. It is a programme which thinks, not in terms of a privileged class, but in terms of each individual soul; not in terms of profit for the few, but in terms of service for all; deliberately bent on organising the whole of life over a sixth of the earth's surface, so that a twelfth of the world's population may eventually share, each according to his need.

The thing is stupendous, and as applied to the concrete situation of life wholly new. It had been a matter of dreams for idealists, never a basis of government for statesmen. It constitutes a Magna Charta for the poor, lifting an entire people on to a higher plane of life with a higher

standard of living. At best, previously, a ladder had been let down by which the favoured few of a "lower order" might climb to privileged places amongst the privileged classes. Never before had the public as a whole been regarded on an equal basis. Production of commodities and rendering of services had been conducted or permitted, not with a view to the ascertained needs of a whole community, but as a means of profit to possessors of land and implements; resulting in poverty for some, opulence for others, and general confusion and inefficiency for all.

The Russian programme, on the contrary, embraces the community as a whole in one general plan, taking into account the requirements, in a union of 170,000,000 souls (now, 193,000,000), of each individual, through successive stages of life, as infant, as adolescent, as adult; in the sunshine of health and strength and in the shadows of sickness and old age. The needs of multitudes of men and women of divers nations for profitable work, alternating with adequate rest and recreation, provided with suitable working conditions as producers, and satisfaction of requirements as consumers, are now to be met by a plan scientific in formulation and comprehensive in scope.

#### Service For All

The Soviet plan stands in vivid contrast to the planless world of capitalism, where supply of need is left to chance, where if I possess money I can buy; if not, I must continue in unrelieved want. A world where private persons, or groups of persons controlling large capital resources, set men working, as they have the power to do, at jobs which provide luxuries for the few, but render thereby more scarce and costly the necessities of life for the many. A world where, yet again, if in the resulting confusion I am left without money and without work, then I and hundreds of thousands in similar plight are condemned to starve in inactivity, unless saved by an inadequate and humiliating dole. A world finally where even with money, I never can be quite sure, in the general planlessness, that I can get my real and essential needs supplied, or supplied in the most appropriate way. I must just take my chance amongst the millions of unorganised individuals each spending his income in his own casual way.

Service for all according to essential need, however, demands an elaboration of organisation from which the most highly civilised and industrialised community might well shrink. It demands, on the one hand, a sufficiency of maternity homes; infant and junior schools and colleges; teachers, professors, inventors, and research students, with scope for the training of youth in the arts of production and organisation adequate to keep them all at work when

trained. It demands, on the other hand, such an elaboration of productive and distributive organisation as will bring to every individual a constant flow of goods and services embracing the whole range of personal needs, from housing, food, clothes, and transit, to music, art, literature, and all cultural activities.

No less daring and no less intricate than that was the plan which from the early years of the Revolution Russia's new rulers began to formulate; and the stage for its execution was a land where an archaic and feudal system of agriculture had only at the eleventh hour permitted industrial organisation to take root in certain places and on a scale totally disproportionate to the extent of Russian territory. In agriculture, industry, and education Russia lingered a hundred years behind the Western States.

## 2. TSARIST BACKGROUND

No land, no people and no period could at first sight seem to the onlookers less propitious as a setting for this, the world's greatest experiment in its most rudimentary initial conception. And the highly elaborated form of the plan which now lies before us was a matter of growth, the result of long years of trial and error; the completed plan, obviously, did not spring fully formed at once into the minds of leaders or community. Even in its most elementary form, however, it demanded a competent industrial organisation and an adequate industrial output. The Russia of 1917 had neither. She offered to her new rulers every kind of hindrance and no encouragement at all: such scanty industrial organisations as she already possessed lying shattered, first by a war for which she was never prepared, and then by a civil war, which had brought alien armies to trample her fields and wreck her factories.

The Tsarist Russia which the new rulers inherited was overwhelmingly agricultural and had spread its net of empire over Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Russian Poland, and Bessarabia, in addition to all the eastern and southern States now included in the Soviet Union, and 80 per cent. of the entire population, even so late as 1928, were engaged directly or indirectly on the land and were faring ill. The proportion was greater in earlier years. The soil, particularly in central and south-eastern Russia, the Caucasus, and Turkestan, was as rich as most in Europe, and in the Black Earth Region is probably the finest in the world; but its agricultural yield was tragically low. Russia was still the land of the wooden plough, the sickle and the scythe; half the ploughs in 1913 were hooked ploughs, scratching the surface in place of turning the clod. Russian methods of cultivation were mediaeval. Only on the lands of the rich peasants and the large estates was there any vestige of modern machinery.

### **Peasants Exploited**

In the main the unit of cultivation was, as in China, too small for economic purposes: 138,000,000 acres out of 263,000,000 distributed among 16,000,000 peasant households, giving to each an average holding of eight or nine acres, severed as often as not into strips here and strips there, as in the manorial economy of fifteenth-century England. Peasant individualism made agricultural mechanisation impossible.

The state of the Tsarist peasant and his village has been described by many writers. Here, for example, are the words of Mr. Maurice Hindus, who, on returning from America to the village of his birth, speaks of the village beauty of his youth, now grown at thirty-five years of age into an old woman, seven of her nine children dead and another sickening: "It could not be otherwise," he added, "so long as the people lived in ill-smelling, unventilated one-room huts, and shared these with their pigs and chickens and calves. So long, too, as mothers seldom bathed their babies, and fed them, with unwashed fingers or through artificial nipples made of dirty linen, their own chewings of black bread and potato or the inevitable kasha, or gruel." His village, in pre-revolution days, possessed no school-house: few villagers could even sign their name.

Tsarist rulers dreaded the rise of a manufacturing middle class. Enterprise was fettered. Though Russia's coal deposits were amongst the richest in the world, her output of coal in 1913 was one twenty-seventh of that in the U.S.A. Such industry as existed was entrusted in large measure to foreigners. Foreign capitalists mined the ores, acquiring as concessions from the Tsarist Government tracts of land rich in minerals. French and Belgian capitalists had control of the Donbas coal and iron mines; British and French of the Baku oil-wells; the control of textile and other mills and factories being shared among French, British and German capitalists alike.

The lot of the worker was desperately hard; his hours long and wages low. Extremely low wages cannot mean anything but an extremely low level of life. It is stated that in 1912 the average yearly wage for an industrial worker was 255 rubles; for a worker in a sugar refinery 106. A ten-to-twelve-hour day was normal.

### **Squalid Homes**

Factory conditions were disgraceful. Men and women alike spent the long hours of the working day in buildings badly designed, badly lit, badly ventilated, and always overcrowded. Sanitation was almost non-existent.

Homes were worse than factories. An investigation in

1898, reported by the Moscow City Council, covering 16,478 lodgings in Moscow, shows that 17 per cent of the population were living under inhuman conditions:

"The stairs which led down to the dens which the people inhabited are covered with all kinds of filth, the dens themselves are almost filled with dirty boards, upon which there is equally foul bedding, and in the corners there is only dirt. The smell is heavy and close. There is hardly any light, because the dens are half underground and little light obtains entrance through the dirty windows. Beneath the window it is absolutely dark; the walls are damp and covered with mould."

Only one degree less vile than the cellars were the insanitary wooden shacks on the outskirts of the towns. Such conditions in country and town, coupled with the inadequacy of the medical service, both in numbers, quality, and equipment, amply account for a death rate of 29.4 per thousand, mounting in the case of infants to 32.7.

In such a land, then, and confronted with difficulties and handicaps so inconceivably great, a mere handful of leaders, with very slight practical experience, began the early stages of the world's greatest experiment. Could the scales have been loaded more heavily against them?

#### All This, And More

Apparently they could and were. For added to the sheaf of inherited problems and hindrances were two more: the war and the civil war.

Russia had plunged into a war with Germany on the side of the Allies, for which she was equipped neither by the state of her army, despite all the lavish expenditure of English and French moneys, nor by the state of her industry; and still less, as it was proved after the event, by the temper of her depressed masses. Tsarist folly, however, made the gamble and plunged an unprepared people into a life-and-death struggle with the mightiest military Power in the world. Russian soldiers never lacked courage: all they lacked were rifles, artillery, ammunition, and food. Ill-armed and starving, the troops manned the trenches, and after a series of bitter and colossal defeats Russia collapsed. Her officials riddled with corruption, her land robbed of its ablest workers, her railways congested and paralysed, her population starving, Russia broke, and with the break an old order passed away forever and a new order took the stage. The army sent to quell the riots joined the rioters. Revolution sprang spontaneously into life.

Amid the uncertainties of eight months of vacillation, with a Provisional Government struggling vainly to salvage what it could from the wreckage of the past, one party knew its own mind. Though in a minority, it was compact

It had a programme and a slogan. Before the cry "Bread, Peace, and the Land," Kerensky's Provisional Government fell, and on November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks were in power and Soviet Government began its rule.

From the very first, and quite naturally, the Soviet claim to power was bitterly contested. Attacked from without and from within, a period of four strenuous years of warfare lay still before the new rulers. Not without a desperate struggle would the capitalist world permit experiments towards fashioning a new order of society, which, if it succeeded, would endanger all they held most dear. Success of a planned plenty was bound to spell the doom of present unplanned chaos or future planned scarcity.

### **Ringed With Enemies**

Little wonder that Russia found herself ringed around with enemies, nor that amongst the bitterest of these were her former allies. In face of a new menace, as the Russian revolution appeared to the Western world to be, the imperialist Powers which had just emerged from death-grips with one another were now united in attacking what they chose to recognise as a common foe. Russia was invaded by Germany, England, France, U.S.A., Czechoslovakia, Poland and Japan. Forced into battle on every front, north, south, east and west, she emerged at length victorious indeed, but exhausted; her land ruined, her economy in a state of complete collapse; her fields overrun with soldiers and weeds, her mills and factories idle for lack of fuel and raw materials; her railways jammed with disabled locomotives, broken cars, and damaged trucks; her bridges blown up and railway tracks decayed. The flow of industrial production, always immature, now dwindled to a fifth of its pre-war volume. Agricultural production dropped to half the level of 1914; fields stood untilled and unsown; cattle were removed in one war or exterminated in another. The whole land was starving.

The difficulties which confronted the new rulers of Russia in the formulation and execution of their plan have been emphasised advisedly. For it is against this background that Russian progress must be measured. The appalling backwardness of Tsarist Russia must be understood if the Russian achievement is to be estimated aright and allowances made for the jolts along the road to it. It is against the Tsarist background of mediaeval agriculture, immature industry, and general illiteracy that Russia's growth must rightly be seen.

### **3. THE PROGRAMME AND THE PLAN**

In its broad outlines planned production, which aims at the provision of consumable commodities, and the capi-

tal machinery which produces them, for the benefit, not of the few, but of all, giving to each freedom from exploitation, equal opportunity for work, leisure, education, and security, is capable of simple statement. Its outworking is the most complex and intricate scheme in the whole range of human enterprise.

The plan arose naturally and inevitably from the revolutionary leaders' determination to produce a "classless State." The idea of a "classless State" is the acorn from which the highly organised planned production of the present regime sprang. On its positive side it postulates a State where social needs are provided for all on an equalitarian basis. This was never intended to mean strict equality, save at the end of a very long process. It left freedom, for instance, for inequality of wage. The "classless State" implied a contribution of work from all, together with provision of a share for all in the communal production.

If, however, the needs of all are to be considered, it follows that production, as well as distribution, must be adjusted to supply those needs. The regulation of production must not be left to the whim of individual producers, nor to groups of producers. That was why the instruments of production must be vested in public, not private hands.

In a word, it is not the interest of the producers at all which must be considered first and foremost, but the interest of consumers. The consumers and their need are the pivot around which productive industry should and must revolve. Consumers must be consulted, and consumers' needs must be ascertained. In proportion to the relative importance and urgency of those needs, goods must be supplied. Data to gauge those needs must be collected and then weighed, need against need.

When it has been determined in which order and to what extent the various needs are to be supplied, then orders can be issued to producers specifying what commodities and in what quantities goods shall be produced. In that way factory workers and groups of factory workers, peasants and groups of peasants, will know what, where, and when to produce. There will be no glut, because need has been gauged; no slump, no boom, no unemployment.

### War On Seven Fronts

Putting it more precisely and concretely, though not with scientific exactitude, the method of estimating need in the earliest stages of the revolution was somewhat like this: Two things stood out as of paramount importance; national safety and the power to produce. The nation, we must recollect, was starting at scratch; industry had shrunk to an insignificant trickle, industrial plants were

had the vision and given the welcome. The failure to do so has been a grave disservice to religion in general, and to the Christian Church in particular. Christians have suffered themselves to be blinded by the hostile propaganda of the threatened vested interests. They have been glad to believe the worst of Russia, as they have the worst of Spain, and by so doing have encouraged and actively aided those forms of financial and armament capitalism which now, as in Germany, turn and rend them, and do so on the very grounds that the Church itself is responsible for the ridiculous doctrines of the value of personality and the brotherhood of man.

#### 4. THE DRAMA OF SOCIALIST PLANNING

So central for all that Soviet Russia stands for is the significance of the Soviet plan that it demands a further section devoted to its genesis, its more developed forms, its larger principles and ruling spirit.

Stand back and see the thing as a whole. To concentrate on blemishes, or on cruel modes of application in the tumult of revolution, is to miss the vital points, like men peering at petty faults in great mosaics.

To Lenin the principle of the classless society existed in clean-cut fashion. Not so the planned production for community consumption which was to give it concrete form. The clear-cut plan was slowly and painfully evolved, beginning when the earlier socialist experiments in "workers' control" of industry had failed. For fail they must, seeing that workers' control of production left unsolved the prior problems; what production did the community need, and what could it afford?

It is the needs of the community which must decide the activities of the producers. If, for example, the community as a whole lacks boots, it is futile to divert productive energy to making spats, however thorough might be "workers' control" in the spat industry.

To ascertain the needs the community, however, demands an organisation right outside the whole of industry itself; an organisation which would voice directly, as the spokesman or representative of the whole community, what things the community had need of. And that involved a plan.

Consequently, on December 5, 1917, a body, called the Supreme Council of Public Economy, was appointed, with exceedingly wide powers, to produce general plans and estimates which should regulate the entire economic life of the country. This Plan had its eye from first to last upon the needs of consumers; whether the army, which needed supplies; industry, which needed metals and machines; agriculture, which needed ploughs and tractors,

or the common man, who needed bread, boots and books.

The Plan demanded that every individual enterprise should pass under public control; that every source of raw material, with every acre of land, should pass into public ownership.

### **Public Ownership**

What might have been done by purchase, or by a system of extended compensation, was done by forcible seizure in Russia. But it was done. And foremost in the doing, as far as the land was concerned, were the richer peasants who were themselves to suffer severely when, at a later date, they forcibly resisted collectivisation.

We may perhaps notice in passing that should the socialist experiment otherwise approve itself, say in England or America, it by no means follows that the method of expropriation pursued by the Soviets need be followed here. Not that expropriation, if made in the interests of the community as a whole, need be immoral. Tithe was recently expropriated from the clergy of the Church of England, and Canterbury suffered heavily. Yet Canterbury welcomed that expropriation as in the larger public interests.

But to return. The Plan demanded, not only the ownership and control of all the resources of production, but also that the pace of production should be speeded up, in order that commodities of every kind might be available for distribution without delay.

To this end the workers needed the stimulus of a great vision and a great programme, and the genius of Lenin, perceiving this, provided the suggestion which developed at length into the Five-Year Plans.

Lenin's suggestion is contained in an interesting letter written to Krzhizhanovsky in 1920 :

" Couldn't you (he wrote) produce a plan (not a technical but a political scheme) which would be understood by the proletariat ? For instance, in 10 years (or 5 ?) we shall build 20 (or 30 or 50 ?) power stations covering the country with a network of such stations, each with a radius of operation of say 400 versts (or 200 if we are unable to achieve more). . . . We need such a plan at once to give the masses a shining unimpeded prospect to work for : and in 10 (or 20 ?) years we shall electrify Russia, the whole of it, both industrial and agricultural."

### **Electrification Scheme.**

Lenin knew the long and pinching years which lay before the Russian workers, and the need for hope in the future to tide them over the stringencies of the present. Gauging the situation with uncanny accuracy, he laid soundly the plans that now mature. Through those early

years Russia endured because she lived in the future. The glorious life-to-be would compensate her for the drab life-that-was. A new political system, a new freedom, a new emancipation for the individual, a new and speeded industrialism, and a new distribution of the products of industry on a more equitable basis—all these were fruits to be reaped in the future; and to accomplish these ends, and to overcome illiteracy and industrial inefficiency and the terrible economic losses to which they daily lead, the assets were: the zeal of the leaders, the stolid patience of the people, and the stimulus of this magnificent plan.

It was for that purpose that Lenin had seized upon his grandiose scheme of electrification. His judgment was right. A Commission was appointed in 1921 to work out a plan for the electrification of the whole country—Goelro, it was called—and the State Planning Commission, commonly called Gosplan, was charged by decrees in 1921, 1922 and 1923 with working out the General Plan for all economic relationships. Concentrating on the objectives laid down by these plans, the people have steadily overcome the hardships of the earlier days and built up a magnificent industry.

Slowly the plan was formulated and fought its way through difficulties without and within. No external nation offered help. No external credits were available. Trotsky, with his followers, obstructed the scheme tooth and nail on the plea that socialism could never be erected in one country alone, nor could the U.S.S.R. rebuild its national economy unaided from without.

The initiation of the Plan, its adoption in 1928, and its subsequent establishment, involved a fight from the first, and all along the line.

### Moscow—Nerve-Centre

There is centred in a series of buildings in Moscow an organisation unsurpassed in the world for the extent and importance of its operations. Its ramifications stretch on and on until they penetrate every corner of a sixth of the world's surface. No factory, no farm, no school, no theatre, no court of law, no hospital, no regiment escapes its scrutiny. By statutory law every public institution in every branch of activity throughout a union which embraces a twelfth of the human race must supply to that central office in Moscow complete data of their present and prospective needs and operations.

The mass of information that pours daily and hourly into those central offices is seized upon, sifted, sorted, and utilised by what is undoubtedly the largest staff of trained statisticians and technical experts in the world, served by thousands of clerks and assistants.

That office is no dead, cold, scientific, and heartless place of red tape and officialdom ; it is primarily concerned with the fate of men and women, boys and girls. Every individual throughout the whole Soviet Union has his or her place among the figures that enter those doors. If he is able-bodied his name enters one series of figures, if sick or too old or too young to work, or if working in the house at home, or engaged in study, or employed with the fighting forces, his name or hers enters other appropriate series. In this way the experts learn the total number of active workers upon whom the country can depend for making things and rendering services.

Another set of essential data is the estimation of the needs of all those same multitudes for food, clothing, housing, education, health, or leisure, and of the people as a whole for defence and for capital production in the form of mines, railways, or machines.

These figures and others continually pour in. Every enterprise in the land, large or small, central or local, educational, cultural, or industrial, must make a return not only of what it has produced during the past year, or what it expects to produce during the ensuing year, but also what have been and are its requirements, first in men and women operators and then in raw materials, in transport, or in credit facilities. Estimates accumulate as to what is being supplied or what is capable of being supplied for people to eat or wear or use.

### Plan For Next Year

All the transport, medical, and educational services and other branches of activity, supply their figures, and after the whole have been digested, a bird's-eye view is taken, as it were, of what next year's output would be if every factory and farm were free and enabled to do exactly what each severally had estimated as possible.

That bird's-eye view gives the estimate of what could be done. But perhaps what could be done on the lines of this year might be inadvisable in view of altered national or social circumstances. A war might threaten. It might be necessary to divert more of the national energy into armaments. Expansion in a warlike direction might be possible without interfering with other output. The natural annual expansion which now takes place might permit more armaments without the production of less butter. On the other hand, it might not be possible. Or, yet again, it might be found safe now to let expansion in consumable commodities take place and provide a large number of boots or gramophones, or build more maternity homes or holiday camps. That is a matter of high policy. Someone must decide.

Decisions arrived at in this way are naturally based upon extremely complicated data and very varying considerations. It is no light thing to decide what amount of labour is available, the more so especially as the population grows with such rapidity, having increased during the past eighteen years by 35,910,000, a figure which exceeds the entire population of Poland. The increase in population from December 17, 1926, to January 17, 1939, rose from 147,000,000 to 170,126,000. The number of children born during the Five-Year Plan was 20 per cent. more than the total population of Rumania. And, while the birth rate rises at an unprecedented rate, mortality has declined 40 per cent. as compared with 1913. It is difficult to know in what state of technical efficiency the population of next year will be as compared with that of last year. The ultimate proposals will be the result of a highly complicated balance of forces. And the decisions will take the form of deciding how best the labor force can be allocated to this task or that to meet the estimated needs. In Russia the problem is less that of finding work than of finding labor.

### Need For Great Care

The complications in such a system are obvious, the difficulty of arriving at a balance of requirements and supplies enormous. A thousand requirements demand correct estimation. What are the needs of the aggregate of factories for fuel and power? What change in those needs will be caused by fresh provision of electric power, or by higher efficiency of power units? What are the transit requirements, and to what extent will these be modified, or may be modified, by the home production in any one locality, or several localities, of that which formerly came from abroad, or was produced in a single defined centre? In view of such problems as these, was it desirable that there should be a change in the local distribution of industry? Further, what labor will be displaced from country districts by the mechanisation of agriculture, and how can that displaced labor be employed in the further development of this service or the production of that commodity?

It will be seen at a glance with what meticulous care the estimates and forecasts must be made and how disastrous mistakes or wrong estimates must prove to be.

Gosplan at length submits the provisional plan, by various official channels, to all the enterprises and organisations concerned, and from which particulars had been collected.

The wheels are now reversed. Yesterday information came pulsing into the centre from every corner of the Union and from every factory and farm and school. Now

the Plan, based on all that collected, assorted, and digested information, with the corrections due to considered needs of the national economy, goes pulsing back again, the requisition from every factory carefully set out, and set out in relation to the whole. The factory, the farm, the educational establishment is asked for its observations.

### **Five-Year Plans**

This consultation is part of the determined policy of the Soviet Union. Each centre of activity, however small it may be, is caused to feel a full measure of personal responsibility. Perhaps the thing demanded is, in the judgment of the factory, too great, or too great unless the provision of raw material or essential parts is expedited. Or perhaps, and as often as not this happens, the estimate is too low. The factory may have developed some new and speedier process which promises an increase of output without an increase of labor, or by the elimination of that which is unessential, needs a lesser quantity of raw material.

These things are recorded and noted, and every suggestion is carefully weighed. So back again on its third journey goes the communication between centre and circumference. These local counter-plans are all collected once more in the central offices and lead at length to the readjustment of the provisional Plan as a whole. A new balance is struck.

That balance constitutes the final Plan, which becomes authoritative for the next Five Years.

The successive Five-Year Plans are awaited with an eagerness unbelievable here. No financier ever hung on the declaration of the budget with half the zest of that with which the common man in the Soviet Union awaits the publication of the Five-Year Plan. It constitutes the standard, the goal, the character, the incentive, and the stimulus for millions of Soviet citizens. The Plan is working and advances. That is the primary fact.

While in the rest of the world production has hardly increased at all since 1929, Soviet production has increased some four times in the intervening ten years. In 1929 (the capitalist peak year) Soviet industrial production was 3.8 per cent. of the rest of the world. By 1932 (the capitalist slump) it was 11 per cent. By 1936 it rose to 15.2 per cent., which shows the steady Soviet advance to be even faster than the boom phase of the capitalist cycle. The Third Five-Year Plan is expected to provide for an industrial output reaching by 1942 nearly a third of the total capitalist world's output.

### **Economist's View**

"The rate of capital development and improvement of labor efficiency in the U.S.S.R., and its long term plans

for exploiting its vast natural resources, are such as to make it not an unreasonable prediction that within the next generation the Soviet Union will be as powerful, industrially, as the rest of the world put together. This is on the assumption that future capitalist production peaks are neither higher nor lower than the 1937 one, which itself barely exceeded the previous (1929) peak, despite rearmament."

'These are the words of Mr. J. Miller, who was in Moscow from May, 1936, to October, 1937, on a European travelling scholarship from Sheffield University, studying Soviet economic organisation.

The Plan worked despite the overwhelming intricacy which is inseparable from it.

Nothing, indeed, approaching the scale of that Plan had ever been attempted before. America, it is true, possessed immense industrial units, and it took the highest flights of her industrial organising genius to conceive and operate them. But America's greatest units were child's play in comparison with the thing now attempted in Russia; the complications of American units were simplicity itself compared to the complicated ramifications that were involved in a plan designed to meet all the productive capacity and the whole range of needs of a union of 170,000,000 souls. "Nothing so foolish as the new Plan was ever conceived or could ever succeed. The dream of an idealist is a fatal base for a practical mode of life in industry, or agriculture, or political organisation."

How often had we heard the same thing before! When Christian idealists had asked that industry should be based on service, not profit, their plea was dismissed as an impracticable dream. When, in the interests of human life, it was demanded that industry should be planned to meet the needs of consumers, and not left to the whim or personal gain of men who happened to own the machines and the land, we were warned in scandalised tones that any attempt at such a change would wreck the delicate organism of industry and finance. And when science, angered at frustration, and sick of muddle, unemployment, boom and slump, begged for a truly scientific planning of the plant its labors had created, it was told from the superior height of the City of London that the swing of the market provided the appropriate regulation, and was calculated nicely to meet, in the widest and freest manner conceivable, the innumerable individual needs of consumers. To tamper with this delicate machine, which no one quite understood, was the act of fools or criminals, and the whole power of the civilised world should combine to hinder them.

Anyway, we were now confidently assured by the capitalist hierarchy that the Plan fashioned by the doctrinaire

politicians and dreamy or violent revolutionaries would quickly prove the folly of the experiment.

Some of us were incredulous and waited on in confidence, believing alike that the scientific nature of the Plan and the moral nature of its inspiration would carry it through to successful completion; thankful that at last science and morality should be given a chance.

The threatened collapse never came. The Plan succeeded. The vast organisation centred in Moscow, with its tidal wave of information and consultation flowing to and fro across a continent, setting the millions working with a will and in mighty unison, is proof of the success. Lenin—and his disciple, Stalin—had been willing to assay new methods and make new experiments, and the Russian people, with many stumbles and repeated hesitations, have persistently followed him, and now at length, prove his apt pupils.

## 5. THE SUMMONS TO SCIENCE

The Soviet Union sought and seeks the aid of science in every branch of human activity. No country in the world holds science in higher esteem or provides its scientists with better and more ample equipment.

This is natural and inevitable in a land where the conception of the role of science in the organisation of society is new and different. In Western countries science is not regarded as a necessary part of social organisation. Merchants, soldiers, lawyers, landed proprietors, or clergy have little understanding of the principles or practices of science. They distrust it or ignore it. Factory operatives join in the distrust: science for them is the source of wealth-producing and labor-saving machinery where others get the wealth and they the unemployment.

Western politicians and administrators do not, in theory at least, regard science and technology as essential parts of social organisation. They can imagine a satisfactory civilisation without them. The fact of the inevitable and unrelieved drudgery involved in such civilisation does not daunt them.

In practice, of course, politicians know that it is necessary to organise State departments for scientific research. Science has entered into contemporary conceptions of government in our Western societies. It has not permeated them. Where we encourage science, we do it with half a heart.

Tsarist Russia was many steps behind even the Western countries in its attitude to science. It had, indeed, its scientists and its Academy of Sciences, founded by Peter the Great about 1724, and could boast many famous names

--Mendeleev, Pavlov, Lomonosov, Karpinsky, and the like. Tsarist science, however, lacked financial support and evoked no popular enthusiasm. It was an elegant ornament and a private enthusiasm. Scientists worked on, pinched by the State and unheeded by the masses. Science was not fundamental in the Tsarist State.

Soviet social philosophy, on the other hand, finds its very roots in modern physical and biological investigation. A scientific mode of thought permeates the innermost consciousness of its rulers and percolates among the masses.

### Soviet Science Goes Ahead

This different fundamental attitude to science naturally reveals itself in Government policy and practice. Industrial and agricultural problems are carefully considered in their relation to scientific possibilities and needs, and the appropriate research is concentrated on their solution. Hence the multitude of research stations which spring up side by side with industry and agriculture in industrial and agricultural centres.

There were 2,292 of these research institutes in the U.S.S.R. in 1938, as compared with 211 in 1918, and there are 41,000 research workers in institutes, schools, and colleges, of whom 4,000 operate in the Academy of Science alone. These numbers grow incessantly, together with the general growth in the level of the intelligentsia, which now amounts to 9,600,000 in a population of some 170,000,000.

In the Soviet Union, again, science brings tangible benefit to all workers and disasters to none. Consequently, the people are at one with the administrators in the new enthusiasm. The whole community is eager for new knowledge and desires to keep in touch with its leading scientists. Scientific conferences, or the election of Academicians, vie with sport as front-page news, and speakers on science require the largest auditoriums when they address the public. Academician Keller says that 20,000 young collective farmers used his "Plant Life" and his "What is Chemistry?"

At a recent competition, launched under the joint auspices of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League and the Academy of Sciences, more than 8,000 young workers in geology, chemistry, medicine, biology, and other sciences competed. Six hundred and fifteen papers were selected for honourable mention, the highest award going to a twenty-nine-year-old Professor of Mathematics for an original and valuable piece of work. One man of thirty-four became Doctor of Geological Science and had 105 scientific papers to his credit.

This popular enthusiasm for science is fostered at the very point—the village and peasant community—where it

has ever been most weak. The cottage laboratory movement spreads like a prairie fire. It is now common to find, as the normal equipment of a village community, a laboratory, where experiments in the vernalisation of seed—that is, the stimulation of development before planting—and such-like work proceeds by specially trained members of the village community.

### Plan Must Help People.

The intimate connection of science with Soviet State planning can be seen at a glance. The Plan knows that it has to feed, clothe, and house 170,000,000 of people at the present moment, and probably 300,000,000 in forty years' time. The need for bread, meat, fats, suits, boots, baths, gramophones, or motor cars will be enormous, and the Plan must provide for it.

The size of industry, agriculture, and machinery is calculated on the estimate of need. Machines require metals, railways, and motive power. Material resources will be in constant demand. Human resources, too. Hence the many research institutes directed by exceptional men within the structure of a planned research system and the deliberate quest for a development of the particular abilities of individual scientists.

Many illustrations may be gleaned in the later pages of this book of encouragement given to, and assistance received from, Soviet scientists, but as immediate illustration of these facts let me describe three interesting and outstanding instances, one in the industrial, another in the agricultural and horticultural spheres and a third in applied medicine.

In 1881 Professor Ramsay suggested a means by which, with immense economies and social benefits, coal could be turned into gas as it lay unhewn in the seams of the earth. But Ramsay was a lone scientist. The coal seams were in private ownership. Practical tests needed large expenditure. Success was uncertain. The owners would not take the risk. The Government was apathetic. Nothing was done.

Ramsay's ideas received on Soviet soil a welcome denied to them in the land of his birth. Lenin, "the dreamer," had said:

"Under socialism the application of Ramsay's method, through 'liberating' the labor of millions of miners, and so on, will permit the reducing of working hours for everyone from eight hours to say seven or even less than that . . . will render conditions of work more hygienic, will relieve millions of workers of smoke, dust and dirt, will speed up the conversion of filthy abhorrent workshops into clean light laboratories worthy of man."

### Care For Workers

In this respect, as in so many others, nothing connected with actual life and with the material well-being and comfort of the workers was unimportant to the Soviet Union, and in 1931 the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to make experiments. They did so, and by February 4, 1938, gas from underground gasification had been supplied to the furnaces of a chemical coking plant and had begun to heat its boilers. The Gorlovka station in the Donbas, at present supplying 15,000 cubic meters of gas an hour, will double this output. A much larger plant at Lisishansk is designed to supply 100,000 cubic meters per hour. Underground gasification of coal has become a practical reality.

Mining and transport of coal are eliminated. Vast haulage plants are replaced by simpler and cheaper installation, and the cost of heat is reduced by half.

More important still is the effect on the lives of workers, freeing them from hard, dangerous work in the depths of the earth, and providing other useful branches of industrial production with a fresh army of workers. For no one in the Soviet Union is cast on the unemployed scrap-heap by labor-saving devices.

Take next an instance of the enthusiastic use of science in agriculture and horticulture, arising from the Soviet Union's determination to increase and add to the richness of its plant life.

From the earliest years of Soviet rule, Soviet expeditions have been despatched throughout the whole world, ransacking every land for new plants and new varieties of old plants.

The President of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Science, Professor N. I. Vavilov, has been largely in charge of this botanical work. Under Vavilov's direction the science of botany has been approached for the first time in a really comprehensive manner, and the Soviet Union now possesses the world's richest collection of different plants. In number, variety, and exhaustive completeness it is unsurpassed. The sixty expeditions which have been despatched have returned with 300,000 specimens of plants.

In a noble room in an old palace in Leningrad, called "The World's Wheat-safe," the Soviet Union has collected 30,000 varieties of wheat.

### Riches For All

Immense attention is paid to wheat; for wheat is a staple food. To extend the areas of wheat cultivation farther north, or into regions ravaged by wheat disease, is to increase the food supply. For there is no burning

of wheat in the Soviet Union. Increased production means increased riches for all.

One of the younger agronomists, as the scientific investigators are called, N. V. Tsitsin, set himself the task of crossing wheat with a hardy wild plant of the wheat family in order to procure a new variety capable of withstanding cold and drought. Stalin gave him practical personal encouragement with the words: "Go on with your experiments boldly; we shall give you every support." Tsitsin has at length produced a hardy annual wheat, not only yielding excellent harvests and capable of withstanding cold and drought, but at the same time immune from devastating wheat diseases.

In 1937, Nikolai Tsitsin, now President of the Academy of Agricultural Science, produced something more startling still—a hardy perennial wheat, a wheat which needs no sowing, but comes up from the same root year by year like hay. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of such a discovery though it may take time to reap the fruits of it.

Ivan Vladimirovitch Michurin, the Union's greatest horticulturist, was the magician who could produce, it is said, raspberries over two inches long, currants as large as cherries, giant black gooseberries, seedless barberries, tangerines that remain unaffected by the frost, and peaches that will grow under natural conditions in regions where the thermometer will fall 40 degrees below zero. In the extreme north, in a latitude nearer the Pole than Iceland, you may stand in a field where the ripe grain touches your face.

Further instances come from the realm of medicine. In 1926 Moscow organised a special Institute of Blood Transfusion, the first of its kind in the world. Similar institutes have been opened in Leningrad, Kharkov, Odessa, Minsk, Kiev, Tbilisi, and Tashkent. There are now 830 district blood-transfusion stations as well.

The President of the International Congress on Blood Transfusion emphasised the fact that the Soviet Union occupies a leading position in the science of blood transfusion. It was Soviet scientists who first discovered how to keep blood for future use. Before that discovery blood transfusion was only practised by direct contact of giver and receiver. The Soviets sent the knowledge of their method to help the Spanish Republicans in their struggle against aggression.

## BOOK THREE

# The Socialist Sixth of the World

### 1. INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Two paramount needs confronted the Soviet Union in the earliest days of the Revolution. First, the need for war material. Second, the need for fuel, metal, chemicals and machinery. These latter things we call capital goods—the materials and machines necessary if we are to produce consumable goods. War materials, for instance, depend on the prior existence of capital goods: guns cannot be made without fuel, metal, chemicals, and machines.

Thus, the supreme and primary need of the moment was for capital goods. These must be produced at whatever cost in human suffering; and in a land poor at the outset that cost was bound to be great, at times nearing the breaking point.

The problem, however, of building up industry was of such supreme importance that it overshadowed every other consideration. The burden to be laid on the shoulders of the people was stupendous. The question was asked: "Is it not too great to be borne?" Many in reply said, "Yes," and urged the restoration of a modified form of capitalism. The Soviet Government, thinking otherwise, faced the situation resolutely and courageously. Soviet Russia must produce its own fuel, its own metals, and its own engineering plant. Soviet Russia must have its own heavy industry. The goal was perfectly clear, and the Government set about its task in feverish, some said dangerous, haste. Many protested. Surely it was better, they urged, to take matters more slowly and more considerately: to be leisurely was to be sure. And why, they further urged, this drive for armaments when no enemy was threatening?

The situation of to-day is the peremptory answer to these questions of yesterday. The Soviet Government knew its own business, and knew it better than its Western advisers.

They knew, in addition—and it was knowledge of immense importance—that without the resolute refashioning of its own industry, and without the tremendous tempo with which it had started, and which has been maintained from the earliest days up to the present time, the Soviet Union would never be in possession of the immense power that it wields to-day.

Happily, however, the Soviet Union knew what sacrifices its people could endure. It knew what triumphs awaited socialism and what would be the measure of capitalist

hostility when confronted with successful socialist achievement.

In face of repeated failures and inevitable blunders it began to build up an industrial machine second to none in the world. All this precipitate haste has been vindicated by events. Russia is now in sight of industrial parity with the foremost capitalist states of the world. Possessing its own heavy industry, its own armament, and its own rising standard of life, it at last stands secure in a world of stress and storm.

## 2. BURNING OF THE PAST

The Soviet Union is extraordinarily rich in natural resources. No country in the world possesses more ample reserves of raw materials. The land of Tsars, rich in resources, was poor in knowledge of its wealth. It was left for Soviet geologists to discover the hidden riches, not only in the lands still unexplored, but even in centres of population long since examined. Tsarist industry ignored what lay beneath its very feet. The geological map needed a total reconstruction.

And now, the reconstruction takes place, with a rapidity unknown elsewhere. The U.S.S.R. is developing all its resources to the uttermost, and primarily its power resources of coal, oil, and water power.

Tsarist Russia had coal. More coal than England. More coal than all the rest of Europe put together. Tsarist Russia never dreamt of the wealth of her supplies. Only with the advent of the Soviet Government was the magnitude of Russia's coal reserves discovered and applied to Russia's needs.

Tsarist Russia as a whole produced 29.1 million tons of coal annually. The Soviet Union had increased this, in 1938 to 137 million tons.

Now, winding-heads arise in unheard-of places. The geologist went first; mapped the strata, drove the stakes, and said, "Dig here." Railroads appeared, shafts were sunk, winding-heads erected, cottages built, families reared. Farms expanded to supply butter, eggs, meat, and fruit. The miller came. The banker came. The carpenter came, the tailor, the shoemaker, the school, the printing-press, the cinema.

Science has done many things for coal. Geological science discovers coal. Engineering science excavates coal, drills it, saws it, lifts it on to travelling-belts and transports it. Chemical science takes coal and distils tars, scents, colors, foodstuffs, and drugs from it. Science reduces working hours at the coal-face. Science frees men from peculiarly perilous jobs which thrust them into the bowels

of the earth, cramp them, double them up and remove them from the light of day.

And when science, in the Soviet Union, sets men free from one job, it provides them with other work: it does not, as we have seen, throw them on the scrapheap.

Science is never still. It moves to fresh achievement. Science, in the Soviet Union has an eye to health and beauty as well as material production. It aids the artist and the doctor. Science, as we have seen, gasifies coal in the seam and, with a minimum of human aid, delivers light, heat and power direct to the users, preventing the consumption of raw coal in open fires, with fouling of air, rotting of buildings, and interception of ultra-violet rays. Raw coal-fires are responsible for rickets and consumption and many other diseases. They draw a trail of ugliness across industrial areas. Lenin had perceived this and fought for the removal of industrial ugliness when he advocated the gasification rather than the haulage of coal. Clean skies and homes lie ahead for Soviet workers.

### 3. BLACK GOLD

Fuel oil is as essential to the modern State as fuel coal. Oil is to the twentieth century what coal was to the nineteenth. Coal reigns on, and with extended uses; but oil reigns beside it, and oil, the Black Gold of Russia, threatens to become the senior partner. Oil drives motor-cars, airplanes, and ocean liners.

Above all, the national defence forces need oil. A mechanised army is helpless apart from oil. Little wonder that oil attracts covetous eyes. The political world manoeuvres to gain control of oil-bearing regions. Oil is crucial in the Palestinian question. We hear much about the Arabs and Jews, and little about oil. But it is oil that keeps us in Palestine. The oil line from Iraq is the key to the problem of Palestine.

Oil drives Germany towards Rumania as surely as oil keeps us in Palestine, and we all get stirred about the oil of Mexico. It is impossible to follow with appropriate intelligence the play and by-play of modern national movements apart from the study of oil and oil supply.

The Soviet Union needs oil no less than other lands. More so indeed, for its mechanised forces are the vastest in the world, and its chance, in case of war, of getting oil from any capitalist country is infinitesimal. Lack of oil might prove fatal. But there is no lack of oil. The U.S.S.R. possesses oil reserves unsurpassed by any country in the world. It occupies second place in actual world output, and leads in the matter of electrification of oil-producing plant.

Soviet geologists have now discovered almost limitless reserves of oil, and more crucial still is the discovery of its wide extension. A belt of oil-bearing strata runs north from Baku, following roughly the track of the Ural Mountains, which cut the continent in two from north to south.

#### 4. HARNESSING THE RIVERS

Electricity is the handmaid of the home. It lifts the housewife's burden. It simplifies domestic life. We switch on the light. Candles, matches, and lamps disappear. We switch on the heat. Coal and chips and dust disappear. We switch on the kettle, the oven, the griller. The sooted flue disappears. Electric irons smooth our clothes. Electric sweepers save the housemaid's knees and the clouds of dust. Electric clocks need no winding and cause us to miss no trains.

Electricity is the handmaid of industry. The modern factory goes wandering away from crowded centres into rural areas. Factories leave pithead and railhead. Trunk roads and motor-lorries solve transit problems. The pylon solves the light, heat, and power problems. And if we will have it so, an industrial colony may be as comely as an Oxford college.

Electricity places wholly new powers in the hands of man.

Far back in the last century, Karl Marx and Engels grasped, with prophetic vision, the significance for a socialist regime of the new discoveries of electricity, then in its infancy. They perceived, almost before the scientists themselves perceived it, that power as well as light would, in time, travel along slender cables to revolutionise our industry.

The founders of scientific socialism not only recognised a wonderful scientific discovery, but foretold the economic and political consequences which were bound to result from it. At its very dawn Marx laid claim to electricity as the basis of socialist technique.

Lenin followed Marx's example in his enthusiasm for electricity and in his recognition of its supreme importance in socialised industry. In the early and perilous days of the Revolution he formulated his views with singular precision. One of the most important tasks facing the national economy, he declared, was "to devote special attention to the electrification of industry and transport and to the application of electricity in agriculture."

Lenin formulated a plan for electrification which was designed to cover the whole country with a network of district power-stations and transmission lines. The plan was adopted in 1920, and ten to fifteen years were allotted for its fulfilment.

"Without a plan of electrification we cannot tackle the work of actual construction. We need this programme as the first rough draft, to be placed before the whole of Russia, of an economic plan, calculated ahead for at least ten years and showing the way now to give Russia in actual fact the economic basis that is required by Communism . . . . Communism is Soviet government plus the electrification of the whole country. Otherwise the country will remain a country of small peasant economy, and it is up to us to realise this quite clearly."

Whilst these words were being spoken at the Eighth All Russian Congress, bullets were still singing over the banks of the Dnieper; the Kichkas bridge was blown into fragments, and a German army of occupation had entered Kiev.

At this very moment, and as if heedless of their peril, the engineer, Krzhizhanovsky, mounted the rostrum of the Great Theatre in Moscow and announced the most fantastic plans.

Twenty electric stations worked by steam with a capacity of over 1 million kilowatts; ten water-power stations, with a capacity of over 640,000 kilowatts, were to be erected in a country where even oil-lighting was still a rarity.

This man was gravely proposing a plan for covering with a network of cables a primitive land in the early childhood of its industrialism, with no material resources, and in the throes of civil war. Ironic foreign journalists dubbed his speech as "electrofication."

Stalin, in March, 1921, wrote to Lenin as follows concerning the electricity plan:

"I move:

"1. That not a single minute more be wasted on talking about the plan.

"2. That a practical start be made.

"3. That at least one-third . . . of all we do be subordinated to the interests of this start."

A start was made on the Dnieper. Soviet theodolites replaced German guns. The Plan began. The possibilities grew as it proceeded. The original horse-power anticipated was 350,000. Subsequently 810,000 was found possible.

Socialist organisation has had great advantages in electrification. It chooses the best sites. It fears no property rights. It concentrates capital investments on gigantic power-stations, with all the economies that this implies. It creates great linked-up systems: the Moscow system, for instance, even now, and taken by itself, apart from all the other systems with which it will one day be linked, holds first place in Europe for power generated, and shares with

New York the first place in the world for heat and power production.

## 5. STEEL FOUNDATIONS

Civilised living makes big demands on metals. A well-fitted house claims large quantities of iron, steel, copper, and a long list of other metals. There are the iron ranges or gas-cookers in kitchens, and fire-bars in parlors. There are iron shovels, buckets, saucepans, vacuum cleaners, pianos, and sewing machines. Indirectly the demand is greater: the clothes we wear are woven on steel looms driven by steel engines and transported by steel locomotives travelling on steel rails. Add all the homes together and you get the measure of demand for metals. The amount of metal a country produces is a good gauge to its civilised usages.

Considering the immense size of its territory, the iron and steel industry of Tsarist Russia was absurdly small. How small in relation to today's production may be seen by the fact that all but  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of Soviet iron and steel comes from new or completely reconstructed mills.

Furthermore, the industry was concentrated in one or two localities instead of spreading out widely and healthily. This dangerous concentration of industry was in no sense due to lack of raw material in other localities.

Soviet geologists have quickly discovered and mapped fresh sources of supplies and prepared the way for the thrilling story of remapping industry and population.

In "The Times" atlas, in obscure print, you may find the place-name Magnitnaya (Magnet Mountain), lying 617 meters above sea-level and in the extreme south of the Ural Mountains. On the right bank of the small river which skirted the mountain lay the Cossack village of Magnitnaya.

In 1929, windswept, flowery meadows lay beyond the village. Herds of cattle browsed up the slope of the Atach Mountain. Today one of the world's supreme steel centres hums and roars where the cattle grazed. The Atach Mountain was one vast lump of iron ore, containing 63 per cent. of iron, and weighing 300 million tons. The Magnet Mountain gives it its appropriate name of Magnitogorsk.

An area of 54 square kilometers was selected for the site of Magnitogorsk. Five square kilometers were for the metallurgical plant.

By 1934 the mills turned out about 10 million tons of cast iron. By 1937 this had grown to  $14\frac{1}{2}$  million tons. Steel increased from  $9\frac{1}{2}$  to upwards of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  million tons, and rolled metal from 9 to 13 million tons.

### Soviet Gold

I have spoken only of iron and steel. Let the closing word be of gold. Gold still has value other than intrinsic

for the Soviet Union, for gold is a means of exchange with other countries which value it. So gold is useful, and the U.S.S.R. abounds in gold.

Gold, in the capitalist world, has a sinister history. Sinister in the getting, sinister in subsequent manipulation. If the production of gold has slain its thousands, the manipulation of gold has slain its tens of thousands, or, to be more correct, its tens of millions. Those who hold the gold, and on the basis of that holding erect a pyramid of interest-bearing obligations, and then a mountain of inextinguishable debt; those who create or destroy the money of the people by a stroke of the pen hold the livelihood of the peoples and the life of industry in the hollow of their hand.

In vivid contrast is the production of gold and its use in the Soviet Union.

Gold is mined all over the Soviet Union. Old flooded mines are restored and new deposits discovered. In the remote taiga of the north, in the steppes of Kazakstan, in the mountain regions of the Pamirs, in the valleys of the northern Caucasus, and in the foothills of the Urals or the Altai Mountains, gold is found, and the gold-bearing regions are as large as the combined areas of several European countries. In output the Soviet Union occupies the second place in world production.

It might at first sight seem odd that the Soviet Government should seek so eagerly to dig out of the ground the shiny yellow metal which has been used so long to enslave mankind. But we must remember that the Soviet Union is still surrounded by a capitalist world, and gold has value in that world in the struggle for economic independence. Gold procures the most modern machinery, equipment and technical innovations. Gold means the strengthening of the defensive powers of the country. Gold is useful abroad.

But gold is used as money only for foreign purchases. Gold is not the basis of currency within the Union. The Soviet Union enjoys a managed currency, without any reference to foreign exchanges. The fluctuations in the aggregate amount of Soviet currency have no observable effect on prices of commodities or services: prices of commodities are fixed, just as gas or urban water is fixed in England, and cannot vary with the amount of currency in circulation. The amount of currency in circulation no more affects the price of goods than the number of postage stamps in existence affects the postage rates, or the number of letters dispatched.

Gold is useful to the U.S.S.R. so long as other lands employ it. Its internal use is confined to the filling of teeth.

the construction of trinkets or for the technical purposes of history.

Soviet Russia parts with its gold; it does not hoard it. In return it gets machinery and a thousand other valuable and useful articles. The gold it gives in exchange lies buried in the vaults of other lands. Its use as money is threatened. The day may be approaching when gold becomes worthless in all countries save for technical purposes. "We may yet live to see the day when gold falls to a tenth of its present value; the gold mines will be ruined—but we may have gold plates on our table!" Soviet Russia will in that case have the better part of the bargain and deserves it.

And in the present, with a reserve of gold probably greater than that of its three potential Fascist enemies combined, the Soviet Union has wisely placed itself in a strong position in the event of war.

## 6. OUR SERVANTS THE MACHINES

This is a machine age. We become a machine-minded people. The housewife owns machines, and works machines: sewing-machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, wireless, gramophones, bicycles, and motor-cars. Machines add power to our hands and speed to our feet; machines lift burdens off our shoulders; free us from a thousand tasks. Machines, driven by solar power in any of its various forms, make poverty an anachronism. We starve amidst plenty, if we starve at all.

In England the machine is regarded by many as an enemy, and with some show of reason. New machines and new inventions throw thousands on the dole. In a glass factory one person makes 3,000 bottles an hour: formerly it took seventy-seven. The machine deprives seventy-six of employment. Men dread the advent of a new machine.

Tsarist Russia went back even a step behind that in fear, and dreaded the factory which made the machine. The Tsarist Government observed that machine factories in other lands had produced the revolutionary proletariat and the radical middle class. Consequently, no encouragement was given to industrial development.

The Soviet Union has no fear of the machine, and need have none. Naturally so. In a planned economy the more machines possessed the easier will be the work, the shorter the working day, the lighter and happier the lives of all. Possessing the power, the Soviet Union sought to construct as many machines as were needed to produce what goods it desired.

The Soviet people are eager to make and possess machines which will utilise this cheap and abundant power and render it serviceable in an infinite variety of ways:

machines that sew boots, machines that weave clothes, machines that churn butter, machines that make paper, machines that count; and those machines especially upon which all other machines depend, machines that make machines.

Russia needed first of all machines to make machines, whether the machines were the sensitive ship's chronometer or the giant excavator which, like an immense arm, 60 feet in length, provided with a huge scoop at the end of it, cuts its way into the ground with immense teeth of forged steel, grips a wagon-load of earth, lifts it bodily, swings it easily round, and drops it with a rush like a waterfall into the iron box of the waiting truck.

The Soviet Union needed lathes, steam hammers, forges, presses, guillotines, saws, a vast variety of precision tools.

The Soviet Union was bound, therefore, if it hoped to survive at all, to create a machine-building industry, and to distribute that industry far and wide throughout the Union. To do this it must produce and train its own expert technical staff. That in itself was a colossal task and possessed many ramifications. It demanded the provision of schools, colleges, and technical institutes, manned by skilled teachers. It demanded the switch over to machine-mindedness of a people unacquainted even with the most elementary forms of machine construction. It demanded the development of discipline and emulation, and many other qualities of character.

The Soviet Union has achieved its colossal task in the brief space of one and twenty years, and today there is scarcely a single needed machine which it cannot produce at home. New branches of machine construction open daily.

## 7. ARTERIES AND NERVES

Old Russia was a land of vast distances and miserable communications. In famines millions perished in one part of the country whilst wheat rotted in another for lack of transport. During the World War armies stood defenceless whilst munitions clogged the junctions.

The problem of transport and communications was multiplied a hundredfold when the Soviets introduced the new era of intensive industrial production.

In the Soviet Union of today freight movement is immense. Rivers of iron, coal, cotton, lumber, and machines travel to feed the factories, from which in turn rivers of finished goods flow out to meet the needs of consumers.

Streams of freight need channels for their flow. Without the channel the stream is dammed. Sometimes the channel is a river and the freight moves in boats. Some-

times it is a railway track, and sometimes a macadam road. When speed is important and the weight light, the air may prove the readiest channel.

Ship, waggon, truck and airplane all serve this many-sided transport system, and as the stream of freight grows in volume the strain on the system increases and the flow is threatened. Congestion is dangerous. A stoppage would be fatal, akin to a block in the arteries or a paralysis in the nerves of the human body. The danger has been very real. The immense development of industry throws a huge strain on the Soviet transport system and necessitates from time to time drastic measures of improvement.

The Soviet Government had inherited a transport system inadequate, damaged, and lopsided. Inadequate, because railway tracks were poor, locomotives primitive, rolling stock outdated and outworn, and rivers shallow and untended.

Links between district and district, between east and west, between colony and colony, or people and people were few and far between.

The Soviet Union planned a radical change, and if in the earlier years the change in the transport map has been slower than in either of the other maps, the work actually done has been great, and the speed quickened as soon as L. M. Kaganovitch, builder of the Moscow subway, was appointed People's Commissar of Railways. In two years the 50,000 daily car-loadings were almost doubled.

### Vast Transport Schemes

Road and motor vehicle supplement rail and locomotive. The First Five-Year Plan, therefore, called for 22,500 miles of newly macadamised and modernised highways, with orders to each town and village to repair and maintain its local ways. The roads were overhauled. The age of the motor-car had come.

The Third Five-Year Plan provides for 128,000 miles of new road, and an increase of motor-cars from 570,000 to 1,700,000.

A network of air lines links the far-distant places of the Soviet Union with the centre. Many of these lines, such as that from Moscow to Tiflis, Tashkent, and Alma-Ata, are 3,000 miles long. The line from Minsk to Kamchatka, via Vladivostok, is 8,000 miles, twice as far as from London to Bombay.

Transport by water is cheaper than transport by rail or road, and will relieve the pressure upon both. Soviet rivers are immense, capable of carrying vast loads of freightage.

The Dnieper, as we have already seen, is navigable from mouth to headwaters, thanks to the new Dnieper power-station and locks.

The projected Volga scheme is to be vaster still, and when completed the Soviet Union will possess a water highway unrivalled in the whole world, linking the Black and Caspian Seas with the Baltic and the Arctic by deep-water rivers and canals, and bringing goods by water from all the world to Moscow. Lumber and grain will go south to the Black Sea, and coal north from the Don to the Volga factories. The northward-moving stream of coal will narrow as the factories along the way are fed. The grain-stream and the lumber-stream moving south will broaden out as the farms and saw-mills along the route are tapped.

To complete this huge undertaking will require, beside the deepening of the Volga itself, the construction of a canal 6 miles long and over 200 feet wide linking Volga and Don.

On May 19th, 1933, a continuous ribbon of water stretched from the Baltic Sea to the White Sea and gave an exit to the Arctic Ocean. It is no longer necessary to sail around Norway, Sweden, and Karelia on the journey from Leningrad to Archangel. The stormy 17-day voyage through the North Sea is shortened to six days through the quiet forests and fenlands of Karelia.

"Man—how proud it sounds," said Gorky as he stood upon the platform on the opening day.

Within a few years Moscow port, in the heart of European Russia, will be linked directly with Baltic, Black, Azov, Caspian and White Seas. The vastness of its conception, and the speed with which this plan is being carried out, are the measure of the Soviet man.

#### 8. SOCIALIST HARVESTS

Food, clothing, housing, and the provision of material things necessary to live an ample, cultivated and civilised life are the objects of industry. Industry is a means to an end, not an end in itself, and must be judged by its ability to produce in the necessary quantities and of the necessary quality the things we use and the things we eat.

Food industry in the strict sense was non-existent in the old Russia. The backwardness of the country, the scarcity of large towns and proletarian centres, the low standard of living of the urban lower middle classes, and the self-sufficing system of economy that prevailed so largely in rural areas made no demand for large food enterprise. Small scale and domestic production of food articles sufficed. The rich had their own means of supply without the medium of great industry.

When, however, a whole people advanced to a new order of life, there arose a wholly new demand for mass

production of foodstuffs. This had been clearly seen and clearly stated from the first. Stalin put it neatly when he said:

"Socialism can succeed only on the basis of a high productivity of labour, higher than under capitalism, on the basis of an abundance of products and of articles of consumption of all kinds, on the basis of a prosperous and cultured life for all members of society."

This demand of necessity involved a series of highly developed food industries. Food plants demand foodstuffs, and the basic raw materials they need are now available in abundance, supplied by hundreds of thousands of collective and State farms: collective live-stock and dairy farms in Siberia, collective fisheries in the Far East, collective and State tea-plantations in Georgia, market-gardens in the Volga region, and sugar-beet plantations in the Ukraine.

### Rising Standard of Living

First and foremost was the need for grain. In 1937 a grain crop of 7,300 million poods was harvested. The harvest for a five-year period before the War had averaged a little more than 4,000 million poods. The Third Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of 27 per cent. That means that at the end of 1942 the Soviet Union should be harvesting about 8,000 million poods of grain.

Sugar figures show an increase as great as wheat. The retail trade in 1936 was 329,000 tons; in 1937, 467,500 tons; in 1938, 580,000 tons. In the Third Five-Year Plan the sugar-beet harvest is to show a further increase of 37.2 per cent.

Retail trade figures reveal similar increases in other foodstuffs. Between the years 1933 and 1937 sales in butter advanced by 260 per cent., in eggs 510 per cent., in sausages 730 per cent.; years, of course, when plenty was pursuing famine, but these increases are far from ceasing, and the Third Five-Year Plan provides for marked advances.

The Soviet Union grows its own tea and bottles its own wines. Georgia produced 35,000 tons of tea-leaf in 1938. Until recently the Soviet Union was producing 160,000 bottles of champagne a year; France produces 50 million bottles. The Soviet's output is to be increased by 1939 to 3 million.

It is sometimes said that a country's civilisation is measured by the soap its people use. The sale of soap in the Soviet Union has increased many dozenfold since 1913.

Tobacco is in demand in Russia as in other lands. The supply was short so long as tobacco was imported. Today the Soviet Union produces its own tobacco, the collective farms of Abkhazia grow leaf equal to the finest Turkish

brands, and Soviet cigars, an innovation, rapidly find favour. Variety of brands is large and increases. In 1937 the Soviet factories turned out 89,000 million cigarettes. The Soviet Union stands second in the world amongst tobacco-producing lands.

Provision for an increase in the consumption of goods from one and a half to two times is the task of the Third Five-Year Plan. Provision is made for a parallel rise in real wages to make increased consumption saleable.

During the Second Five-Year Plan the total consumption by the people of the Soviet Union had increased more than twofold, during which period prices fell and wages rose.

Falling prices, rising wages, and increased social amenities are the causes of a real advance in the standard of living and the consumption of goods.

The rise in the national income is an excellent test of a rise in the general standard of life in a country with no great extremes, as in ours, of wealth and poverty.

## BOOK FOUR

# The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number

### 1. THE MORAL RESULTS OF SOCIALIST PLANNED PRODUCTION

"In material results the Soviet Union moves up a steady incline: her moral advance is steeper still." In those brief words an acute social and religious observer, who visits Russia year by year, summed up his impressions of the achievement of the Soviet Union.

Unquestionably the material results are astonishingly great, and may well be envied. The moral results are still more striking, and cannot be obscured by all the mistakes and crimes which from time to time have caused triumph to Soviet enemies and sadness to Soviet friends.

Moral advance should, indeed, have been expected, since the material advance itself is due to moral causes. For a programme which deliberately resolved to organise all the productive forces on a basis of service rather than profit, in order that all individuals whatever their age, language or race, should share according to need, has established itself at the very outset upon moral principles.

The Soviet Union believes in science. It believes in morality too, and precisely on that account avoids the constant complaint heard in England of late, and espe-

cially when the social order shows grievous signs of cracking, that moral growth lingers behind scientific growth.

In the Soviet Union it is different. Moral growth advances side by side with scientific development, and in the Plan and its results the Soviet achievement is seen at its best.

Before proceeding to the final stages of this book, where we shall trace in its various aspects the fullness of life which socialist principles and planning have brought to the childhood, youth, manhood, and womanhood of all races in the Union, it will be profitable, for the sake of clearness and conciseness, to enumerate very briefly some elements in the advance along the Soviet moral front.

1. The Plan lifts the emphasis of life from personal acquisition to socialist accumulation. Unhealthy and unsocial development of the acquisitive instincts has long exercised the minds of thinkers and moralists. Soviet-planned production with one masterly stroke severed the taproot of selfish acquisition. A shoot here and a shoot there may still arise and call for constant vigilance. The master shoot, however, wilts because the master root has gone.

True, hard work increases wages, and hard study the rate of wage; but the all-absorbing master principle of acquisition which inspires—and debases—capitalism has gone for ever in the Soviet Union: the profit motive shrivels through lack of opportunity.

2. The Plan provides profitable employment for all. None is deprived of the opportunity of work. Booms and slumps are gone, and unemployment with them. Unemployment ceased in 1931, never to return. In the nature of things, and given a scientific plan, none need be unemployed so long as any human wants are still unsatisfied. When that is done, leisure comes, and leisure, when it comes, comes to all. So long as work is needed, work is free to all. Workers are in demand in the Soviet Union; and wages rise.

### Security For All

3. The Plan provides personal security for all. The Soviet citizen depends upon the whole community. It guarantees his safety. He stands secure. If he is sick, he receives sick pay ungrudging in amount, and subject to no time-limit. When old, he draws an ample and honourable pension, with no more shame attached to it than is attached to the pension of retired Cabinet Ministers.

4. The Plan, on its negative side, removes fear and worry. Fear depresses and devitalises. Christian moralists are right in their attack on fear. The vast moral achievements of the Soviet Union are in no small measure

due to the removal of fear. Fear haunts workers in a capitalist land. Fear of dismissal, fear that a thousand workless men stand outside the gate eager to get his job, breaks the spirit of a man and breeds servility. Fear of unemployment, fear of slump, fear of trade depression, fear of sickness, fear of an impoverished old age lie with crushing weight on the mind of the worker. A few weeks' wages only lies between him and disaster. He lacks reserves.

Nothing strikes the visitor to the Soviet Union more forcibly than the absence of fear. The Plan removes at one stroke many of the most obvious fears. No fear for maintenance at the birth of a child cripples the Soviet parents. No fear for doctors' fees, school fees, or university fees. No fear of under-work, no fear of over-work. No fear of wage reduction, in a land where none are unemployed.

5. The Plan discourages lies, deceit, and sabotage. The premium placed on lies, deceit and sabotage by capitalistic industry has been a prime cause of distress to those whose moral conscience is normal and sensitive. It is not easy to speak strict and generous truth in most branches of competitive industry and commerce. The atmosphere differs so widely from school and church that many avoid the latter lest they add the vice of hypocrisy which they can avoid to the subtle deceits which they cannot. They despise men who commit the deeds on Monday for which they crave pardon on Sunday.

The Soviet Plan discourages lies. There is no need in Soviet Russia to sell paper boots as leather. Nor is one man's speed at work another man's undoing. Speed, skill, and invention increase the pool of goods in which all share. By paving the way to higher technical achievement, skill opens the door of higher wages to all who will learn it. Trade Unions in the U.S.S.R. encourage all means of labour-saving that augment production.

6. The Plan resolves the struggle between the egoistic and altruistic motives. It is a happy order in which my more strenuous and profitable employment enriches others as well as, or even more than, myself.

Here, the motives are frequently at variance and man is internally torn asunder. In the Soviet Union they combine, and the interior tension is relaxed. The Soviet workers eagerly fit themselves for skilled or higher tasks, commanding higher salaries and satisfying their egoistic urge. But they are aware, even while they do it, that the higher skill adds more amply to the pool; that satisfies the social urge. The altruistic and egoistic motives run hand in hand in Soviet industry, just as on an English cricket field, where team-play serves the side and wins as well the price of personal distinction.

### Sense of Responsibility

7 The Plan creates a new sense of ownership and responsibility. The knowledge that every man, woman, and child has a place in the Plan and a share in its product creates a sense of ownership. Peasants, artisans, students, and children speak of "our" country, "our" factory, "our" store, and "our" metro.

Actually "our" metro was built not wholly by paid artisans and labourers, but with the help of volunteers who carried home with them a new technique, a new standard of workmanship, and a new sense of ownership. A sense of ownership carries with it a sense of responsibility. It is this sense of ownership and responsibility which makes Trade Unionism in the Soviet Union so perplexing to English Trade Unionists. In capitalist countries men work on other men's property: in the Soviet Union they work on their own. Sedulously from the first Lenin cultivated this sense of corporate ownership and responsibility: every cook, he said, must be trained to run the country: it is her country.

8. Planned production creates a new attitude to work. For the Soviet Union is a land where all must work. No idle classes are tolerated. We talk much cant about the dignity of work, especially those of us who strive all our lives to escape it. Lenin combated from the first the idea that a working class is lower than a leisured class and manual work lower than directive tasks. The plan needs help from all and ministers service to all. Work must be embraced. The school-child is taught the pride of working in a workers' society. He is to know from his earliest years what he is doing and why he does it. Seeing his own tiny work as essential to the whole, he puts conscience behind it and acts in the comradely way. A leisured class is a social responsibility in the Soviet Union, though leisure for all is a right, and an increase in leisure an aim.

9. The Plan reduces crime. Crimes are largely, though by no means wholly, committed by the very poor and committed through the fact of poverty. Such crimes lessen as poverty departs.

Another fruitful source of crime is the hurry to be rich. Remove that impetus; remove, too, the ennui and monotony due to overwork, and work at tasks which lack social inspiration and drive men to gambling, drink, and sex perversion, and at one stroke you clear half your courts and half your jails. The decline of crime in the Soviet Union is a fact.

### New Zest to Life

10. The Plan adds zest to life by providing creative tasks for all. "Building socialism" is the fashionable phrase.

It is a task to which all are called. Each has his or her niche in the whole. Each feels he or she is wanted. And the tasks at which they work are of social value. No tasks are futile, or unsocial, or performed simply as a means for gaining access to money-stream. What this means for childhood and youth we may learn on a later page. Perhaps it is the highest gift of all.

11. The Plan brings its benefits and its challenge to every race or colour or people in the Soviet Union. The Plan is comprehensive. It has regard of the whole industrial and agricultural field and of every native race. Neither for military reasons alone, nor for economic reasons alone, were industry and agriculture re-distributed afresh. Humanity demanded it. Men are brothers. There is work for all and benefit for all, and though the highly developed sections under the Union move at a quicker pace than formerly, the backward elements move quicker still and the day of their equality draws near. That for the scattered races and backward peoples is the message and the good news of the Plan.

## 2. NEW HORIZONS

The Plan succeeds, and its success provides the material basis of abundant life for each and all. That is the natural, but none the less welcome reward of reorganising the industry of a country on a scientific basis and with a single eye to the needs of the community as a whole. The Plan promised abundance. The abundance comes.

This abundance must be examined in terms of human life. The Plan was a means to an end; and the abundance which it produces is a means to an end. And that end was certainly not abundance for abundance's sake, still less was it merely a means for keeping machines employed or scientists busy. The end of the abundance was—let us remind ourselves of fundamental principles once again—to secure the maximum of safety and well-being to all upon an equalitarian basis. To give to each man, woman, and child, of every nationality, race, tongue, or colour, equal freedom from exploitation, equal justice, equal opportunity for work with remuneration appropriate to the service rendered to the community, equal and ample leisure, and equal access to education and security.

How does this work out in practice? Let us begin with the child.

What impressed me most in Soviet Russia was not her factories and material statistics, but her children.

It was no happy moment for an Englishman, on returning to London, to contrast the physical, mental, or spiritual opportunities of English children with those of the Soviet Union. I hardly recall, during a journey through

five Soviet Republics and several great Soviet towns, having seen a really hungry or under-nourished child; and my wanderings by myself, of many long hours on many occasions and entirely alone, took me into all parts of the various towns and villages and at all hours of day and night. There is, of course, no need for hunger in a land where unemployment has ceased, where wages rise and cost of commodities falls.

### Contrast With Past

To have been strictly scientific, however, my standards of comparison should have been, not London or Paris, but the Russia of two and twenty years ago, where life, so far as it concerned mother and child, was, as we have already in some degree observed, at its lowest human ebb.

The struggle for education was long and bitter, and not in any substantial measure successful under the Tsarist regime. The mass of people still lay beyond the pale of even the most elementary forms of education. The fine scholarship and art that existed was limited to a favoured few, and confined to the Russian tongue. National minorities were almost wholly without elementary schooling.

Church and Tsar united, alas, in nullifying the attempts of liberals to spread popular education.

In 1904, 3.3 per cent. of the population were at school in Russia compared with 19 per cent. in the United States. And while England, as far back as 1877, was spending a very inadequate sum equivalent to 12½ per head on education, Russia was spending only 10-5/8. In 1914 Russia occupied nineteenth place on the list of world literacy: 72 per cent. of its people could neither read nor write. In some Asiatic provinces this figure reached 99 per cent.

Then came the War, the revolution, the civil war, the blockade, and the famine of 1921 and 1922. Education was brought to a standstill.

Educational reconstruction did not in practice begin until 1922, although the earliest decree of the Bolshevik Government had proclaimed that education was to be universal and free to all, irrespective of colour or race. It was rightly perceived that if Communism was to succeed at all, it would be only upon a basis of high culture as well as high production, and also that high production was only possible on the wide basis of educated workers. Lenin took steps to secure both. Eighteen years have passed since 1922, and that noble decree reaches out to its fulfilment.

Untold difficulties have blocked the way of Soviet educationists. Many teachers of the old regime refused to work in the Bolshevik regime. School buildings were out of date and hopelessly inadequate. Theories of education

were numerous. Typical communist education was slowly formulated, and embodies many of the main features of the Western educational systems, whilst developing interesting and valuable features of its own.

In the meantime, the main struggle was concerned with the provision of teachers and buildings. Teachers are not trained in a day, and it is hard to build schools when every other thing needs building at the same time. And it is an achievement entirely without parallel that the number of scholars in elementary schools has been raised from eight million in 1918 to 34 million in 1938, that teachers in adequate numbers have been trained, and that buildings have been provided to cope with this immense influx of pupils.

### **Free Education**

To every Soviet child in the land the school door now stands open. Nearly two million children under the age of eight attend a full course at the nursery-infant school, one million more receiving some other less systematic form of education.

No children between the age of eight and twelve escape school today, and by 1940 education for children of eight to fifteen will be compulsory throughout the Union, from the Arctic to the desert steppes. By the same date education in all towns, industrial settlements and rural centres will be compulsory from eight to eighteen.

The type of education and the principles which inspire it differ in vital respects. It is primarily education for social service in line with the Christian principle upon which communism is based: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Education is free and given equally to every child, for every child needs it. On the other hand, a return, more exacting than any asked for here, is demanded of the child from first to last. Though education lacks monetary charge, it places the recipient under obligation. Soviet training is training for service. The ideal held out to a child differs entirely from that still too common here: "Work hard and get on." The child is incited by all around him to "work hard and you will be able to take your part in building socialism. Work and fit yourself to render comradely service to those around you, to your country, and to the Soviet Union." The difference is one of emphasis.

Manual work is not only held in high esteem, it is deemed essential. Soviet education is designed to produce the complete citizen, and in Soviet eyes no citizen is complete apart from manual training. Soviet education bridges the gulf between manual and intellectual activity.

## **"Polytechnisation"**

The peculiar process by which this is done is called Polytechnisation and needs careful understanding. It demands a section to itself.

Polytechnisation represents a whole-hearted effort to give the child from first to last, and with growing clearness all along his course, a thorough understanding of the nature of productive industry itself as part of a social order; what effect industry exerts upon the worker, and what effect this or that particular product of industry exerts upon the social body as a whole.

It aims not at making a worker, so much as a many-sided social being.

It aims at producing a new intelligentsia, men who understand materials and their properties, who understand the significance of the various things produced and the scientific nature of the forces, electrical or otherwise, necessary for their production. But men who also understand the effect of new modes of production upon the whole organisation of life—who, in a word, understand the parts of life in relation to the whole of life.

Polytechnisation aims to give to every man, woman, and child, that breadth of outlook and social sense which is reserved here for the few. It is a factor in deciding a child's ultimate career. A boy, for instance, will tell you that he wishes to be a locomotive construction engineer, "because the country is in great need of developing its transport." A girl will tell you, "I am going to study gardening. Like Michurin I want to cross tomatoes with potatoes and cherries with apples."

This close connection of the school with the outer world proves to be the real disciplinary agent in Soviet education. This is the clue to the self-disciplined Russian child. From the tenderest years the Soviet child is taught to work with others at useful and corporate tasks. Soviet children like English children, for instance, will play with cubes. But Soviet cubes or bricks will often and purposefully be too large for a single child to handle. He will call a companion, and together they will build their house of cubes. Co-operation becomes instinctive.

### **The Team Spirit**

The child learns too, taught in simple form, to understand the nature and the meaning of the real world around him; and to take interest in it, as my small English children love to follow a housemaid and aid her with real tasks. I observed in the playground of nursery schools that paths resembled miniature turnpike roads with coloured traffic lights and "stop" signs which children themselves could operate.

The spirit of the team is the spirit of the school in a more real sense than here. There is no lack of incentive to individual achievement, but only in so far as it is consistent with the welfare of the team. Children receive class marks, "excellent" or the reverse, but not class places, first, second, or third. Competition is desirable and stimulates a child; but in the Soviet school it is competition between class and class, not between child and child. Competition is keen in a Soviet school and, with the system of class "excellents" in place of class lists, acts socially. Clever children are saved from temptation of self-seeking or jealousy. The clever child has incentive to stir duller scholars and turn their "bad" marks into "excellents," as clever members of a cricket eleven correct the faults which jeopardise the team.

Self-discipline becomes second nature in such schools. Classes elect their own leaders, who check attendance and promote order. Other children form committees which aid in school kitchens and in regulation of sanitation. Teachers and representatives of the children meet at regular intervals to discuss work and other matters; the wall newspaper to which any child may contribute is a training-ground for critical as well as constructive citizenship.

Needless to say, the cane and any other form of corporal punishment are altogether absent from Soviet schools. From the home, too; for to administer corporal punishment to a child is illegal in the Soviet Union.

### Palaces of Youth

If he should wish it, the Soviet child is aided in his out-of-school life. Aided in his games or hobbies. Aided in the kind of way English boys and girls are aided at Scouts and Guides and other social clubs. But aided with a thoroughness and a lavish expenditure astonishing to those who know the financial struggles of English clubs. Palaces of Youth spring up all over the Soviet Union; I visited them in Kiev, Moscow, Odessa and elsewhere.

Beautiful in themselves—some of them exceedingly beautiful—these Palaces are even more beautiful in their promise for enthusiastic and adventurous youth. I spent an evening in one of them where 2,500 children were at work in 209 circles on 69 different subjects. It is worth a brief description.

In the first room a score of small boys and girls, dressed in lovely light blue frocks and suits, were dancing, taught by a member of the Moscow ballet.

Then a history room, its walls adorned with maps of Moscow and scenes of Russia's past. The map was peculiarly ingenious, tracing, as you pressed a button, by means

of coloured lights running along tubes, the stages of the cities' growth and the projects for tomorrow.

The mechanical rooms were innumerable. In one, boys were making model aeroplanes, one boy re-boring a cylinder and making certain other adjustments; he had nearly won the prize for long-distance flight. The lathes, drills, planes, in their workshops were beautifully made and appropriately small in size.

There was a dynamo house, a railroad room, a testing-room, a complete model of the Metro, a completely equipped film-making room.

The aviation-room contained its own air-tunnel and wind-chamber and a delicate instrument to test the resistance of home-made planes.

A short-wave transmission station connected the Moscow home of Pioneers with the Pioneers' Palace in Leningrad, and the children can themselves communicate between the two cities.

These palaces and their innumerable regional homes in various parts of great cities have a double object in view; to help the individual child to develop his or her particular gifts to the full, and to enrich the community with all that a fully developed individual can give. Their leading men deem it no waste of time to welcome and foster any talent that youth shows.

### Summer Camps by Sea

The number of summer camps by sea and lake and forest grows from year to year. Summer camps become part of the normal life of the Soviet child. No large factory lacks its camp or its holiday home, and small industrial concerns link up together to possess one.

I visited, Artek, the most famous of all camps, in a lovely spot on the Black Sea Riviera, and spent an evening with the children, entertained by them to tea and after tea to a concert. Then the children gathered round, plying me with every kind of question, most especially about Spain and England's attitude. They had much to ask about the Nyon Treaty and had an astonishing knowledge of and interest in international affairs.

The spread of education in the Soviet Union shows itself in the new passion for reading. Old and young, boy and girl, man and woman, all desire literature. Illiteracy has almost gone, and with the new capacity to read comes a new demand for books. The needs of children and youth come first.

The peoples of the Soviets are a reading people. It is doubtful if any people in the world read more.

It is twenty-two years since the Revolution, and the growth in book publishing has been incredibly rapid.

The United State Publishing House was formed in 1930. It includes twelve publishing houses in various fields, such as social and economic literature, fiction, technical and scientific works, encyclopedias, dictionaries and other literature. Its output is enormous. Tsarist Russia, in its peak year 1912, published 133.6 million copies of books; the U.S.S.R. in 1937 published 571 million copies. In 1938 an issue of 700 millions was anticipated.

The State Publishing House for Children's Literature issued about 45 million copies of books during the year 1938, millions more were issued by children's publishing houses of the Union and of the autonomous republics.

The small children's books have a peculiar fascination, full of fancy and vivacity and printed in vivid colours. A small child's geography book will begin with the picture of letter in an envelope, and then its travels to the pillar-box, the sorting office, the railway train, the steamer, the ice-sledge; through hot countries and cold countries and among people with white skins, yellow skins or black skins. The thing is concrete, vital, and to a small child arresting and understandable.

#### English Books Popular

For the older children "Book after Book" is the name of a series of forty-two famous Russian authors, together with such well-known foreign writers as Dickens, Victor Hugo, Jack London, and Ernest Seton Thompson. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Harriet Beecher Stowe, "Rob Roy" by Sir Walter Scott, "Oliver Twist" and "David Copperfield" are also on the list for publications in the children's series, together with stories by Fenimore Cooper, Mayne Reed, and Jules Verne.

The Soviet child is encouraged from its earliest years, in school, in books, in theatre, or in great parades and reviews of the Union's many national peoples, to transcend the barriers of sex, race, language, or colour, to regard every other child as a brother and to win for each such privileges as he or she enjoys.

I perceived the spirit of this thing most dramatically in a theatre I attended in Moscow.

This theatre, like many more, built and arranged like an ordinary theatre, was devoted entirely to children. The children had their own restaurant and foyer, their own skilled actors and actresses, who devoted their whole lives to children's plays and acted with consummate skill. Around the walls of the foyer were photographs of the children's favourite stars. In the corner of their refreshment-room was a huge glass case of special toys and dolls.

Some 1,500 children, ten years of age and upwards, awaited the play with vivacity and the usual anticipative-

chatter, but with no roughness or horse-play, though the absence of attendants was most marked.

### 3. THE OPEN GATEWAY

The Soviet Union is a young country. Youth controls factories, workshops, and scientific institutes. The managers of the Moscow Dynamo Works are under thirty years of age. The majority of those participating in the Arctic exploration expeditions were under twenty-five years of age. The percentage of the population under twenty-nine years—that is, of those who either were born under the Soviet regime or retained but blurred recollections of Tsarist days—is 63. A similar percentage in Britain is 50.

What has the Soviet Union done for its youth and what is it doing?

At fifteen years of age—that is, at the end of the seven-year school age, which extends from eight to fifteen years—two alternatives present themselves: the child may enter the ten-year school and proceed to the university or technical college, and an extremely large percentage do so; or he may start at once to learn the profession of his choice.

Should he choose to become a technician—an engineer, say, or an aviation mechanic—he enters a machine-constructing technical college, where he studies the elements of mechanics. The course lasts for two years and is free. On his seventeenth birthday, and not before, he can enter industry. As a juvenile he works for not more than five or six hours a day, receiving an appropriate wage.

At the end of his eighteenth year he leaves the works, and after an examination enters a higher technical college. For the next five years he undergoes an extensive course of theoretical and practical service. On his twenty-fourth birthday he emerges as a qualified engineer.

During all this time he has received, in addition to his meals, instruments, and text-books, a monthly allowance which makes him independent of outside financial aid.

#### Keen on Sport.

At college he meets students from every country in the Union. He comes into closer touch with the outside world than in his school days. He may become one of the five million members of the Communist League of Youth. He comes of age politically. He becomes politically aware, which is altogether desirable if politics is "the art of living with one's fellows." At the age of eighteen he or she obtains the right to vote and are eligible for election. Of the 1,143 deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 284 are between the ages of eighteen and thirty.

But politics and work do not absorb his whole time. Soviet youths are as keen sportsmen as British youths, and Soviet teams can hold their own with any teams they meet. We constantly read of their triumphs in Paris, where they are welcomed. Soviet youth swims—inventing and perfecting new strokes—skates and climbs. In parachuting he—and she—have led the world. I have watched children of ten receive their first lesson in air-mindedness: as when a small girl eagerly offered herself to be tied to a fixed chair at the end of a long beam, to be swung through the air at the height of a two-storeyed house, landing head downwards, at the far end, and then swinging back again. The next stage is the leap, attached to an open parachute, from the parachute tower. After that the real thing: 500,000 Soviet men and maidens indulge in parachuting.

In the city of Kiev, in April, 1937, 1,112 girls left school at the age of eighteen. Of these not more than 10 per cent. considered their education to be complete and went to work. The remaining 90 per cent. passed on to some form or other of higher education. I suppose that in England the percentage would be nearer 5 or 6.

This wholesale desire for higher education seems to be incredible, and the ability to gratify the desire more incredible still. Three considerations may help to account for it:

#### **Students Well Paid**

First, there is no financial difficulty which hinders a clever or keen student from entering the university or institute for higher education. Students receive a wage according to the standard reached in their work, but in any event adequate for maintenance. An examination must be passed, but it is not competitive, as here, where a certain limited number of places and certain limited financial resources alone are available. The examination merely tests fitness to profit by the course of advanced study.

Secondly, the parents have no need of the early wages of their children to eke out the family income or provide maintenance in their own old age. Their own earning power, the absence of unemployment, and the certainty of a pension on retirement, or maintenance if sick, cause them to encourage rather than hinder their child's desire for a university education of the highest order they can get.

Thirdly, and not of least importance, is youth's own eagerness for the highest possible forms of mental equipment. There is a zest for learning; especially, but by no means exclusively, in the several fields of science.

The number of students in universities and technical colleges is to reach 650,000 during the Third Five-Year Plan.

Secondary education is to grow still more rapidly, and the number of those with a completed higher education will increase from 750,000 to 1,290,000.

And that is but the beginning, not the end. Stalin expressed the intention with his usual simplicity in words spoken at a recent conference of Stakhanovites:

"The elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor can be achieved only by raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technical workers. It would be absurd to think that this is unreasonable. It is entirely reasonable under the Soviet system, where the productive forces of the country are freed from the fetters of capitalism, where labor is freed from the yoke of exploitation, where the working class is in power, and where the younger generation of the working class has every opportunity of obtaining an adequate technical education. There is no reason to doubt that only such a rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class can undermine the basis of the distinction between mental and manual labor, that it alone can insure that higher level of productivity of labor and that abundance of articles of consumption which are necessary in order to begin the transition from Socialism to Communism."

The goal is that of a wholly educated nation.

#### Careers for All

We have traced the course of Soviet youth from infancy throughout childhood to the higher ranges of education in university or technical institute, and now reach the point where he is ready to launch boldly forth into the world of affairs with which throughout his whole career he has been acquainted, and the principles of whose industries he has been encouraged to understand.

What awaits him now?

It is at this moment, I venture to think, that the profound difference between planned production for community consumption and production which is either unplanned or planned only for the safeguarding of profits and in the interests of the profit-making class, shines out most clearly, and altogether to the advantage of the former.

For the Plan gives to the Soviet youth a creative purpose and a hundred opportunities to work it out. The Plan seeks his help. Unlimited possibilities open up before him in the spheres of science, economics, general culture, and politics. For Soviet youth the nightmare of unemployment is for ever gone. His future is full of hope. There is a niche for each and a call for each. There is for each a promise of security, banishing devitalising fear; and an honoured place in a cause which gives, or can give, zest and nobility to life.

Vivid indeed is the contrast between the outlook on life of the average Soviet youth from the outlook of the average British youth. No one in close touch with British youth, or with their parents too, can fail to know the fears, anxieties, and strain with which they face the future, whether in times of slump through which we are passing, or in times of boom into which we may shortly come, only with the knowledge that another slump lies inevitably ahead.

### Position in England

More than most perhaps am I placed in a position to know the inner side of this question as it affects the various types and classes of boys and girls of England; being at the moment Chairman of Governors of an elementary school, of two large secondary schools, and of a great Public School, the oldest in the English-speaking world: having also held similar posts in the great industrial centres of the north.

All this contact with youth makes vivid the problems, depressions, and the discouragements which beset youth on the threshold of life.

There is a general and disturbing anxiety in the later school years as to whether a job can be secured which will provide a livelihood. The number of useful jobs, they know, is limited, the number of applicants immense. Competition is severe. Hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have been condemned to pass the post-school life without ever knowing the joy of work, lacking tools, room, skill, or resources to make their own employment. Life consists of hanging around street corners, with its morally degrading effects.

Or, when a youth is lucky and finds a job, how often can we call it a creative job? Innumerable young men and women, capable of achieving much and enriching the world with the things they could produce or the services they could render, eke out a miserable and precarious living as touts urging the purchase of commodities we neither need nor want. And how many more are tied down for life to routine tasks and dread the very inventions which may make even these tasks superfluous and cast the present workers on the scrap-heap of unemployment?

### Unemployment, Overwork.

And, while many are unemployed, many more, and especially those in the more skilled type of employment, are seriously overworked. The end of the working day finds them too fatigued to take interest in the social and political order which so vitally affects their lives. The strain of keeping the skilled job they have secured is incessant. Age will quickly prove a handicap.

Some few, in the higher ranges of industrial or professional life inherit, or gain by influence, or even win by open competition, in a struggle for which they have had all the advantages which wealth and leisure and every favorable circumstance can give, a sphere where life really has creative purpose.

It is just these creative tasks that open up in the Soviet Union, not to a favored few, but to all. All have a share in the ownership of industry and productive processes. All have their appropriate niche, and it is the niche of their own choosing. There is no hunt for a job. The jobs do the hunting. And each job is part of a greater whole. Nothing is haphazard. In whatever job he chooses, a Soviet boy may know that he is building up a national concern. What he does creatively affects himself, his family, his city, his fatherland.

Soviet youth is assured of healthy creative and attractive work, his perplexity lies only in its choice.

I can well understand Lion Feuchtwanger when he wrote after sojourning in the U.S.S.R. that, "Soviet youth emanates a strength and joy which involuntarily astonishes me." And I can sympathise with Romain Rolland's message to Soviet Youth: "You are the hope of the world, the seed of the future classless society of all humanity, a society without exploitation of man by man, without frontiers between the States, without hatred between races and peoples."

#### 4. THE NEW WOMANHOOD

Womanhood enters a new world in the Soviet Union. Soviet women share with men a new equality in education, in political rights, in skilled work, in status, in culture. No world was more dark for women than that which went with the Russian Empire, none more bright than that which came with the Soviet Union.

Soviet womanhood earned her liberty. She paid the price of it with the blood of her best.

The Revolution which took Russia by storm in 1917 did not come unprepared. It was the climax of a series of desperate struggles, in which women were never far behind men. Often the women led.

When Christianity invaded Russia in the year 1000 it came from Byzantium and in a form which spelt subjection for women by Church and State. A youthful primitive agricultural people were overwhelmed by a monastic asceticism which in the oriental tradition regarded women as evil. Inferior places were allotted to women in church. Women might not approach the altar. At marriage, a man's ring was gold, a woman's ring iron.

In the heroic line of those who revolted from Tsarist oppression and cruelty, women were never wanting.

Women served the causes of liberation with a fervour and contempt of death which yielded not an inch to the authorities. Their strength rose with their tasks.

Most revolutionary women in these earlier days were young, richly endowed in mind and soul, many of them beautiful and gifted with artistic powers. Their personal and romantic love was subordinated to the universal love to which they had devoted their lives, and accounts for the purity in mutual relations which subsisted between men and women of the revolutionary movement.

### Comradeship with Men

Friendship and comradeship, the capacity for holding together, was, from the first a marked characteristic of Russian revolutionaries. That, too, has left its stamp on the new order. Out of prison men and women shared their last penny. In prison the political prisoners lived literally in a commune, sharing money and food with meticulous care. All social barriers went, and ardent friendships based on common intellectual interests such as are seldom found in freedom were formed, and persisted when freedom came.

Women were the soul of Russia's fight for freedom. And they were mostly young. Of the sixty-seven women prisoners at Maltsev between 1907 and 1912, eighteen were under age, thirty-seven between twenty-one and thirty, and only twelve over thirty.

In 1887 the screw of oppression took a tighter turn. Brutality increased. Pogroms were ordered to divert attention. Prisoners were sent to Sakhalin and even remoter regions. Education was curtailed. Alexander III scribbled across a report sent to him by his Minister of Education, "No more education." Women's colleges were closed.

During these years industrialism came to Russia. It came full-blown with ruthless exploitation, unsoftened, as in England, with many legal and moral mitigations of its hardships. It taught, however, the power of the collective process of production. The modern industrial proletariat came into existence at a bound, and with it a fresh advance in the struggle for freedom.

In 1895 a "Fighting Association for the Liberation of the Working Class" was formed. Lenin was a member. Four women were on the executive. One was Nadyeshda Krupskaya, who later married Lenin. Leaving the Grammar School in the 'eighties, Krupskaya studied educational theory, and, coming into contact with radical groups, proceeded to study Marx, and subsequently taught in the Smolensk Workers' College in St. Petersburg. Many of her pupils occupied prominent places in the Russian Labor Movement and Revolution. She was arrested and exiled

for three years, going at her own request to Siberia, where Lenin was serving his period of exile. They became engaged. Lenin moved to Munich on his release, and at Munich, and afterwards in London, issued his paper, "The Spark" ("Iskra"). Krupskaya joined him and acted as editorial secretary.

### "Bloody Sunday"

In 1905, on "Bloody Sunday," an immense crowd with ikons, images, and portraits of the Tsar went to the Winter Palace to present a petition: they were met with deadly rifle-fire. Faith in Tsar and Government departed forever. Barricades were erected. A working woman, Karelina, had cried before the march: "Mothers and wives, do not dissuade your husbands and brothers from risking their lives for a just cause. Come with us! If they attack us or shoot us, don't weep, do not lament, be sisters of Mercy! Here are bands of the Red Cross, fasten them round your arms, but not before they begin to shoot on you." With one voice the answer had come back: "We will all go with you." More than a thousand lives were sacrificed, and among them many women and children. One woman, struck by four bullets and dying next day said, "I do not regret for a moment that I stood on the barricades."

It was the pains and toils of Russia's womanhood throughout a century of struggle that helped mightily to pave the way for the Revolution and set its stamp on the new Soviet order. Inevitably it won the Soviet womanhood a status and dignity enjoyed in no other land.

No one was more conscious of this than Lenin himself, who said of it in its culminating phase:

"In Petrograd, here in Moscow, in cities and industrial centres, and out in the country, proletarian women have stood the test magnificently in the revolution. Without them we should not have won. Or barely won. That is my view. How brave they were, how brave they still are! Just imagine all the sufferings and privations that they bear. And they hold out because they want to establish the Soviets, because they want freedom, communism."

When the old order collapsed and the new order took its place, every vestige of the old laws relegating women to subordinate positions was swept away.

Lenin put it like this, and in doing so echoed the words of Karl Marx spoken sixty years ago:

"There can be no talk of any sound or complete democracy, let alone of any socialism, until women take their rightful and permanent place both in the political life of the country and in the public life of the community in general."

## Equal Rights For Women

Article 122 of Stalin's Constitution of 1936 written twenty-two years later formulates with great precision the same intention:

"Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social and political life. . . . The possibility of realising these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance and education, State protection of the interests of mother and child, granting pregnancy-leave with pay, and provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens."

That expresses in a comprehensive way the charter of the new womanhood.

From the first women responded to the new opportunities with eagerness, and entered industry with an alacrity which astonished the Western world. A vista had opened out before them. They leapt as comrades to the side of men. In the early years, when enemies pressed on every side, women mounted the barricades, served as soldiers and scouts, or drove armored trains.

When Kornilov's army attacked Leningrad, 200,000 women went to the front. Plotnikova, still half a child, like Joan of Arc, rallied the exhausted soldiers of the 19th Cavalry Regiment in their retreat. She spurred her horse and led them to the charge. The enemy was repulsed; the girl commander was carried off the field severely wounded.

When the last shots ceased, women flung themselves with similar enthusiasm into the task of building socialism. They crowded into factories; forcing themselves where necessary, and with the entire concurrence of the authorities, into every branch of skilled industry.

## Won High Honors

Into skilled or less skilled factory life women had entered in considerable numbers prior to the Revolution, forced by economic necessity, as in other capitalist countries, for female labor was cheap, and women, drilled by the discipline of the home, worked more steadily than men, and were regarded as more docile and tractable.

All who obstructed the new order in the Soviet Union were swept aside. Old-fashioned managers and technicians who affirm that women lacked the capacity for skilled technical work were soon compelled to change their view.

The individual efficiency of women workers improved rapidly. We might have expected it. For in 1937, 41 per cent. of the total number of students in the workers' faculties were women. There are nearly 100,000 women engineers

and technicians working to-day in Soviet industry. There are just as many who have won honors and distinctions among women workers as amongst men. It was the women, Doussia and Maroussia Vinogradova, who led the way to increased production in the textile industry, and a Ukrainian woman farm worker, Maria Demchenko, who was the first to harvest 20 tons of sugar-beet per acre.

But none of this achievement would have been possible had not the Soviet leaders been sensitive to the inevitable handicaps under which womanhood suffers, and resolute in their determination to remove them. Both Marx and Lenin had known poverty and seen the sufferings of their own womenfolk, and an intimate connection links Lenin's intense compassion and complete and sympathetic understanding of a working woman's life and the new charter for womanhood.

Caressing some children one day he said to Gorky: "These will have happier lives than we. They will not experience much that we did. There will not be so much cruelty in their lives." Then, looking into the distance, to the hills where the village nestled, he added pensively: "And yet, I don't envy them. Our generation achieved something of amazing significance for history. The cruelty which the conditions of our lives made necessary will be understood and vindicated. Everything will be understood, everything." Gorky adds, "He caressed the children gently, with a soft and tender touch."

### Happy Wives and Mothers

It was this side of Lenin, then, that beyond all others saw the needs of women and the difficulties which hemmed them in. He had no sympathy whatsoever with a working man's oftentimes callous attitude to his wife. "Very few men, even among proletarians," he writes to Clara Zetkin "think how much labor and weariness they could lighten for women, in fact save them altogether, if they would lend a hand in woman's work. No, that is incompatible with a man's 'rights and dignity,' which require that he should enjoy his peace and comfort. A woman's domestic life is one in which she is sacrificed every day amidst a thousand petty details."

Having given to every woman the right to work, with no doors closed against her, save in those occupations which involved unduly heavy physical toil, they laid down the principle that women workers must receive equal pay with men for equal work. Again, marriage and motherhood introduce other obvious difficulties into the industrial life of women. And in order to make equality as complete as possible, full compensation must be given to a woman

to enable her to fulfil, without handicap, her biological function of child-bearing. The Soviets have done two things here. They have encouraged motherhood and made it abundantly possible. Women employed in industry and public undertakings are granted adequate leave with full pay, both before and after confinement.

It has been ensured that there is no single profession from which married women are barred. The pregnant woman, indeed, may not lift heavy weights or work overtime. But her absence from work at the time of confinement in no way endangers her employment, and nursing mothers working at factories are given a pause every three hours to suckle their babies.

The Soviet Constitution shows that these problems have been met and weighed with minutest care and are amply provided for. And with production organised on the principle of service to the whole, and not profit to a section, it has been found possible to do under socialism the justice to womanhood which capitalism fails to do.

### Nurseries and Creches

As women need to be compensated against the handicaps of childbirth, they need further compensation or assistance in the matter of child-care and house-care. And an abundance of nurseries, creches, milk-kitchens for infants, kindergartens and playgrounds for young children, together with communal dining-rooms at factories and elsewhere, and other devices are created to free womanhood from the drudgery of domestic duties.

This, again, is possible and advantageous under a socialist regime. For the creche and the communal kitchen rationalise labour. Women's work in the house has obviously been more uneconomical than man's work in the factory. One large kitchen absorbs less labour than a score of smaller ones, and one large mechanised laundry less than a hundred washing tubs. Communal kitchens and laundries and creches and kindergartens are releasing women from drudgery, and placing them, with equal status as workers, side by side with men, and thus through their work, is enriching the whole community by increasing the volume of distributable goods.

The right to work, the right to equal pay, and release from the drudgery of the household have led to a widely expanding freedom and enrichment in the domestic life of women.

1. They have brought a new freedom to marry or to avoid marriage. Soviet women are more free than women elsewhere to marry or not to marry. Economic hindrances to marriage—or to early marriage, at any rate—are removed.

The large number of Soviet young married women is in marked contrast to England's economically induced delay. Repeatedly did I discover that my local guide, whom I supposed to be a girl recently released from college, proved to be a married woman with children of her own of whom she was fond and proud. The practicability of early marriage has had an immense effect for good on public morality.

2. When married, a woman is free to continue her work or to undertake new work. In this matter man and woman stand on an absolute equality. The husband of one of my guides was earning his living as an editor, she as a guide. They had independent incomes, and each contributed to the family expenses.

### **Birthrate Soars**

3. Woman is free to have as many children as she likes. Economic barriers to large families are removed, and that probably accounts, with the new joy and zest for life and with the Russian woman's passion for children, for the fact that the birthrate in the Soviet Union outstrips all other European records.

In early days, when famine made children a burden, and when war weariness depressed husband and wife, women sought any possible release from the responsibilities of motherhood. Abortion was permitted by the Government, but only that it might be open and safe, rather than furtive and dangerous. Abortion was permitted as a temporary measure; it was not part of the communist programme, and it was abolished, save when it was necessary medically in 1936 after prolonged public discussion.

Children are welcomed by the Government, and mothers with several children receive additional financial aid. A mother of six children receives at the birth of each additional child an annual grant of 2,000 rubles for five years, while a mother of ten gets 5,000 rubles at the birth of each additional child, plus an annual grant of 3,000 rubles for four years.

There were 1,375,000 births in the first five months of 1937, a figure at the annual rate of increase almost equal to the of Finland's population.

4. A woman is free to divorce her husband, though strongly discouraged from doing so. Divorce is granted at the request of either party, but frequent divorce and marriage is definitely condemned, and where there are children both parties are compelled to shoulder their responsibilities. Divorce tends to decrease.

### **Value of Family Life**

Great stress is laid upon the value of the family, and notwithstanding all that is done by the Government for

the children, neither father nor mother are relieved of their parental responsibilities. The Soviet authorities, acting differently in this respect from other countries, encourage "paternity suits" and make non-payment of affiliation orders punishable under the criminal code. If a mother abandons her children, say after divorce or separation, the law may compel her, if she is earning an independent income, to pay alimony to her former husband. The legal protection of motherhood in Western European countries is still behind U.S.S.R. in this, as in so many other ways.

In these circumstances complete cessation of prostitution is not remarkable, though wholly welcome.

Every discouragement is given to promiscuity. Lenin opposed it from the outset. The "new sexual life" which was advocated by some seemed to him to be abhorrent, a mere extension of the bourgeois brothel. To those who excused moral laxity on the ground that the satisfaction of the instincts was as simple and unimportant as "the drinking of a glass of water," he replied, "Will a normal person under normal conditions lie down in the dirt and drink from a puddle? Or even from a glass with a rim greasy from many lips?"

The myth of the "socialisation of women" in the Soviet Union was a clever device, without a basis in fact, used abroad to embitter feeling against the new Soviet order.

As a matter of fact sex plays a comparatively small part in Soviet Russia in general, and everything lascivious or degenerate has been expunged from Soviet public life. Co-education produces a healthy atmosphere. The girls are strong and physically able to look after themselves. "Petting parties" are unknown. Healthy activity and an all-absorbing common goal, together with the freedom and independence of women, have thrust sex back into its more natural and normal and less prominent place. The whole tendency is towards what has been called a "rehabilitation" of monogamy: that ancient and well-tried principle which elsewhere threatens to burst a too-rigid framework, tends here to reform itself in a new and living way. Similar interest and common endeavour, which can last as long as life and are made possible by the new freedom of women, replace the brief attraction of a pretty face or comely form, which are quick in the passing. And in the Soviet Union, as elsewhere, the child is the cement which binds the family together.

### Many Women M.P.'s

5. Women are free to take their share in the administration of the common life. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the highest legislative organ of the Soviet Union, includes 189 women among its members: collective farm

workers, tractor drivers, or school teachers, amongst many more. No parliamentary body in the world can show the same proportion. And women here, and in all other administrative bodies, enjoy exactly the same rights as men, granted willingly by the Soviet authorities, and thereafter wrested from backward husbands and backward communities.

Today, however, women enjoy not only the same facilities for education and training as men, but hold the same kind of responsible posts in the administration and social services. It is impossible to think of a People's Court of Justice apart from its women members, who impart to it not only freedom from pomp, but also just that touch of womanliness, and even motherliness, which Western courts still lack.

6. Women are free to enter cultural and intellectual life. As we have seen, they share equal opportunities for education both in school and colleges. At work, hours of labor are short. Work becomes lighter as machinery grows in efficiency. Pay is high. Domestic drudgery is minimised. Children are tended. The Soviet Union has offered women a new chance for cultural pursuits, and they have seized it. It is women who help to swell to such astronomical figures that demand for literature which promises to make the Soviet Union the most literate country in the world.

Few escape the contagion. I shall not soon forget the group of old women I suddenly came across in Odessa struggling eagerly with pothooks, learning late in life how to read and write. It is calculated that there is one learner for every two inhabitants in the U.S.S.R.

Soviet women's journals receiving correspondence from working women, peasant women and women workers of all ages, in all parts of the Soviet Union, are revealing the inner growth and originality of the new Soviet women. Poems, stories, sketches, pour in. A new type of folk poetry is developing, rather American in style, with the realism and speed of the machine age.

It is said that the Soviet order has destroyed the homes of Russia. If by "destruction of the homes" is meant moral infidelity and looseness of living, the charge is false. The moral atmosphere has cleared.

If the economic home is meant, the charge is true. For by the economic home we mean the home where the husband works at the factory and earns money to pay the family bills, while the wife does the household drudgery, dependent economically on her husband, and debarred from social and political life.

The Soviet Union has smashed up this old home economy, and few will mourn its departure.

### Freedom, Responsibility

The woman is no longer economically dependent on her husband. He cannot prevent her working, where paid work makes her economically independent of him, while the creche and kindergarten make her largely independent of former household cares.

The economic home has lost. But the family has gained. The new economic freedom gives to the woman ampler leisure to enjoy family life with husband and children. She mingles in social and political activities. She fulfils skilled tasks. She is the intellectual companion of her husband, with an intelligent interest in his work. She guides and directs her children from the new level of the experienced citizen. She has, in a word, gained that measure of independence of the kitchen and the nursery which the wealthy classes always endeavour to achieve here. But she has gained far more than that. She has gained a highly skilled, purposeful life, with a creative purpose at the centre of it, which she can share with husband and children and neighbours. No longer is it her function merely to cook and clean, which is the lot of nine out of ten mothers in capitalist countries; nor is it her function merely to enjoy a measure of freedom from these duties; she is building up socialism and laying the foundations of a new world.

The good citizen rather than the good housekeeper is the type of woman deemed most attractive in the modern Soviet State. And in the long run this will produce the good wife and the good mother. The effect on the husband and children is salutary. A man is the better for a companion who challenges his ability, rather than a housewife who comforts him in his shortcomings.

#### 5. SOVIET WOMEN IN THE EAST

The Soviet East has witnessed a burst of missionary enthusiasm. It emerges from the slumber of centuries into an unparalleled newness of life.

The charter of Soviet womanhood was from the first planned for the whole of the East as well as the West; for Esquimos, for Chuckchees, and for Koriaks in the North, or for Armenians, Georgians, and Uzbeks in the South. Nearly two hundred races, ranging from wild nomads to accomplished citizens, now enjoy economic and social freedom and share equality of political rights. These things were purchased often at great cost, the conservative East resisting strenuously all efforts at enfranchisement, and resisting with exceptional bitterness enfranchisement of womanhood.

Eastern women had sunk into unbelievable degradation, and finally were bound fast by class rapacity and

masculine dominance. Now, at a single bound and in a single generation, these women have passed from a semi-animal existence into the freedom of equal citizenship in a progressive community. When will the West appreciate the significance of this great thing?

Not always, it would seem, have Eastern women been in the state of abject subjection to men in which the Tsarist Government found and left them. Evidence exists in many quarters that women in the East were once the dominant sex, that society was matriarchal rather than patriarchal: women had fought as warriors for Genghis Khan; Mongols have possessed female Khans; Georgians say sisters and brothers, rather than brothers and sisters, and call their father, mamma.

Matriarchy died hundreds of years ago, and when Islam and the Turk overran the major part of what is now the Soviet East—Turkmen, Uzbeks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs are all of the Turkish origin and mainly of the Mohammedan faith—every vestige of matriarchal rule and womanly freedom had departed. Marriage became a commercial transaction; early marriage and child-marriage followed as a natural consequence. Women became the mere objects of men's lust, and, as is common in such circumstances, excessive sensuality was attributed to them. Women are held to be essentially impure. They must be kept in isolation and hidden behind the veil.

### **Inhuman Tyranny**

The life of women became incredibly hard. They were treated as less than human. No grief must be shown when a woman dies, and no pity for her pains in childbirth. A woman in certain Georgian mountain clans is condemned to spend two weeks before her confinement in solitude in a hut of slate. Dogs are kennelled better. Where, in winter time, animals are brought from the stable to the living-hut to give birth to their young, women are sent from living-hut to stable. Kalmucks place a woman, when in labour, on a dunghill. In the far North a woman gives birth to her children in an unclean, icy tent, aided by no human hands.

Girl-children of the Eastern world were strangers to the joys of girlhood. Uzbek and Tadjik girls were married at the age of eight or nine.

The wife was a chattel in the East, a bit of man's property, legally acquired by marriage, a vital necessity as prime worker in house and farm, valuable for that purpose, but treated with contempt. At Turkman weddings the bridegroom received a whip. At Askabad the husband required his wife, on the first night of marriage, to remove his boots, and made the task as difficult as possible. In

Uzbekistan the woman slept on the bare floor, the man on rugs on the couch, kicking his wife awake without arising when desiring tea in the morning.

In Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan the veil, behind which women were commanded to hide themselves from the world, had degenerated into an appalling horsehair net or cage; black, hot, and foul, shutting the wearer off effectually from the world of men and from the light of the sun.

The Tsarist Government brought no relief to womanhood, rather it added the fresh indignity of national subjugation.

### Soviet Reforms

With one stroke of the pen the Soviet Government swept away all legal hindrance to Eastern women's liberation. Lenin proclaimed political, economic and cultural liberty, and began at once the task of translating into act the freedom which existed on the Statute Book.

It was an uphill fight all along the line, especially in Central Asia; and not until 1925, when the scattered peoples were finally gathered in the Soviet Union, did liberty for women begin to take concrete form. Enslaved in their own households, Eastern women had long to wait for their release, and when it came it was often purchased at great cost and suffering.

The Soviet Government proceeded to prohibit compulsory marriage, child marriage, marriage by capture, and the sale of women, fixing the age of consent in the East at sixteen, a halfway house to the eighteen years which is legal in Soviet Russia.

Propaganda amongst Eastern women was carried on by Russian women with the utmost difficulty and with the aid of new methods: women's clubs, Red Corners, Red Boats, Red Yurtas or tents, equipped often with electric light and wireless sets, and open for women alone. Such institutes acted as elementary schools for the women's movement. They assisted with legal advice, and gradually brought women into the stream of industrial and cultural activity.

This selfless work of the Russian women missionaries, learning new languages, living amidst miserable and insanitary conditions, risking their lives daily through poisoned meals or direct attack, and even wearing the vile paranja or horsehair veil in order that eventually the native women might cast them off, makes marvellous reading. A book like Fannina Halle's "Women in the Soviet East" is singularly akin to the tales of missionary doctors and engineering pioneers with which we were familiar in our youth, but with one great difference. English missionaries struggled on with scant assistance, and often tacit opposition, from their country as a whole. Soviet

Russian women had their country's goodwill from the first, and all its resources solidly at their back.

Side by side with the cultural penetration of women missionaries was ranged the mass cultural attack upon the people as a whole, which sent vast numbers of men, women and students of both sexes as doctors, lawyers, locksmiths, musicians, teachers, to pave the way for further changes.

### Prejudices Vanish

Prejudices slowly collapsed. Women learned now to clean their dwellings, to use soap, to plant vegetables, to tend children. Thirty-eight primitive peoples were provided with new alphabets, for of the various tribes in Northern Asia not one had a written language.

Today there is not a single veiled woman in Bukhara. Not all the opposition of men or priests has been able to hold the women back. Young girls of twelve, forced by their fathers to put on the paranja and marry against their will men they had never seen before, would escape for refuge to the Women's Club and, joined by many more, set up effectual resistance.

Women were at last awake and on the march. The tide of enlightenment arises; the use of soap, of washable underclothes, of a lamp, of a bed—little enough to us, vastly significant to those always denied the slightest luxury—led on to greater things: to the right of divorce, and the right to choose their husbands freely.

Women leap from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century at a bound. A child married at twelve to a man she had never seen before, compelled to wash the feet of all the men in his family and all male guests, not permitted to sit in his presence, living on scraps and cold food, now studies at Kutv, the University for the Labouring East in Moscow, side by side with her husband. Beside her, again, studies another girl whose mother never took off her clothes or shoes, slept all her life on the bare floor, and never dared to call her husband by his name.

The wife who was a mere object of lust or an instrument to breed her husband's children now greets him as comrade. Women enter industry, become economically independent, mount to a social equality with men, and begin to play their part in politics. Women hitherto silent now grow eloquent; women who bent low in toil now soar in aeroplanes and launch forth in parachutes. Tashkent, the largest and most important city in Central Asia, boasts of a President who a few years before was an illiterate servant girl hidden beneath a paranja. Swiftly the past fades before the glory of the present. A six-year-old daughter asks her mother, the head of the Teachers' College at Bukhara, "What is a paranja?"

## 6. THE DEMOCRACY OF THE WORKSHOP

The Soviet worker possesses many advantages unknown to capitalist lands. He is guaranteed paid work. He is guaranteed leisure. He is freed from the curse of unemployment. His working hours are reduced to seven a day, and still further reduced to six if his work lies in mines or in dangerous trades. He is assured of holidays with pay. His wife can work if she desires it, and receives equal wage with men for equal work. His children are cared for in creche and school. In case of accident he receives compensation, and in case of sickness financial assistance and medical help. Technical institutes and universities await his children free of charge, and in old age he retires on a generous pension.

In addition to all this, and crowning it, he enjoys a new freedom in the workshop, where the mass of workers spend the major part of their lives and where freedom is most highly valued and most hard to secure.

The democracy of the workshop is the bulwark of Soviet liberty. Its nature and value have been largely overlooked. The problems of freedom, liberty, and democracy are not the same for the middle class and the workers. The middle class, freed from the discipline and tyranny and restrictions of the workshop, think of freedom in political terms, freedom to vote for what policy they desire; when they think of freedom in economic terms, it is freedom to use their economic power as they choose: a freedom which quickly runs to license.

Workers, forced by economic necessity to submit to a discipline which they play no part in shaping, inevitably suffer from a sense of degradation and an irritation which stunts their lives and wraps their outlook. Discipline imposed from above and involved in an operation in which the worker is in no sense a partner acts as a clamp upon the mind. It thwarts initiative. Resentment smoulders beneath the surface, only awaiting some new cause of grievance to burst into a flame.

### Friction And Strife

A division of purpose and aim amongst the human elements in a capitalist factory is the chief cause of friction and strife. This difference of aim is always present, sometimes more, sometimes less. It is, in fact, a normal and accepted feature of industrial life. The aim of the capitalist is profits. Costs of production affect profits. To increase profits, costs must be reduced. Labour wages are a cost of production. Labour wages, therefore, must be kept low, and if possible reduced. On the other hand, the standard of living is vital to the worker. He lives on the brink of want. He lacks reserves. Wages and wage increases form

the sole means of maintaining or advancing his standard of living. Therefore wage maintenance and wage advance are of primary importance. In other words, the aim of the human factors of production—the capitalist and the worker—are at variance.

Naturally, discontent is never far away, and organisations, such as Trade Unions, are created to focus this dissatisfaction and provide partial solutions. The strength of Trade Unions varies, and depends upon the unity, discipline, and knowledge of the workers and their skill in choosing proper leaders. Their aim is to obtain what measure of justice is possible, not by reason or logic, but by threat of force. The strike is the ultima ratio of Trade Unionism. Workers confront owners and managers as antagonists. Both stand ready for action, as armies on the eve of battle, suspicious of every move. Peace is never real. Armed truce is the only hope. The wells of production are poisoned at this source.

So much is this the case that it is impossible for Trade Unionists and non-Trade Unionists alike to realise that under another and different social and economic system, where these root contradictions are eliminated, is it possible for Trade Unions to have other and different functions and to play a constructive role in social activity.

The Soviet factory and the Soviet economic system start off with this major contradiction eliminated. A common ultimate purpose inspires all Soviet workers, be they foremen, managers, directors, or artisans. The general benefit of the whole community, with a richer and fuller life for each individual, is the common and conscious aim of every industrial worker. Exploitation of man by man is entirely abolished. Neither worker nor management is confronted by an "enemy," and from this new foundation of mutual interest it is possible to build up a new attitude to work and labour. Co-operation replaces strife. Directors, managers, foremen, and workers are all part of a common whole, working for one common purpose.

In the Soviet factory there are branches of three public organisations which serve the purpose of stimulus, advice, or correction: the Trade Union, the Communist Party cell, and the Young Communist League.

### **Soviet Trade Unions**

The Trade Union, though similar in name to its British counterpart, differs widely in function. Its scope is wider. Like an English Trade Union, it airs individual grievances and injustices, but this is a small part of its work, since grievances can find other and speedier outlets. It has a constructive rather than a fighting purpose.

The Soviet Trade Union is primarily concerned with that aspect of factory life which makes it a workshop for the production of men. It shares, in ever-increasing degree, in the administration of the cultural and social funds of the factory. How radically a Soviet Trade Union differs from a Trade Union in England, and how radically every spark of antagonistic interests has gone, are seen in the fact that the Soviet Trade Union administers the Government's social insurance funds. The Soviet Trade Union builds and administers rest homes and sanatoriums; factory clubs and Palaces of Culture; creches and kindergartens. It undertakes and stimulates workers' education; and beside administering his sick and benefit funds, it stimulates the general social activity and consciousness of the worker. Its function is positive and educative.

The individual worker participates in the activities of his Trade Union by the common, humdrum, democratic means of meetings, election of committee and officers by secret ballot, by criticism of management through the Union representative, and by the wall newspaper, upon which he may and does air his grievances and make his suggestions, and which is a common feature in every workshop and public institution.

More important even than the Trade Union is the Party, which is the tangible means by which, primarily, workers feel and exercise their ownership of industry. The Party exercises general supervision over the whole collective enterprise and maintains its standard. The Party is the inspiring, stimulating, regulating spirit of any enterprise. The Party is composed of the most convinced, the most ardent, and the most self-sacrificing spirits in the Union, or in any part of it. The Party has many affinities—in its faith and discipline and unity and singleness of purpose—with the great religious orders of Christianity or Buddhism.

#### **Role of Communist Party**

The Party will be better understood if examined in the light of its origin. "The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" is its full title. In 1903 the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, held in London, split into two factions, one led by Lenin. In the final split Lenin's adherents received a majority, and hence were known by the name of Bolsheviks, which means majority: the minority were appropriately named Mensheviks. The party which fought for and won the adoption of its programme in 1903 still leads the people of the U.S.S.R. in 1939.

Through all the intervening years the Party has steered an undeviating course: Colonel Gromov, at a reception in Los Angeles after the second record-breaking flight

from Moscow across the North Pole to the U.S.A., said: "During the whole of the time we flew along a straight line, straight like the line of the Party."

These words of the distinguished airman, "straight, like the line of the Party," express what the Party has done for the Soviet people. It is the Party which from the first had faith in the masses. It is the Party that called upon its members to fight for the socialist programme, regardless of danger. It is the Party which attracts men of strength, devotion, and courage, and whose membership of some two million souls stands firmly established in the affection and confidence of the broad millions of the people.

The Communist Party has a clearly defined constitutional position. Article 126 of the new Soviet Constitution, dealing with the right of the citizen to organise, contains these words:

"The most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other strata of the toilers unite in the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., which is the vanguard of the toilers in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and which represents the leading core of all organisations of the toilers, both public and state."

Branches or cells of this Communist Party are found in all factories, and complete consultation takes place between the Party and the management on all matters affecting the general direction of the factory and the well-being of the workers.

### Criticism Encouraged

At Party and other meetings the workers of a particular shop in a factory will not hesitate to criticise or advise the shop superintendent or the foreman whom they meet there on neutral ground. Such procedure, unheard of in this country, has a double value. First, it assists production, inasmuch as the criticisms are frequently valuable contributions to workshop methods. Secondly, it enables the workman to remove the inner contradictions and private grouching which have so blunting and deadening an effect in an English factory. Criticism of this open nature is of the essence of democracy: the worker is free to think and express his thought at the focal point of his life's activity. He can exercise direct influence over the organisation that more than any other dominates his life.

We hear many proud boasts concerning freedom of our English democracy, and it is assuredly a valuable thing, and not to be regarded lightly. Indeed, it is a priceless possession and one to be guarded jealously. But it has its limitations, and the democracy of a Soviet factory is in many

ways more important to the average worker than voting for a particular political party once in every five years. Freedom to criticise the boss face to face, instead of behind his back in the local "pub," is of inestimable value, and is possible only because the boss and the worker are both part proprietors of an industry which belongs to all and is run for the benefit of each. Both realise that improved production is beneficial to all, themselves included, and that is possible only when the workers are contented and eager and the methods correct.

The Party officials and committee are chosen, as in the case of the Trade Unions, in the normal democratic manner, by secret ballot and after the fullest and most open criticism and examination of the candidate's career and record; it being of obvious importance to all that the wisest and most sensible men should be chosen to guide common action for the common good.

The worker is drawn through these various agencies right into the life of the plant. It is "his" plant. He sees it in relation to the whole purpose of life. He appreciates its problems and helps to solve them. He integrates his own life with the life of the whole Soviet organism. The factory is a place of education, not of exhibition; a place of teamwork and achievement, not of grievance and bitterness. Work becomes a pride and pleasure. Drudgery loses its sting in the light of purpose, and the desire to remove unpleasant work becomes a call to creative possibilities.

## BOOK FIVE

# The Plan and The People

### 1. THE EQUALITY OF RACES

"The entire Orient regards our Union as an experimental field. Either we decide correctly the national question within the framework of this Union; either we establish really fraternal relations within this Union, real collaboration between the peoples within this Union—and then the entire Orient will see that in our federation it possesses a banner of liberation, a vanguard in whose footsteps it should walk and this will be the beginning of the collapse of world imperialism; or we, the entire federation, commit a mistake here, undermine the confidence of the formerly oppressed peoples in the proletariat of Russia, shear the Union of its power to attract the Orient which it now enjoys, in which event imperialism will gain and we shall

lose. This constitutes the international significance of the national question."

Joseph Stalin, the man who uttered these words at the XII Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1923, had known in his own person the sorrows of oppressed peoples. Born at Gori, in Georgia, and trained in a college for young priests, he had chafed alike at the Tsarist efforts to "Russify" his people nationally, and at capitalist efforts to enslave them economically.

In January, 1902, he organised the first strike of the Mantashev workers in Batum. In March of the same year he organised great demonstrations of workers. A procession of 6,000 was fired on by the military, and 500 demonstrators were deported. Stalin was sent to Siberia. The iron entered into his soul. From henceforth he devoted his life to the liberation of the common people nationally and economically.

After ten years spent in eluding police spies he was once again in their hands, and on Easter Sunday, 1909, was forced with his companions to "run the gauntlet". Many collapsed under the ordeal. With head erect and a book in his hand, Stalin defiantly strode between two rows of soldiers while their rifle-butts rained blows on his back and shoulders.

#### Chairman of Nationalities

Stalin vanished from Siberia. Whilst the police searched for him, he was playing chess with Lenin across the borders. Lenin writes to Gorky: "Here, with us, is a wonderful young Georgian. He has collected all the Austrian and other material on the question of nationalities and has settled down to prepare a treatise on the subject."

This treatise became the foundation of the Soviet national policy, and Stalin naturally became the first Commissar of Nationalities in the Soviet Government. Through his own sufferings, Stalin, the man who had suffered, opened a new door for the nations, and oppressed peoples of all lands see in him their champion.

Every great State and every great empire has minority problems which present apparently insuperable difficulties. Each one attacks the problem in its own way: by frontier revision, by assimilation, by exchange, or, as in Germany, by attempted extermination. None succeeds. Tales of sordid and pitiful struggles, of enslavement of whole peoples, seep across frontiers to make our blood run cold. No tales were more terrible than the tales of Tsarist suppressions.

The Russian Empire of pre-revolution days has not inaptly been called "the prison of the peoples". Every species of oppression was practised. National languages

were disallowed, education suppressed, industrial development thwarted. Uzbekistan, Kazakstan, Bashkiria, Armenia, Georgia, were robbed of their raw materials, grown or extracted in the crudest and most wasteful fashion. Native industries and native working classes were regarded as dangers to Russian autonomy.

Tsarist Russia had many weapons in its armoury; two of outstanding efficiency and popularity with the dominating classes. Tsarism deliberately cultivated the feudal-patriarchal system, and found traitors, such as the Emir of Bukhara, more attached to their class privileges than to national pride, as their ready tools. The people were driven down to a state of feudal ignorance and slavery. Still less scrupulous was the method of sowing national discord and enmity among the peoples themselves by inciting one nationality against another as a means of crippling resistance and diverting attention from the real enemy. To achieve this end more readily, the boundary lines of the artificial provinces were arbitrarily fixed in order to cut national groups into two or more parts. Nationalities were purposely divided and purposely joined up with hostile peoples to foment enmity and oppression and inter-tribal strife. In other areas pogroms, on a wide scale, were organised.

### Stalin's Policy

Joseph Stalin swept the whole of this aside and taught a new way with minorities. His actions in this respect constitute one of his unique contributions to the new socialist experiment. With Lenin and his fellow-communists he accepted the common economic basis of socialist economic life; the abolition of exploitation, profit-making, and competition. He perceived, however, that it was possible that national cultural ideals can co-exist side by side within a single economic order and within a single political State in which the same economic ideal was held.

There was nothing, to put it concretely, to prevent workmen of Georgia, who accepted the socialist thesis of a non-exploiting, non-profit-making society, from living under the same widespread economic ideal with workmen of Byelorussia in the extreme west, Sakhalin island in the extreme east, or Uzbek in the centre; and yet each of them freely thinking, speaking, and writing in their language; and possessed of liberty to develop their own culture and institutions. It is no more necessary to force national minorities to accept the national cultural ideal of the majority within the same economic system than it is necessary for an Indian to divest himself of Indian national culture when he plays cricket with an English team. One thing only is required of an

Indian cricketer: he must observe the rules of cricket. And one thing only is required of Georgian, Byelorussian, or Uzbek: he must observe the economic law of socialism.

Nationality is a personal attribute; like religion in England, it may be enjoyed to the full, but not imposed on others.

The economic interest of those who believe in production inspired by service and not profit, and live under a Plan which considers the needs of each and all upon an equalitarian basis is the same whatever the nationality may be. The State is based upon that economic interest and political plan; not upon the nationality of any part predominant in numbers.

### **Accent Not Important**

Hence, the new Soviet Union was designed to possess a common economic system, in the benefits of which all could share, and to the conduct of which all could contribute. But each national minority was to be as free to exercise its historic culture, its language, literature, and traditions, its theatre, art, folksong, and folk-dance, as you and I in England are free to speak with an Oxford accent or in the Cockney dialect, or to practise religion in its Catholic or Protestant form. Within the economic whole, and within the political order which maintained it, every national group was to be nationally free.

Today all this seems as obviously sensible as it is undeniably successful. For already it is yielding its fruit in a rich and varied culture. But in European and Asiatic Russia it meant a complete reversal of the whole Tsarist policy and serves as a model to the world which has never before seen it carried out in practice.

Stalin brought the matter to a head when in 1918 he urged the granting of federal autonomy to regions marked off by national characteristics. It was done.

The general principle then enunciated has been developed in many directions. Its application involved many problems. Not least was the nature of the representation of the various nationalities upon the General Council of the whole Union. Russia, for example, was overwhelmingly great in numbers and importance. Should Russian representation preponderate? To do so would seem natural. But it would give to the Russian Republic a weight denied to the other members of the Union and endanger the principle of national equality. Hence it was resolved, and rightly resolved, that the basis of the new Constitution should be absolute equality of all nationalities, due representation in the central organs of all national republics and regions; with a reasonably wide administrative, cultural, and economic autonomy to each Republic,

whose organs of administration should be recruited locally, and endowed with the right to use their own language.

The central authorities deliberately used their power to establish, not a Russian national supremacy, but a genuinely non-national State. It was a triumph of principle.

The establishment of national liberty is Stalin's personal achievement, and among his greatest.

Naturally, varying conditions demanded variations in the application of these broad principles of liberty. For example, although every child has the right to be educated in its mother tongue, it is impossible in some cases to observe the right, and for the time being there are three grades in which this right is exercised.

### Real National Liberty

1. Some scattered tribes are devoid of the elements of an alphabet. Having no medium for instruction in their own language, this group receives instruction in Russian schools. At present no alternative presents itself.

2. Some tribes, again, though not possessing an alphabet or any national culture, yet live in compact groups, using their native language in their daily life. These receive elementary education in the language of their birth, and secondary and higher education in the Russian tongue.

3. Still larger nationalities, like the Ukraine, the White Russian, the Georgian, or the Armenian peoples, who possess cultural and historical traditions of a high order and have proved already their competence to do it, run their own educational system from the primary school to the university. Other national groups, such as Uzbeks and Tajiks and Turcomans, move steadily in the same direction. As they grow in number and importance national education supersedes Russian education in all its stages. That it receives encouragement to do so is witness to the sincerity of Soviet respect for nationality.

"Russification" has been the dread of the Asiatic peoples. It was a reality in Tsarist days. It was a danger in the early days of the Revolution, because Russia predominated in industry, culture, and power to rule. Russia had the great proletarian population. In Russia the Revolution sprang first to life. Through Stalin the danger was avoided, and the threat of "Russification" lessens with every passing year. The fact that it does so is a crowning proof of the genuineness of the communist effort to realise equality in the national sphere as well as in the economic order.

National liberty, then, has become a reality in the Soviet Union. Political liberty in the narrow sense of the right to upset the Plan, or reintroduce exploitation and

profit, is non-existent. National liberty was possible because it stood in another category. Nationalism and politics have, in the Soviet Union, become dissociated. Practical liberty in the national order is large and grows. In the circle of the Plan all are free and all are honoured. It is hard indeed to see how the Soviet Union could have acted with greater wisdom when confronted with its numerous nationalities distinguished by traditions of every kind, slavish to proud, and in enjoyment of a wide range of cherished cultures.

### Paul Robeson's Tribute

The result of this enlightened policy has been a growing richness of life and intercourse of the peoples. The new national freedom and the new economic order lead inevitably to expansion of industrial and cultural life. Native industries and native cultures alike are welcomed and encouraged. Resources, cultural and material, untapped before are developed now. Railways, waterways, motorways, and airways make transport and transit relatively quick and easy. The national republics are brought into physical and cultural proximity each with the other, and all with the centre.

Quite obviously this mode of settling the problems of minority is utterly opposed to all fascist solutions. Quite obviously, also, it is nearer than any solution yet proposed to satisfying Christian ethics. It offers a magnificent example to a troubled world. It is bound, ultimately, to exercise an influence on international relationships at large. It gives the clue, as we shall shortly see, to the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

No one can wander through the Soviet Union, as I have done, and visit republic after republic, and see the mingling on terms of absolute equality of the peoples of different nationalities, without a deep consciousness that a new thing has entered into the world of human relationships. It may be illustrated in a thousand concrete cases. To me it is best seen in the case of my friend Paul Robeson, the great African singer, and his seven-year-old son, Pauli.

Robeson had, in 1934, seen the performance in the children's theatre where the hero was an African boy. During the interval he took a stroll. The children immediately crowded around him, somehow connecting his presence with the boy in the play. A little boy of eight hugged him around the knees saying, "I'm so glad you've come; you will be happy here with us. Don't go." For the remainder of the play he sat beside Robeson holding his hand.

"Everywhere I went [to quote Robeson's own words] I found the same welcome, the same warm interest, the same

expression of sincere comradeship towards me, as a black man, as a member of one of the most oppressed of human groups. I kept thinking how much my shy, sensitive Pauli would enjoy this warm interest, this sincere friendship."

### Sang Negro Songs

Visiting Moscow again in 1936, he took part in producing a motion picture and lived on a collective farm some distance from the city, in a beautiful village of sturdily built houses, a spacious common, meadows, and ponds.

"The children of the village [he proceeds] astonished me. They had learned a good deal about the American Negro problem in school. Most of them had just seen the film 'Circus,' and were full of praise for Jimmy, the little coloured child of the picture, whose father I knew.

"We went swimming in the lovely clear streams; on the way home we passed the villagers harvesting in the fields; great reaping-machines were swiftly gathering in the yellow grain. Then the leisurely walk back. A healthy meal and then, as dusk came on, a general gathering on the green. The children sang for me, and I sang Negro songs and delighted them with a few Russian melodies.

"We talked about my little boy. They said I must bring him to the Union to be happy with them. I thought: That's an idea.

"It was a sad day when I had to leave. The truck rumbled away, with the children following as far as they could, calling 'Come back soon, Pavel Vassilich. Bring Pavlik with you, and come back soon.'

"All the way home I thought of the children in the Union, so gay, so forthright, so intelligent, so full of real comradeship. How marvellous it would be if Pauli could enjoy this comradeship! If it were only possible. Why not?"

On his return in 1937 Robeson took Pauli and Pauli's grandmother with him, and left them both while he sang on his concert tour.

"When we returned to Moscow [he continued] we found him a different child; no longer shy, sensitive, and moody, unconsciously defending himself against rebuff, against being an 'outsider.' He was one of the children, he was a member of his group, and he revelled in this great experience. He held his head high, his shoulders back; the children, the school have taken him in; he 'belonged'. We were deeply moved by his eager face, his quick smile.

"In the Soviet Union Pauli has a very bright future; every chance to find out what he wants to do (at present it is 1: aviation engineer, 2: physician, 3: musician), and once he decides he will find complete equality of opportunity. Further, he will meet and know children of

various groups and nationalities, and will experience in his daily life the essential oneness of all peoples.

"He will know that the parents and grandparents of these children, through great suffering and sacrifice, have created this new land, that their sons and daughters might have a better and richer life."

## 2. THE GOLDEN UKRAINE

When we speak of the Russian Empire we speak loosely. There is no Russian Empire. The word empire suggests a definite conception entirely contrary to the spirit of the Soviet Union. It suggests dominant control. In the old Russian Empire the Tsarist Government in Moscow dominated the national groups which composed it, treating them as exploitable colonies. The word Soviet Union is designed to conjure up a widely different picture.

The Soviet Union is a confederation of States which accept the fundamental principles of planned production for community consumption and combine their territories under a common scheme to give these principles effect, with common weapons of defence against external attack.

Article 13 of the Constitution tells us that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal State, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of the Soviet Socialist Republics with equal rights:

Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.  
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

|              |   |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|---|
| Byelorussian | " | " | " |
| Azerbaijan   | " | " | " |
| Georgian     | " | " | " |
| Armenian     | " | " | " |
| Turkmen      | " | " | " |
| Uzbek        | " | " | " |
| Tajik        | " | " | " |
| Kazakh       | " | " | " |
| Kirghiz      | " | " | " |

The powers of the Union are wide. They flow naturally from the operation, maintenance, and defence of the plan, awakening the sense of responsibility, and safeguarding the interests of each co-operating member. All must unite in concluding treaties with foreign States. All must share in defence, and in questions of war and peace. All must share in insuring that the individual constitutions of the separate Republics shall conform with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. All must take part when change in boundaries between republic and republic shall be found necessary. All must share in the regulation of foreign trade, which in the U.S.S.R. is a State monopoly. All must share in establishing national economic plans, in framing the budget, in administering bank credit and money, in

trading enterprises, transport, loans, education, and health. All must share in establishing basic labour laws, and in formulating criminal and civil codes. All must share in formulating fundamental principles regulating the use of raw materials, forests, and waters.

Apart from these and kindred concerns each Union Republic makes its own Constitution in conformity with the general Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Most Republics are further subdivided into Territories, Provinces, or Autonomous Regions. The territory of no Union Republic may be changed without its consent.

### Beautiful City of Kiev

Leaving the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic on one side the Ukraine was the most interesting of the five Republics I visited, and Kiev, its capital, the most beautiful town I saw. The Ukraine covers a vast area in the southwest corner of the Union, bordering on Rumania and Poland and washed on the south by the waters of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov. The density of population is nearly as great as in Denmark; it contains almost a fifth of the population of the Soviet Union.

Hitler covets the Ukraine. And understandably so. The land is surpassingly rich. The Ukraine is a granary to the Soviet Union, producing more than a fifth of Soviet wheat, a third of Soviet barley, a quarter of Soviet maize, and nearly three-quarters of Soviet sugar-beet. I have stood and gazed in wonder at Ukrainian wheatfields stretching away across smooth contours of rolling countryside to the far away horizons. The rich Black-Earth belt, containing some of the finest wheat-land in the world, spans the territory from east to west, and modern modes of agriculture combine to increase its natural fertility. With a climate the mildest in the Union, and with a rainfall the amplest, the Ukraine is the farmer's paradise. Wide rivers—the Dnieper, the Dniester, the Ingul and the Pripet—water the rich Ukrainian plains; oaks, limes, and ash flourish in immense Ukrainian forests, and to the south-east stretch away the illimitable Ukrainian steppes.

Not wheat alone attracted Hitler. He coveted the coal of the Donetz basin, 66,000 million tons of it; and the iron ore at Krivoi Rog, 800 million tons, the mercury at Nikatovka, the lead-zinc ores and gold, and the phosphorites and labradorites, marbles and dolomites.

The Ukraine advances with mighty strides. It still holds its lead as the coal, iron and steel base of the U.S.S.R. Figures of production leap ahead, and in coal the Ukraine by itself outstrips Poland, France and Japan; in iron ore it outstrips Germany, England, Sweden, and Spain. The Kirov Iron and Steel Works at Makeyevka alone produce as much pig iron as Poland and Italy together.

Machinery pours forth; tractors to turn up as much Black Earth soil in an hour as a horse ploughs in a day; steam turbo-generators to light cottages, cook meals, and iron clothes; locomotives for new railways, and harvester combines for the wheat-fields of the steppes.

The Soviet Ukraine no longer asks for foreign engineers or foremen. The sons and daughters of her own peasants and workers serve her now, trained in her own schools, colleges, and technical institutes.

Ukrainians are proud—proud of their traditions and proud of their national tongue. The Ukraine has her bards and her writers. The one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko, the Ukrainian poet of freedom, is being celebrated this year.

Now the Ukrainian tongue is free and Ukrainian culture welcomed. Ukrainian children are taught in their mother tongue. Russian is an additional tongue. Soviet children, throughout the whole Union, learn to speak at least two languages. Most English children learn but one. The volumes printed in Ukrainian were a hundred times as numerous in 1936 as in 1914; and where one Ukrainian newspaper was published prior to the Revolution, 1,400 are issued today.

### 3. AWAKENED ASIA

If the Ukrainian was one of the most populous and progressive of the larger units in the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan was one of the most backward.

Prior to the Revolution the Uzbek peoples were ruled by a Tsarist Governor-General, working in conjunction with the Emir of Bukhara and the Khan of Khiva, as vassals of the Tsar. Russian capitalists and local upper classes exploited the common people shamelessly. Peasants were pitifully poor and lamentably ignorant. Toiling on the land, they turned fragments of desert into oases by hand-dug canals to the increase of their landlord's riches, not their own.

Ignorance was fostered. Only two in every hundred could read, and these were mainly the mullahs, or Mohammedan priests.

Bukhara and Samarkand, as the land of the Uzbeks was formerly called, are names of romance. They recall Genghis-Khan and Tamerlane. Travellers thrill us with tales of a land rich in incense-bearing trees, vineyards, pomegranates, cotton plantations, bazaars, rugs, silk, and gleaming towers of mosques where turbaned mullahs recite sacred verses from the Koran.

The beauty of apparel, the quaintness of the village, and the mystery of veiled women may charm romantic travellers; they shock the modern cultured Central Asian

as symbols of backwardness, ignorance, oppression, and mute misery. A fair cloak with festering disease behind it.

The new world in Central Asia has no use for these relics of servility; that which had some beauty for the few had much squalor and terror and barbarism for the many. Clubs, cars, cinemas, factories, and electric light have better values. Industrialism has no terrors for the Central Asian, as it had for us, who grew up in evil days. Industrialism there is controlled and beneficial. It sets man free, and sets the bards singing of the glory of a healthier and more exhilarating order.

### Moscow to Mongolia

News spreads like a prairie fire in the East. What was happening in Moscow travelled fast through the plains of Russia, over the Ural Mountains, and across the Kazak desert steppes to the land of Samarkand, at first as incredible fairy tales, and then as wonderful realities. And when the tractors themselves came to plough the lands, and cotton-mills sprang up to weave the cloth, and power-stations to flood factory and hut with electric light the news spread over the southern frontiers to Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia, India, and China.

When tractors ploughed the fields in remote Khokanyor there were other spectators besides the farmers and local villagers. Silently day and night sat Afghans from across the border watching them at work. What the Soviets do acts as leaven in the East.

Not at once did the old order change.

Full-blown socialism came slowly amongst these peoples. First the land was recovered for peasant proprietorship, as had been the case in Russia proper. The long-continued abuses, greed, and indolence of the governing classes made them vulnerable, and they fell.

The next stage was won by the tractor. It had been hard for the peasant, having got possession of land, to relinquish it again and join in collective farming on a larger grouping, and there was danger that individual peasants might grow rich and, by adding land to land, recreate the evils from which they had escaped. The tractor saved them from themselves. The spring of 1930 was the critical moment. Spring-tide was late. Time for sowing was brief. The peasants struggled to scratch the earth with their wooden ploughs. And there across the line dividing his narrow fields from the State farms and the collective farms, the great steel horse tore up the hard earth at a furious pace. In vain the mullahs warned the farmers the "fields ploughed with tractors yield no harvests." The marvel was wrought before their astonished eyes. The tractor had won. Peasants joined the collectives. Planned

economy had arrived for the cotton industry of Central Asia.

### **Soviet Textile Industry**

The Uzbeks, having been established as a Union Republic in 1924, have been in fifteen years transformed from a backward Tsarist colony into one of the most flourishing republics of the Soviet East. In 1928 the first Uzbek cotton-mills were built, and then construction of a huge textile-works was started, called by Stalin the new base for the Soviet textile industry. These mills are to produce 150 million metres of fabric annually.

Cotton-fields need fertilisers. The hydro-electric stations on the Chirchik River, near Tashkent, the capital, provide the power for depositing nitrogen from the air. More power stations arise and new industries spring up: silk, food, leather, clothing. Uzbek becomes rich and more nearly self-contained. Twenty thousand tractors plough its fields. One million tons of cotton left the fields in 1935. The plan was carried out ahead of time.

Uzbekistan is now the largest cotton base in the Union. It furnishes two-thirds of the cotton grown in the U.S.S.R. The hoard Colonel Etherton coveted for England twenty years ago was a mere trifle in comparison with the yearly output of Socialist Uzbekistan. The farmers thrive; many families in collectives earn more than 10,000 rubles annually, and more than a hundred collectives have moved into what is called the "millionaire" class, where the total farm income exceeds 1 million rubles annually.

Culture follows in the train of output and efficiency. All children attend school. Nearly 25,000 students attend higher educational institutions; Uzbekistan trains its own agronomists, engineers, doctors and teachers.

Uzbek women, as we have seen, have passed from mediaeval servility to equality of status with men.

Uzbek art revives and thrives. Uzbek painters hang their pictures on the line in international exhibitions. And in a land where in Tsarist days the very word "theatre" was unknown, a crowded house now hears "Hamlet" spoken in their native tongue. Uzbeks, who might not sit in the presence of Tsarist officials, and whose women might never show their face in public, now give a ten-day festival of art, singing, dancing, and acting, in Moscow; the women singing, acting, and dancing side by side with men. Sarah Ishanturayera enchants Moscow with her lyric voice.

### **Mountain Republic**

From Bukhara the communist movement spread on to Tadjikistan, whose borders ran along the frontier of Afghanistan and up to the Pamir Mountains beyond which India lay.

Tadjikistan was established as the seventh Soviet Socialist Republic in December, 1929. The impoverished peasants who survived the long and bloody warfare in which they gained their freedom found themselves in a land of ruins. Out of these ashes new cities now rise. The land of the Koran, the whip, and cruel injustice enters a new life and builds a new order. Stalinabad, the youngest city of one of the youngest States in the world, becomes a familiar name. Lying in a gap betwixt snow-covered mountains, yesterday it was a collection of mud huts and narrow streets; to-day it is a busy city where factories roar and a new, cleanly, and orderly beauty replaces the squalor of the past.

Lacking skilled workers and building materials, but daunted by no obstacles, the new-fledged communists, led by Russian missionary workers, wrought wonders. Stalinabad arose, and from it culture, industrialisation and socialism spread over the entire country, penetrating to remote villages, inaccessible mountains, and impassable deserts. Road-building gangs carry new highways across the mountains; carts, auto-buses, and tractors become familiar sights.

The swift torrents of the Vakhsh River, which runs through Tadjikistan, is harnessed to a gigantic agro-industrial works and then spreads out through a vast irrigation network over upwards of 41,000 acres of land, where grows some of the best cotton in the world: the channels placed end to end would nearly circle the earth at the equator.

In the Bukhara Khanate there were 8,000 witch-doctors, and only one doctor, who attended the Emir, his harem, and his Court; to-day medical students are studying in scores of anatomical auditoriums. Malaria is now tackled by scientists rather than by men who administer paper pills of the Koran to be swallowed as a certain cure.

National minorities—Uzbeks, Turks, Afghans, Jews, and a dozen more—live amicably side by side in Tadjikistan now. Under the Emir each tribe was bitterly hostile to the rest.

#### 4. ESCAPE FROM THE GHETTO

Jews present a problem in every land. Disliked, persecuted, or oppressed to extermination in other lands, in the Soviet Union they entered a new life when, on August 8, 1918, an early decree of the Soviet Power dealt its first blow at anti-Semitism and opened the door to a political and economic equality which bears its fruit now in social dignity. The Jews' gifts for humanity are incalculable.

Tsarist Russia dealt ruthlessly with all national minorities. The Jews were no exception. In my parish,

years ago, there lived a Jewish lady, mother of a distinguished British architect. As a young girl, she alone survived a Russian pogrom in which all her family were killed. The horror of that day lingered all her life. Victims of bloody pogroms and legal disabilities, barred from factory and driven from the fields, six million Jews in old Russia lived in terror of life and property.

Jews had no schools where Yiddish was taught. A small fraction only of total university places were allotted to Jews. However clever the Jewish lad, once the quota was filled, that lad and others remained outside: be he as brilliant as Einstein, his chance of entering a Russian university yesterday would be as slender as the chance of Jesus of Nazareth entering Germany to-day. Jews were forced to live in the "Pale", a small and miserable locality allotted to those of Jewish nationality. Only a handful of wealthy and professional Jews were permitted in Moscow. To wander outside the "Pale" was to be an outlaw.

Lenin's attitude was clear from the first. Writing in 1913 on a measure put forward in the Duma by the Bolshevik group of Deputies, with the object of removing the Jewish disabilities, he said:

"The school, the press, the Parliamentary Tribune—everything and anything is being utilised in order to sow ignorant, evil and savage hatred against the Jews. In this blackguardly business there engage not only the scum of the Black Hundreds, but also reactionary professors, scientists, journalists, deputies, etc. Millions, even millions of rubles are spent in order to poison the mind of the people."

Stalin's attitude was equally unmistakable: "Communists," he writes, "as consistent internationalists, cannot fail to be irreconcilable and sworn enemies of anti-Semitism."

### **Jewish Problem Solved.**

Jews are the world's standing problem. The Soviet Union has found its best solution.

In the Soviet Union no racial or national discrimination is made against the Jews. Economic, social, and political equalities have been granted to Jews. Among the Soviets Jews are free to live where they choose, free to enter universities, free to work in factories, free to work on the land.

In the Crimea and in Southern Ukraine my travelling companions for awhile were three young and cultured Jews from New York City. One object of their journey was to study the state of the Jews, in Odessa especially, one-third of whose population is of Jewish nationality. The gaiety of these American Jews in a land where color

bar and racial bar have gone forever was eloquent beyond any words they spoke.

Jewish workers in factories and on the land in the Ukraine, in the Crimea, in Moscow, in Georgia, in Baku, and in Siberia have proved their fitness and capacity. It is now clear that Jews can, given time and opportunity, master industrial and agricultural tasks as readily as men and women of other nationalities.

The question of land settlements had been raised from the earliest days of the revolution. Jewish colonies had been formed in that most lovely place, the southern shore of the Crimea Peninsular, a spot famed for its health resorts; also in the Ukraine. The 2,000,000 Jews who had been drawn into agriculture had already effectually exploded the old lie that Jews were by nature unsuited to the land or the factory. They are only as unsuited as a child might be described as unsuited to swim who had never been permitted to enter the water.

Given a fair field, the Jew can excel in most things, as other people excel. Here is an instance. In the Azov-Black Sea Territory a meeting took place between the collective farmers of the Novo-Zlatopolsk District of the Dniepropetrovsk Province, who were Jews, and the Cossacks of the Tsimiyansk District. After the conference came a horse display and a competition given as an entertainment by 300 Cossacks, world famed for horsemanship. Berdishev, a representative of the Jewish district, ventured to join in. Setting his horse at the hardest jumps, he took them with such consummate ease that the Cossacks, once the sworn enemies of the Jews and noted for their anti-Semitic brutality, cried out, "A real Cossack, a real Cossack," in their spontaneous admiration.

In order to assist them to develop their own language and national culture, the Soviet Government have given to the Jews the District of Birobijan in the Far East, where the Amur River joins the Ussuri, some 250 miles from the Pacific Ocean, an area twice the size of Palestine, a land as large as Holland and Belgium put together. In Birobijan the Jews began to build up the first and only Jewish autonomous territory in the world, with Yiddish as the official language in schools and public life.

### **Pioneers in Birobijan**

Of course they make mistakes. Nor could every Jew who made the experiment readily undergo the hardships of colonial life, especially in the earlier stages. Birobijan, though potentially rich, was as yet an untouched, untamed land, though the fact that it had its difficulties was an advantage in several ways. For Birobijan was a gift which displaced no former inhabitants. It was a gift which gave

ample scope for a willing and determined people. It was also a gift which challenged the character. Nature never surrenders her wild spots to men without a struggle. The grit of the pioneer was bound to be tested. Raw marshes awaited conquest. Men and horses floundered in the bog and mire, tormented by myriads of midges and assailed by the stabbing stilettoes of poisonous mosquitoes. Many, after making the experiment for a while, gave up the struggle, as little fitted for rough tasks as the shoe-makers, tailors, or small shop-keepers of England would be to tame the wilds of Canada. They lost heart and returned.

The majority, however, remained, and won the victory in the conflict with Nature, and now the face of Birobijan changes. Saw-mills hum and scream. Roads pierce the forest. The quartz rocks yield their gold, the mines their coal, the quarries their marbles. Within ten years an electric power-station has been erected, and a standard-house building works, a furniture factory, a saw-mill and a lime-works. The 42,000 acres under cultivation in 1929 reached 100,000 acres in 1939.

You will not find the shrinking, downtrodden Jews of the Ghettos in Birobijan. Jewish settlers have proved in Birobijan as well as elsewhere their ability to till the soil as skilfully as Gentiles. Jewish collective farms are profitable and flourishing. The little artisans, petty shop-keepers, and small middlemen who remained and fought the battle through have become proficient farmers; scores of collective farms, admirably managed and fully mechanised, have increased the wealth, output, and stability of the Republic. Many collective farmers will now earn ten rubles a day in cash besides their divisible share of grain and vegetables. Yesterday, they struggled along on a ruble and a half a day.

Cultural activity keeps pace with material advance. One hundred and four Jewish schools and four Jewish technical colleges have been opened. The State allotments for the construction of public, municipal, and cultural institutions have increased from 300,000 rubles to 11,500,000 rubles.

A new theatre, a new children's music and ballet school, a new park of rest and culture, standing where yesterday marsh birds flew and wild beasts roamed, are the pride of the city of Birobijan.

Nationalities mingle and dwell as freely in Birobijan as in any land on earth, for Russians, Ukrainians, and Cossacks no longer shun the Jew, nor he them.

## BOOK SIX

# Mental and Spiritual Horizons.

### 1. TOWARDS THE FULLY DEVELOPED MAN

The spread of education, the new leisure, the new zest for life, and the new security show themselves in a rising level of national culture. A seven-hour working-day—the shortest working day in any industrial country—sends the worker home at an early hour and with a reserve of energy for other occupations. A lengthening annual holiday with pay lays up a store of strength and, through the opportunity it affords for travel, leads often to a wider outlook upon life. Insurance against sickness, infirmity, and old age removes the strain from brain and nerves, whilst the ban upon exploitation and the decreased incentive towards, and opportunity for, the development of the acquisitive instinct set men and women free for higher pursuits.

One immediate result, as we have seen, has been a new passion for reading. This is met by periodical literature and book publications.

Immense progress has been made in the press, both in quantity and quality. The Tsarist Russia of 1913 possessed 859 newspaper with a circulation approaching three million copies. The Soviet Union of 1937 possessed 8,521 newspapers with a circulation of 36 million copies.

No less remarkable has been the progress in book production and book circulation. At the end of the First Five-Year Plan book production in the U.S.S.R. was greater than that of England, Germany, and Japan taken together.

So great is the quest for new books that one book shop in Moscow sold 1,000 copies of a new edition of Leo Tolstoy's "Resurrection" in a single day; 600 copies of Pushkin's works issued in a single volume were sold in under three hours.

Tsarist Russia, in its peak year, 1912, published 133.6 million copies of books; the U.S.S.R. in 1937 published 571 million copies. In 1938 the issue was to be 700 millions. In 1939 more books were published in the U.S.S.R. than in any other country—43,800 titles in editions totalling 701 million copies. Of these, 117 million copies were in languages other than Russian.

#### Billions of Books

During the twenty years from 1917 to 1937 Gorky's works have appeared in 32 million copies; Pushkin 19 million; Tolstoy 14 million; Chekhov over 11 million; Turgenev nearly eighty million; and Gogol six million.

Naturally, political writers and their books reach astronomical figures. Eight thousand classical works of Leninism-Marxism have reached a total of 350 million copies in the past twenty years. Half of these 8,000 titles were in the national languages of the U.S.S.R.

The growth of literature among the national minorities is simply amazing when one compares it with the rigorous repression of all minority self-expression under the Tsarist regime. The Moscow International Book House, one house out of many, publishes books in eighty-five languages, textbooks, novels, fairy tales, technical works, or translations of the classics. Nine million volumes were published in the Ukraine. Tolstoy's work is in great demand amongst the national minorities as well as in Russia proper; 61,000 copies have been published in the last year in the small republic of Armenia.

The abstruse works of Professor Einstein have scanty sale in most lands. Germany banishes the man. The sale of Einstein's books in England would, I imagine, be reckoned more readily in hundreds than in thousands. Yet in the Soviet Union the circulation had reached 55,000 between the years 1927 and 1936.

In literature, as in music or art, the Soviet people look across the frontiers. They are the heirs of the ages. Shakespeare is theirs. Goethe is theirs, Balzac, Moliere, Schiller, all are theirs. In the land of his birth, the 375th anniversary of Shakespeare passed unnoticed. Throughout the Soviet Union his anniversary was recorded in book, journal and theatre, and his memory honored by hundreds of thousands of peasants and artisans.

Shakespeare is regarded as a component part of the culture of the Soviet people. He comes into his own in a country where culture has become more truly of the people. Thousands of workers' amateur art circles are working on Shakespeare's plays, producing "Hamlet", "Macbeth", or "Romeo and Juliet". The performance of "King Lear" was attended by 200,000 people in Moscow this spring. And the peoples of Kirghizia, Kazakstan, Bashkiria, and many other national republics besides can see his plays performed and read his books in their own tongue. In the small republic of Armenia 32,000 copies of Shakespeare have been sold in the last five years.

Foreign writers in general are extensively translated and widely read: Upton Sinclair, Maupassant, Victor Hugo, Anatole France, Balzac, Dickens, Darwin, and of the moderns, Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway, H. G. Wells, Frank Norris, Lion Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Mann, Gustav Regler, and Arnold Zweig.

On the whole, books in the U.S.S.R. are relatively inexpensive. Three well-bound books a month would cost

the worker between two or three per cent. of his average earnings. And if no mystic literature is published, neither is anything vulgar nor pornographic permitted.

### Writing Encouraged

Writers are not only read, they are created. The Soviet Union gives ample play and great encouragement, both consciously and unconsciously, to self-expression.

More than 100,000 "circles for self-expression" have been formed quite recently in the U.S.S.R., and the drama circles have upwards of two million members. Other circles for singing, music, dancing, or graphic arts exceed five million members.

Still wider is the range of self-expression in the form of letters and articles to newspapers. Each factory and institution has its wall newspaper, which invites and receives contributions and elicits valuable suggestions and ideas for the better conduct of factory life and efficiency; men and women can and do write concerning corrupt and inefficient officials, as well as contributing positive suggestions. The wall newspaper is an outlet for social passion.

The factory paper is the gateway through which many Soviet writers enter the higher realms of literature. It creates a taste for literature and an understanding of literature. From these humble beginnings literary groups arise, and factory printshops will produce books of verses, plays, or even novels written by factory workers.

It is an accepted maxim in Soviet art that the artist should be immersed in the constructive life of his country. As the engineer who builds a bridge should understand not merely the space to be bridged and the strains and stresses of his structure, but also the purpose the bridge is to serve and its social function in relation to the whole of life, so with the artist. He must be immersed in the life and work of the people. Most artists readily agree with this, and it is natural to find that Sholokhov, the writer of "Quiet Flows the Don", makes his permanent home in the village whose changing life forms the basis of his work.

Soviet readers look outward, and like their writers to look outward too. There is little demand for the introspective writing of the west. That is natural with a people in the full flush of a vast new experiment. A vital people wish to know about the hero who explores, invents, learns and achieves; they have little interest in the man whose eyes turn inwards to his own emotions, much interest in the man who is thrilled with the conquest of Nature and the creation of a new man and a new humanity.

Perhaps most fruitful of all is the encouragement of artists amongst the national minorities. National bards—for example, the men who recite or "tell" their tales, rather

than write them—are sought out and encouraged. Folk orchestras and folk instruments are developed and many honors for local distinction awarded.

These things are most important stepping-stones to wide diffusion of culture. Native art, springing through centuries from the soil and taking forms characteristic of the place of its birth, is capable of indefinite and beautiful development.

Drama is in an exceptionally favorable position in the U.S.S.R. No country renders its theatres such generous financial assistance, nor awards them such high distinctions. The opera and the ballet are as beautiful and serious as the theatre.

Of course there is the question of the freedom of art in the Soviet Union. Criticisms can be made in many directions, and have been made, and should be weighed. Here, as elsewhere, I have preferred to signal out what seem to me to be the new and creative elements in Soviet theory and practice.

We might in this connection, however, profitably weigh the words of the American musical critic who said, "The security and inspiring environment of Soviet musical composers make them the envy of their colleagues everywhere." It is security and stability which give the basis of freedom, and an exhilarating environment gives an incentive to the exercise of freedom in the creation of new art forms. And if the Soviet Union has at times appeared to thwart, or at least discourage, new art forms which it felt to be dangerous to the national stability, that was because the stability of the Government against foes without and within was not yet achieved.

#### **Nation-wide Culture**

Artists receive an encouragement unknown here. They have a public ready made. They appeal to an intelligent and interested people. They find ready help and co-operation from the members of their craft. Writers, actors and painters have their own organisations which give help to their members on a new and generous scale. They have club-houses for social contact, retreats for rest, factories for supply of the materials they use, and negotiators who arrange for large-scale work such as decorating factories and institutions. The isolated craftsman is merged into a rich and powerful co-operative union with his fellows.

There is one word more than all others on the lips of Soviet people. It is the word "culture." It covers all that is here meant by the same word, and much more. It is uncultured, for instance, to walk into a house with dirty boots, to neglect to brush one's teeth or wash behind one's ears. It is uncultured to neglect books and art or ignore the achievements of science.

If we are apt to smile indulgently at the strain that is put on so small a word, we might reflect on our own use of it and examine our satisfactions in the light of our limitations of the article itself. We speak of men of culture. We speak of the cultured classes. The Soviet people limit neither the word nor the thing for which it stands. The Soviet people have no cultured classes and seek none. They seek a wholly cultured people, and in order to arrive at that result they seek to give leisure, security, and opportunity to all. And in this connection, art is not regarded as a thing in the abstract or the thing of an esoteric circle. Art is the national heritage of each, and must be made available for all.

## 2. "THE MOST DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION IN THE WORLD"

On December 5, 1936, a new form of democracy was born into a world where tyranny in the form of fascism openly scorned the democratic idea and threatened the democratic states.

Democracy, torn up by the roots in lands called democratic, was welcomed in a land which, so we were taught, had to put its faith in dictatorship.

This is only paradoxical to those who accept the unwarranted assumption that fascism and communism are equally pernicious forms of dictatorship. They, as a matter of fact, are poles apart.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the dictatorship of a class, not of an individual; and it is temporary, not permanent.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the dictatorship of the working class, who have changed places with the previous governing class. Where formerly the minority held the power, the majority hold it now. The proletariat were led to victory by the Communist Party, that closely knit order in which the working class became, as it were, conscious of its own aspirations and made its own demands.

### Communist Party's Policy

The Communist Party continues to exercise power, and will do so until—as is actually now happening—the workers are able, in ever-increasing numbers, to exercise power on their own behalf. "Every cook," said Lenin, "must be taught how to govern." And that principle is dominant still. The Communist Party strives in season and out to awaken in the masses a sense of responsibility and then equip them to discharge it.

Again, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is only a temporary phase, a means to an end. The Dictatorship of Fascism is permanent. The fascist leader is deified. He

is part of an eternal order. He is an end and not a means. The fascist dictator works for stability of dictatorship; the Dictatorship of the Proletariat looks for and works for a day when all dictatorship shall cease.

The completed socialist system of society automatically creates the classless society, and with the abolition of classes the need for one class to predominate ceases.

That stage has been largely completed within the brief space of twenty-one years.

But that is not the end; the socialist phase of society is only a stage on the road to a communist state of society, when, in the words of Engels, "Government over persons will be replaced by administration of things and the direction of processes of production. The State will not be abolished. It will wither away."

That is the definitely higher State at which the Communist aims. When the condition of its fulfilment—an abundance of wealth for all—is satisfied, then it will be possible for the new society to use the noble words of Karl Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program": "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Such in elementary form is the communist theory, and in his "State and Revolution" Lenin sets this for the goal of ultimate freedom and true democracy:

"Only in Communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes (i.e., there is no difference between the members of society in their relation to the social means of production), only then 'the state ceases to exist,' and 'it becomes possible to speak of freedom.' Only then a really full democracy, a democracy without any exceptions, will be possible and will be realised. And only then will the state itself begin to wither away due to the simple fact that, freed from capitalist slavery, from the untold horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually become accustomed to the observation of the elementary rules of social life that have been known for centuries and repeated for thousands of years in all school books; they will become accustomed to observing them without force, without compulsion, without subordination, without the special apparatus for compulsion which is called the state."

That is perhaps Utopian. Its attainment at any rate may take centuries of socialist education. Who dares deny its possibility? What true democrat would deny its desirability?

#### **Soviet Socialism.**

Let us, however, return to the Soviet socialism, which at any rate is a necessary stage on the road to communism,

and which has made possible the new forms of democracy which is now embodied in the Stalinist Constitution of 1936.

The Stalinist Constitution has had predecessors and differs from them. It makes no apology for the difference. A constitution, in the Soviet Union, is not a static thing. Society is not static. Society grows. A constitution suited to the conditions of yesterday is inadequate for to-day. Constitutions are not the strait-waistcoats of society. Constitutions record the stages of a society's growth. They may go even further than the mere recording, and, if based upon a true reading of the laws of social development, may speed the growth which leads to their own speedy supersession.

Thus the first Soviet Constitution of July 10, 1918, served its day and made way for the second Constitution of 1924, based on the newly formed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The present Constitution is the third and best, and stands in a worthy line with our own Magna Charta and the democratic Constitutions of France and the United States.

This Soviet Charter of Rights guarantees to each citizen :

The Right to Work

The Right to Rest

The Right to Education

The Right to Material Security in old age and sickness.

Now are these substantial and comprehensive rights a mere pious aspiration to be given effect only when circumstances conveniently permit. They are rights which record facts, rather than adumbrate goals. And the society which possesses them, and possesses also the land and the means of production which make them possible, has laid the firm foundation of a really healthy and fully equalitarian democracy.

Nor is that democracy confined, as is ours, to one section of the Union. These rights are extended to men and women of every race, tongue, and color : Article 123 states that

"The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

"Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

No people is free which possesses an inferior class, and no people is free which oppresses another people. These

are truths which the communists embody in their fundamental laws.

### **Democratic Elections**

These wide and universal rights find fitting expression in equally wide and unequivocal electoral rights. Every individual of every race, color, tongue, or creed, and of both sexes, from the age of eighteen years and upwards, possesses the right to an equal vote, a direct vote, and a vote by secret ballot. Priests may vote. Officials of the former Tsarist regime may vote. All may vote. No franchise in the world is so wide as the franchise of the New Stalinist Constitution.

Is it, then, a bogus franchise? Is it a mere paper constitution?

Many criticisms have been levelled against the 1937 elections, and from a British point of view an election without opposition parties sounds ludicrous and ominous. Most of the criticisms, however, have either ignored or suppressed certain significant facts.

First, the popular selection had taken place prior to election. The deputies who stood for election had been nominated and chosen at public meetings before the general election. Various candidates had been put forward and their claims weighed with the utmost care by the people at large and generally in enthusiastic and well-attended meetings. An elector may signify his approval or otherwise at an earlier stage for this candidate or that. At the final election he may still withhold his vote from the man or woman put forth ultimately as candidate.

Secondly, these nominations were not confined to the Communist Party. Party and non-Party members alike were put up and many non-Party members were elected.

Thirdly, the deputies chosen were widely representative of public life in general: shepherds and milkmaids, engineers and turners, writers and teachers, artists and academicians, soldiers, sailors and airmen, new intelligentsia and old Bolsheviks.

Or yet again, if there is no Opposition Party—a feature so familiar in our own parliamentary organisation—that is largely due to the fact that the basis of such Party opposition no longer exists in the U.S.S.R. The working-class opposition to a governing class, or of a possessing to a dispossessed class, which constitutes in one form or another the basis of most of our own parliamentary opposition, has gone in the U.S.S.R. and, we may well hope, gone for ever.

### **Ever-expanding Freedom**

There is still room—doubtless there always will be room within a socialist society—for divergence of policy, economic or social, even when the fundamental question of

whether society shall be socialistic or not is settled, and it is to be hoped that, with a growing stability, there will be a growing freedom to express and discuss such divergences and seek free and authoritative expression of popular opinion upon this policy or that. Such opposition cannot be created artificially for the sake of preserving ancient forms of parliamentary procedure: it must arise naturally or not at all.

The real marvel of the new democracy of the Stalin Constitution is perhaps the place where it grows. The former Russian Empire knew nothing of political democracy or political freedom; and just as we judge of the progress of Soviet industry, not against the background of industry in Great Britain or the U.S.A., but against Tsarist industry, so should we judge the new Constitution against the Tsarist negation of democracy. Not in a night or by the stroke of a pen are the forms or the spirit of democracy developed, which in our land were the result of centuries of struggle and experiment, and are by no means yet completed. And if in some of its forms democracy has seemed to linger, the real wonder is that democracy has come to Russia at all: the culminating wonder lies in the fact that it has come in a form so wide and generous.

And if there is, and the facts seem to substantiate the claim, advance beyond our own stage of democracy, we have less cause for wonder when we recollect that our society still provides political power according to wealth of individuals. Lord Beaverbrook and John Smith, for example, may possess an equal right to vote for this policy or that at a general election, and we may think therein lies the heart of true democracy. In reality such democracy is illusory. Lord Beaverbrook, with his wealth and his newspapers, can daily mould the minds of millions and make and remake governments. John Smith's power to put a cross upon a piece of paper in a secret ballot once in five years is insignificant in comparison, especially when John Smith daily reads the papers of Lord Beaverbrook or some other kindred newspaper magnate.

Political equality demands economic equality. The Soviet Union has it. We lack it. Our democracy, valuable though it is and a thing to fight for—has not the struggle for it helped us to appreciate and hold dear many things like honesty, truth, and mercy which we rightly cherish like life itself—will never reach its fruition till we follow the Soviet lead and secure for all economic liberty and equality. It will shrink rather than grow as economic inequality increases. The vast fortunes, which enable wealthy individuals to gain so large a measure of control of the

press, already and subtly undermine much of our imagined and vaunted democratic liberty.

The Soviets have laid firm foundations. A new spirit breathes into the lives of millions who yesterday were downtrodden and oppressed, and shows itself in their new forms of government. The profound significance of this advance is only grasped when we remember that in range it extends across a sixth of the earth. True democrats must rejoice in so mighty a victory for the progressive spirit of mankind.

### Stalin Not a Despot

Many hindrances cause the failure of a more general democratic welcome to the new Constitution and all it stands for. The chief of these is ignorance, and ignorance in many quarters deliberately fostered. The spread of true knowledge of what has happened and is happening would destroy the picture of Stalin as an Oriental despot. And that picture has been created and is fostered in this country for reasons we can readily understand.

Stalin is no Oriental despot. His new Constitution shows it. His readiness to relinquish power shows it. His refusal to add to the power he already possesses shows it. His willingness to lead his people down new and unfamiliar paths of democracy shows it. The easier course would have been to add to his own power and develop autocratic rule. His genius is revealed in the short, simple sentences which enshrine the Basic Law of the U.S.S.R., where in clear, clean language stands the charter of the new rights of man in the Socialist Society. Here is a document which ranks amongst the greatest in all human documents in its love of humanity and its reverence for human dignity. To read this astonishing document, to compare it with its predecessors, to trace the growth and blossoming and fruitage of what began years ago as a young and very tender plant gives fresh encouragement to every democrat in every land, and incites him afresh to struggle against every opposition and in face, if need be, of the most brutal oppression, for that new and richer freedom that all the world's great minds have looked for and longed for.

There is abundant promise, as this new democracy unfolds, for the development of the individual in harmony with society and in an atmosphere of justice and security. When Stalin said: "Our new Soviet Constitution will, in my opinion, be the most democratic constitution of all existing in the world," it was no idle boast, but a plain statement of fact. When these fateful and restless years are past, and when historians have settled down quietly to weigh the facts, there is small doubt that Stalin will stand out as a giant among pigmies, the man who, unlike

those smaller men who clutch at power for themselves, trained and guided that great family of people that we call the Soviet Union towards the right exercise of power, gladly surrendering to them a power which is really their own as their understanding and ability to use it increase.

### 3. "LOVE IS THE FULFILLING OF THE LAW"

Religion in Russia in pre-revolutionary days had long been regarded by liberal and progressive thinkers and workers as a dangerous enemy. It is still seriously distrusted, and, where not openly and vigorously attacked, is discouraged and handicapped. In the early days of the Revolution many suffered martyrdom for their faith, the good with the bad.

For centuries the Orthodox Church had worked hand in glove with the Tsarist regime. Institutional religion had consistently sided with superstition and reaction: it was the confessed opponent of science and education. A boast was made to me in pre-war days that an entirely ignorant man could become a bishop in Russia.

It was inevitable that many adherents of a religion openly reactionary and confessedly unintellectual should oppose the new revolution and side with the interventionist nations whose armies encircled the young republic and sought its destruction. In such circumstances the effort to suppress the Church is no matter of surprise. Marx, Lenin, and Stalin were anti-religious just because they believed that religion had consistently aligned itself with organised injustice. Outrages were committed on the Church in proportion as the Church had become corrupt and wealthy, neglectful not only of social justice, liberty, education of the masses, and social welfare in general, but actively persecuting those who made these things their concern. It is not natural for people to murder priests.

No great revolution, alas, was ever carried through without bloodshed, violence, and brutality. The struggles for liberty in England have their own tales to tell. Terrible things happened in France. Terrible things likewise happened in Russia. They happened on both sides, though the atrocity statistics concerning them have been, as most responsible historians know to-day, grossly exaggerated.

### Religious Freedom

The attitude of persecution has given way to a measure of tolerance. It is totally untrue to say that the present-day Soviet Union lacks religious freedom. Churches in the Soviet Union may, and do, suffer material disabilities compared with churches in England. They may be denied revenue from land or capital. But that is a restriction denied to all groups or individuals in Soviet Russia. Still

more serious, they are denied the right to give organised religious teaching to children outside the family circle, though no restrictions debar instruction there. It is not forbidden to give religious instruction to adults. Press and radio are closed to religious propaganda.

These constitute serious restrictions, but many lands besides the Soviet Union suffer from the like or worse. It has been the subject of constant complaint of Protestants in Catholic lands and vice versa.

On the other hand, every citizen is free to express his or her religious views, and convert others to them. My friend, Mr. Pat Sloan, a Cambridge graduate of distinction, teaching in a Soviet college, and serving as leader of a Trade Union, was taken ill with fever and removed to hospital, where a nurse who happened to be a Baptist, endeavoured to proselytise him, with no hindrance from the authorities. The Baptist nurse, incidentally, was as severe as any Bolshevik on the Russian Orthodox Church—saying, "Oh, well, that's not real religion, that's false religion." Nothing apparently, says Mr. Sloan, in Soviet legislation, irritated her save that she desired for the Baptists the same monopoly of the people's mind as the Russian Orthodox Church had enjoyed before the Revolution.

Another friend of mine lived with a Russian family in Moscow. In the corner of the living-room stood an ikon, and before it burned a lamp.

"Are you believers here?" he asked.

"Yes, a maid from the country who works next door is a believer, so is an engineer who also lives here," was the reply.

"Then you do permit a profession of religion?" he asked.

"Certainly, why not? That is their own affair," was the further reply.

#### 50,000 Priests in U.S.S.R.

No official attempt is made to suppress views such as these, and any group of citizens wishing to conduct religious worship is at liberty to do so, having access to premises free of charge, though responsibility for the pay of the priest and repair and insurance of the building are first charges on its resources.

Some 50,000 priests live today in the Soviet Union. They are as free to vote as any other citizen.

I could quote, in substantiation of these statements, from my own experience, or from that of a Russian emigre abbot from New York, who had visited me in 1937, immediately after his visit to the Soviet Union, where he had travelled without let or hindrance from north to south and in his priestly robes,

A Stakhanovite girl-worker on a State farm in Siberia was a practising believer. Her anti-religious neighbours felt that as such she should not hold important office. Hers was made a test case. It was referred to Stalin himself. And Stalin's decision was entirely in favour of the girl; a decision fully borne out by Article 124 of the New Constitution—

"In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the Church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the State, and the school from the Church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens."

So far we have been concerned with external questions, with the attitude of the Soviet Union to an organised religious body and to members of that body.

A more difficult, but also, I venture to think, a more important concern awaits discussion—the relation of the Soviet experiment as a whole and in its essence to religion as such.

### **"Communism Not Anti-Christian"**

I wish to suggest that communism in its positive aspect is no fundamental enemy of religion, least of all of the Christian religion. In the long run, unless I am seriously mistaken, it will prove to be a true friend in at least one essential particular. It provides society with a new moral base, and is in process of achieving on the "this-world" level those very things that we Christians have too often professed with our lips but denied in our lives. It has struck the death-blow to an immoral order in which we have tacitly acquiesced.

A misconception concerning religion in the Soviet Union is widespread and must be removed at once.

The use of the words "dialectical materialism" as descriptive of the Soviet outlook is unfortunate for the average English reader. The term "dialectical materialism" is easily confounded with the largely discredited doctrine of "materialism" which had gripped scientists a quarter of a century ago, and which was entirely incompatible with religious belief.

To the materialist, mind and matter are the same thing. To the materialist, mind is merely a function of matter. To the materialist, mind is but an effect, a mode, a property of inert matter.

That belief is now dead. And scientists themselves have had no small part in slaying it.

That belief again, and all that we common English folk mean by the word "materialism," stand entirely apart from what is meant by "dialectical materialism." None, indeed, opposed the materialistic view of life more resolutely than Lenin himself. Lenin said that he knew what

"reality" was because he found the same laws working in his own mind that were working in human society, in the atoms and in the stars. The process of life is creative, says Lenin, and the process of life calls for purposeful activity of man.

Lenin's belief in personality as something alive, creative, originating, and dignified, is wholly opposed to a devitalising and degrading materialism.

### Atheism And Godliness

A passionate assertion of atheism no more means that a man is fundamentally irreligious from a Christian point of view than a passionate profession of belief in God necessarily stamps a man as religious. Much depends upon the meaning we attach to the words religion and God.

Tolstoy, we are told, once asked Maxim Gorky point blank: "Do you believe in God?" Gorky replied "No." Let me paraphrase Tolstoy's reply, "You say you don't, and you believe you don't; in reality you do. Every word you write tells me so. It is not what a man says, or thinks he says, but what a man is, that speaks the truth; your whole being tells me you believe in God."

We may here appropriately recall the words of Christ Himself: "Not every one that sayeth unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

Not what we say with our lips, or even what we think we believe, expresses our real belief. The orientation of our entire life is the thing that tells the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Our life prays more sincerely than our lips.

In a stimulating and suggestive chapter of his "Creative Society" Professor John McMurray puts the matter clearly, bidding us look below the verbal definition of the term God, and religion, and ask, "What are the realities for which these terms stand?"

Is not a real belief in God that which lifts us out of our self-centredness and frees us from our fears? Is it not the power to live as part of the whole of things?

Many of us, unfortunately, whilst calling ourselves religious and professing belief in God, lack any such real belief in God, or hold it half-heartedly and partially. We discuss the world and men, and prove our lack of confidence in the supreme power behind all, by hedging ourselves around in isolation and building up our own security. We are self-centred. We lack real enthusiastic confidence in the possibilities of the world or man, or in the providence which orders both. That is always the danger of professional religion.

And it is of such so-called believers in God that Jesus avers that He will finally say, "I never knew you." Refusal to act gave the lie to their professed belief.

### **"Communist Christians"**

The disinterested communist, on the other hand, has, I would suggest, recaptured this power to live as part of the whole of things. He believes in what he calls the laws of Nature and the processes of history. He has faith in a power which determines the destiny of mankind. He feels himself to be an instrument in the hands of a power which is not unfriendly and which is here and now achieving its purpose of creating a true and universal brotherhood of mankind, which he calls the classless society.

In so far as he holds such a belief, a communist has recovered much of the core of real belief in God.

The ground cleared by these preliminary suggestions, we can proceed to closer quarters with our problem. Either-to, we have spoken of communism and religion in general. There is something further to say on communism and Christianity.

Geologists and biologists have enabled us to trace the course of the world's development, and select a leading principle as guide amidst the stupendous changes through which life on this earth has passed. It is the principle of organisation.

Life as it develops reaches higher and ever higher levels of organisation.

This knowledge enables us to estimate in which direction life in the future will move. Life will follow the lines of a more complex and closely knit organisation. As change appears to be the one inevitable law of life, change in the direction of higher organisation will be the hall-mark of progress.

Living organisms are obviously to be distinguished from a mere mixture of chemical elements. Thus protoplasm, that semi-fluid, colourless, or whitish substance which constitutes the physical basis of life in all plants and animals, is a living organism, very low, but definitely organised as no mere chemical compound is organised.

### **"Man, The Highest Mammal"**

Every successive upward step has been a fresh advance in the level of organisation. The process has culminated in the higher mammals, where the number and complexity and interrelation of parts in the whole reach the maximum.

Organisation, however, does not stop when it has reached the stage of mammals. As Dr. Joseph Needham, the Cambridge biochemist, points out, from the complexity of man, the highest individual mammal, we pass on to a

new complexity on another plane, the complexity of the group.

Sociological organisation and development must be thought of as continuous with biological.

Furthermore, social organisation, when and as it comes, will demand just that same "renunciation of the dominant impulses" which has been necessary in earlier stages of organised life and which at the human stage we call altruism or unselfishness.

Looking back upon life at its lowest ranges, we see this same principle of "renunciation" already operative. The free-living, independent cells out of which all bodies are built up had, in "renunciation", to give up their freedom ere they could pass into the higher levels of life which are found in those animals whose bodies consist of many cells.

In like manner, if there is to be a higher level of social organisation than we possess today, then similar renunciations will be demanded of each of us. We are, as it were, cells of the new and more complex organisation, losing something of independence, but gaining far more in the higher level to which we have advanced.

### **New Order Needed**

We, as individuals, however, are not the last stage of the evolutionary process. We cannot believe that we alone have reached the pinnacle of organisation. We in turn need to be united in a yet larger whole. Our present confusion must be turned into future order.

As from our standpoint other ages were ages of chaos, so from a future standpoint will our age appear chaotic. Chaos reigns, for example, in the existence of our many sovereign states, each unrestricted by any moral law curtailing its absolute sovereignty. Chaos reigns in a world where the natural resources and the machinery of production are retained as private property by private men who possess the right to lay down the terms on which alone other men have access to what is their only means of livelihood.

If there is any force at work tending to remove this chaos, tending to unite the world of men into one whole, while leaving to the peoples composing that world as much as possible of their peculiar customs, languages, art, and literature, limited in national sovereignty, but united in economic dependence, such a force would be completely in line with that growth in organisms which has marked the march of life in the past. Any process of world-planning by collective man who has obtained control of land, natural resources, and productive machinery, who has abolished privilege and approaches a classless state, marks the up-thrust of another stage of the evolutionary development.

Not one whit the less does it mark the fulfilment of the Christian demands.

This collectivism is inevitable. The Soviet Union has obviously made a great step towards it: both explicitly in its professed programme, and concretely, as we have seen, despite all setbacks, blunders, defects, and crimes—and what nation among us is guiltless of these?—in the practice of its daily life.

Christians should recognise once and for all that economic exploitation, with all its degrading and disorganising consequences, is as utterly wrong as it is scientifically doomed.

### **Practical Outlook Needed**

Christians should cease from that exclusive concentration on the "other worldly" and mystical elements of religion, through fear of feudal lord or financial capitalist, or established order, or sheer inertia, which makes them condone what they should condemn and condemn what they should welcome. The established order has small complaint against, though real contempt for, the men whose religion is concerned wholly and solely with the things beyond the skies. A true Christianity never permits its contemplation of another world to hinder its joy and duty in this; but draws from an eternal order the inspiration for achievement here. Only a spurious Christianity neglects "living" in the interest of "thinking and contemplation".

Collectivism, in short, is not only answerable to Christian origins—we recollect the early communism at Jerusalem—it begins to create in practical and concrete form what is meant by the Christian term of brotherhood.

Communism, in the Soviet Union, believes in brotherhood and practises it; believes in collective security and seeks it; believes in internationalism and works for it; believes in peace and hopes to win it. Communism, in the Soviet Union, turns emotional communism into scientific communism.

Covetousness is the greatest foe to the next advance towards this higher organisation, and Christianity is the sworn foe of covetousness. Men covet riches because they covet the power, prestige, and privilege which riches bring. The covetous man moves into isolation, hedging himself around in the search for security.

In its very essence covetousness is a denial of God, a refusal to give up the selfish independent life and seek security in the whole.

That is why Jesus warned men to "take heed and beware of covetousness." That, too, is why St. Paul speaks of covetousness as of something indecent and loathsome: "Let it not even be named among you" (Ephesians v. 3).

The covetous man is classed with fornicators and unclean persons.

The acquisitive or covetous spirit, in the eyes of St. Paul, is as evil in its nature as is perverted and unrestrained carnal instinct.

The Soviet Union performed an essentially religious act entirely parallel with this Christian abhorrence of covetousness when it cut the taproot of covetousness, freeing men from the bondage of the acquisitive instinct and paving the way for a new organisation of life on a higher level of existence.

If communism cannot be regarded by religious men as the end of the whole life process, it certainly appears to shadow a vitally necessary step in religious development.

Communism has overcome the disintegration of modern society by pressing forward to higher and more complete union of the separated parts.

Communism has at last found a form of integration compatible with the necessities of a technical civilisation.

#### "Service to Religion"

Communism has served religion by challenging the irreligious dualism of Greek thought which separated life into two parts, religious and secular, thus perverting the religion, which we inherited from the Hebrews and which culminated in Jesus. For Hebraic religion, and still more the Christian religion in its original intention, embraced the whole life. It never suffered life to fall into two parts, signifying that contemplation was the sole and supreme religious duty, condoning the disintegration of society, while luxuriating in the thought of the harmonious heavenly places.

Where, to the Greek, God was an aristocrat, to the Christian He was a worker; and, as a consequence of this, where to the Greek the ideal of human life was contemplation, to the Hebrew and Christian it was action and self-realisation.

Furthermore, to the Hebrew and to the early Christian, man's welfare depended upon community; his self-realisation demanded "renunciation" and subordination to the whole. The intention of God, according to Jesus, is a community of persons building up relations on a basis of freedom and equality. To violate that sense of community, to realise, or seek to realise, oneself at the expense of the whole, is to court disaster. To act egocentrically is to act against one's nature, and leads to failure and frustration. All history is a commentary and a judgment upon the self-will of man, particularly upon his lust for power and for the luxury of contemplation.

To the communist, as to the Christian, community is paramount. Man realises himself in society. The communist puts the Christian to shame in the thoroughness of his quest for a harmonious society. Here he proves himself to be heir of the Christian intention.

The communist attack upon idealism, then, as well as the communist struggle for community, contains an element of true religion, and as such demands Christian recognition.

Had Christians from the first but given to communists the welcome which was due to men whose motto—"from every one according to his ability and to every one according to his need"—is so wholly Christian, and who had passed from words to deeds in their construction of a concrete order based on these principles, Christians would have done more honour to the intention of their Founder, and Soviet communists might never have felt compelled to launch their war against religion. Perhaps they had even been ready to heed the warning which Christians must feel bound to give to all who lightly imagine that a perfected order lies at the end of the social process; or anticipate the creation of a perfect society in which all tensions are resolved.

#### "Communists Are Right"

Such a social order would, indeed, appear to be the end of society, and not a new beginning. Every fresh integration introduces its own tension instead of tensionless perfection.

But it is a tension upon a higher plane. The communist order, now having moved to a higher plane or integration, may well be expected to experience new and newly creative tensions. Such tension should be neither surprising nor disturbing. The Christian anticipates them.

Did it concern our present purpose, we might well proceed to argue that the problems of good and evil, life and death cannot be solved so easily as some communists would suppose. We could urge substantial grounds for believing that the final fulfilment of life is to be found not in but beyond history itself. We might further urge that could we succeed even in integrating all human life in this present order, there will still remain the problem of integrating the life of our human order as a whole with the life of the universal order.

That, save for the mention of it, lies, however, outside our present purpose, which in the main is to seek the creative ideas in communism and to examine and estimate their value, and we may appropriately come back to the point at which we began, and urge that communists are right when they insist that we must begin to achieve in practice that integration which already lies within our power, and that the religion which not only refuses to do

this but hinders, sidetracks and misrepresents those who attempt it, and then seeks refuge from action in contemplation and reflection, is an enemy and must be resolutely removed. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God, whom he hath not seen." "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

#### 4. "FROM THE SPARK TO THE FLAME"

I cannot read or re-read this book without being conscious of its many defects and shortcomings. There is so much more that might have been said or better said. The Soviet experiment, so immense in its range, so revolutionary to all our modes of thinking, so new and challenging, defies all but the crudest outline. A finished treatise, even were I capable of it, is impossible; one can only, as it were, think aloud.

I am conscious, furthermore, as was said in the Preface, of pointing only to those aspects which seem to me to be truly creative and essentially good. Much remains that is not. Injustice and unhappiness have not been swept away over-night as if by magic. Petty deceits, petty jealousies, and and petty dishonesties still mar the harmony of life, and ugliness has far from disappeared. Russians are not paragons of virtue, nor is the Soviet Union yet the golden Paradise of the Utopians. The Russians, after all, are human beings, with all the weaknesses and follies and sins that mar us; and the relics of the past—it is a worse past than ours, where even tentative advance along the paths of freedom and equality has been longer delayed than with us—still hang round their necks.

Yet, when all is said and done, the Soviet people are actuated, in the major operation of life, by a moral purpose which I could wish with all my heart was consciously our own. They are working for a common good that seems to me essentially Christian in its morality, however much they may deny the fact. They are learning in practice that the reality of life lies in community, and their accepted principles for the advance to a better order of society, to a wider community of persons, seem to me to be rightly chosen.

All progress appears slow and uncertain. Our advances towards a better order are vague and indeterminate. Profound and subtle and innumerable forces chain us to our past. We cling to our errors and stupidities. The bright light of truth blinds us, and we avoid it. We grope where we might walk. Familiar ways are easy ways. Change demands effort and action; and change terrifies; especially if change threatens the structures of our personal security, so laboriously erected.

## Man Marches On

Yet change must come. Life always moves. Stagnation is but another word for death. Man marches forward, and in the main, and down the ages, he marches towards wisdom. The march may be slow. It is often painful and punctuated with many a halt. Sometimes man returns upon his tracks when an insurmountable obstacle blocks his path. The return is merely the quest for another way round to the distant goal which shall avoid the obstacle. The march goes on, and change comes with it.

This book is an honest and earnest plea to examine with less prejudiced eyes changes that in their startling novelty appear to overleap the centuries. Yet they are changes for which the way has long been prepared. They have their roots in the past. They are like waters dammed up here and dammed up there, but always and steadily accumulating until, suddenly, without warning and with a mighty rush, they burst forth and sweep all obstacles before them.

Change must come in England, in France, in America. No country can stand still. If the line advances in one land, others must advance or they will inevitably recede. England's advance to an industrial order infected all the world. Russia's startling and deeply significant change involves change here and elsewhere. Not necessarily along the same path. We can profit, if we will, by Russia's experience and avoid the destruction of many precious things. If with an honest heart we make the necessary and essential changes in time, we may reach the same and by peaceful means.

One thing at least is certain: change will come, and it is better than we ourselves should make appropriate changes willingly because they are right, than do so under compulsion because we can do no other.

Morally inspired change, however, is far from easy. It needs strong hands, strong minds, and dauntless courage. It needs clearness of aim and firmness of will. It needs definite creative purpose.

The torch of life rests now in our hands. Those who come after us will be better able than we to judge whether it burns more clearly and brightly or whether it grows dim, whether we have bettered the life of our day or worsened it. They will judge us by our purpose and our effort rather than by our achievement. If there is any moral truth and rightness in the great experiment which I have tried to describe, it will prevail. We may accept it and have the joy of speeding its progress, or we may reject it and suffer personal frustration. But according to the truth that is

in it, it will succeed. I endorse the noble words of Anatole France:

"Truth possesses within herself a penetrating force unknown alike to error and to falsehood. I say truth and you understand my meaning. For the beautiful words truth and justice need not be defined in order to be understood in their true sense. They bear within them a shining beauty and a heavenly light. I firmly believe in the triumph of truth: that is what upholds me in the time of trial. . . ."



