

etiquette and law and war. For the hardness of our hearts? For the slackness of our souls and the feebleness of our minds?

To picture the true worth of our wise men, picture them asleep. The House of Commons and the House of Lords, all unreservedly asleep. The Cabinet, the Bench of Bishops, the War Office — snoring. Carlyle saw them naked and it soured his mind to them forever. See them asleep and snoring, it might well dip you in despair.

I step gingerly to the spare hammock bed and lay myself down. Soon,

Reveille

as upon Forty-three, the off-wheeler, settles the obsessing image of such an idea, as, waking him, should welcome bring sleep to me. But some too tired part of my brain perversely combats it, leaving poor *me* the helpless battleground till —

The small trumpeter has tumbled up to help blow reveille. I tumble up at the sound, for once a welcome sound. Cap, boots, spurs, British warm, and blanket; Green's *English People* and my gloves, I tumble off with them and to my barrack room again.

Another day begun; of hither and thither and up and down.

## THE SAILOR

BY H. G. D.

Back to your lips across the whole broad world,  
Back to the same dear lips which kissed 'Good-bye,'  
Mother, I came: and now they are no more.

What though from Universe to Universe,  
Some day I follow whither you have gone  
Unresting, till I find your lips again?

I cannot find them now when I go home:  
I only find the memory of them,  
And the memory of my coldness and your tears.

The Poetry Review

## ECONOMICS, TRADE, AND FINANCE

### BOLSHEVIKI AS CAPITALISTS

WRITING recently to the *Morning Post* on Russian affairs, I quoted the Bolshevik politician Chudskayeff's heretical opinion that soviet nationalization would after all prove to be only 'nonsense.' The reasons for M. Chudskayeff's view I gave with facts and figures. The Supreme Council of National Economy, which is the ultimate authority in these grave matters, is now rushing headlong into a new system, which indicates that though one cannot undo 'nonsense' already done, one may correct it. The new move is back toward capitalism, not indeed to what Lenine in an excellent speech calls 'the predatory side of capitalism,' but toward 'the, by us, unfortunately, neglected organizatory side.' In other words, private individuals are still to be forbidden to make profits, but the methods by which these private individuals made profits in pre-Bolshevik days are to be restored, and the profit is to be turned into the pocket of the State. And even, it seems, large private incomes are sometimes to be tolerated, for Lenine, in his *New Problems of Soviet Power*, admits that an expert factory director may be paid as much as 100,000 rubles a year.

'State capitalism,' the form which was emphatically rejected by the majority of the recently-dispersed German Socialization Commission, is Bolshevism's latest expedient. *It means the exploitation of workmen to an extent to which they were not exploited by the least merciful private capitalists in modern times.* Further, it is directly contrary to the Syndicalist-Bolshevik

trend elsewhere in Europe. While industrial workmen in Norway are demanding the elimination from their collective wage agreements of the provision that the employer 'directs and distributes work,' the Russian Supreme Council of Economy is depriving the workmen of their supposed elementary right to 'direct and distribute work.' But necessity knows no law. The last Russian newspapers received by me contain abundant evidence that only by compromising with 'Capitalism,' by becoming *plus capitaliste que les capitalistes*, can the Government of People's Commissaries survive — if it can survive at all. For instance, the new half-yearly budget (January-June, 1919) shows that the estimated expenditure is 49,100,000,000 rubles, as compared with 17,602,727,444 rubles for the corresponding half of 1918.

And there are other facts. The official *Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn* states that in some cities the population is so badly off for metal goods that they pull down wooden houses for the sake of the nails, screws, locks, the roofing-lead, and the drainage pipes. Nails, says this journal, cost 700 rubles per pound; tinned kitchen utensils average 450 rubles per pound; enameled iron utensils, 600 rubles per pound; and the thin brass plates, usually about eighteen inches square, which are nailed to dwelling-room floors in front of Dutch stoves, change hands at 270-300 rubles each. The raw materials — pig-iron and copper — used in the construction of a locomotive at the Putiloff works cost 170,000 rubles. But, according to M. Hessen, formerly editor of the *Riech*, the one locomotive started on since Bolshevism seized