

bestial instincts which had been curbed during peace—those who realize all this will hesitate to incur inconceivably greater horrors, even if they believe firmly that communism in itself is much to be desired. An economic system cannot be considered apart from the population which is to carry it out; and the population resulting from such a world war as Moscow calmly contemplates would be savage, bloodthirsty and ruthless to an extent that must make any system a mere engine of oppression and cruelty.

This brings us to our third question: Is the system which communists regard as their goal likely to result from the adoption of their methods? This is really the most vital question of the three.

Advocacy of communism by those who believe in Bolshevik methods rests upon the assumption that there is no slavery except economic slavery, and that when all goods are held in common there must be perfect liberty. I fear this is a delusion.

There must be administration, there must be officials who control distribution. These men, in a communist state, are the repositories of power. So long as they control the army, they are able, as in Russia at this moment, to wield despotic power, even if they are a small minority. The fact that there is communism—to a certain extent—does not mean that there is liberty. If the communism were more complete, it would not necessarily mean more freedom; there would still be certain officials in control of the food supply, and these officials could govern as they pleased as long as they retained the support of the soldiers. This is not mere theory; it is the patent lesson of the present condition of Russia. The Bolshevik theory is that a small minority are to seize power, and are to hold it until communism is accepted practically universally, which, they admit, may take a long time. But power is sweet, and few men surrender it voluntarily. It is especially sweet to those who have the habit of it, and the habit becomes most ingrained in those who have governed by bayonets, without popular support. Is it not almost inevitable that men placed as the Bolsheviks are placed in Russia, and as they maintain that the communists must place themselves wherever the social revolution succeeds, will be loath to relinquish their monopoly of power, and will find reasons for remaining until some new revolution ousts them? Would it not be fatally easy for them, without altering the economic structure, to decree large salaries for high government officials, and so reintroduce the old inequalities of wealth? What motive would they have for not doing so? What motive is possible except idealism, love of mankind, non-

economic motives of the sort that Bolsheviks decry? The system created by violence and the forcible rule of a minority must necessarily allow of tyranny and exploitation; and if human nature is what Marxists assert it to be, why should the rulers neglect such opportunities of selfish advantage?

It is sheer nonsense to pretend that the rulers of a great empire such as Soviet Russia, when they have become accustomed to power, retain the proletarian psychology, and feel that their class interest is the same as that of the ordinary workingman. This is not the case in fact in Russia now, however the truth may be concealed by fine phrases. The government has a class consciousness and a class interest quite distinct from those of the genuine proletarian, who is not to be confounded with the paper proletarian of the Marxian schema. In a capitalist state, the government and the capitalists on the whole hang together, and form one class; in Soviet Russia, the government has absorbed the capitalist mentality together with the governmental, and the fusion has given increased strength to the upper class. But I see no reason whatever to expect equality or freedom to result from such a system, except reasons derived from a false psychology and a mistaken analysis of the sources of political power.

I am compelled to reject Bolshevism for two reasons: First, because the price mankind must pay to achieve communism by Bolshevik methods is too terrible; and secondly, because, even after paying the price, I do not believe the result would be what the Bolsheviks profess to desire.

But if their methods are rejected, how are we ever to arrive at a better economic system? This is not an easy question, and I shall treat it in a separate article.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

Many Are Called

The Lord Apollo, who has never died,
Still holds alone his immemorial reign,
Supreme in an impregnable domain
That with his magic he has fortified;
And though melodious multitudes have tried
In ecstasy, in anguish, and in vain,
With invocation sacred and profane
To lure him, even the loudest are outside.

Only at un conjectured intervals,
By will of Him on whom no man may gaze,
By word of Him whose law no man has read,
A questing light may rift the sullen walls,
To cling where mostly its infrequent rays
Fall golden on the patience of the dead.

EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON.

VERSE

Ydoni Sings to His People

1.

The morning comes riding to our marketplace
On the shoulders of a little hill;
And when it tires
Spending its golden coins,
And is heavy with sleep,
The mountain will take the day on its back
And carry it to the still dark House.

2.

At night
O people of Karthana
Your evil deeds
Will sit in trees,
Like owls
And hoot you.

3.

Having died
Arkon the fisherman
Went to heaven;
Thus when a comet
Falls in the skies
Be not frightened
O people of Karthana,
It is only a silver trout
Falling from the fisherman's lure.

4.

I thought my arrow struck a swan,
But it was only the moon
Come down to bathe in the waters of the Khava.

5.

We are trees
And our days
Hang on branches,
Like leaves;
In the morning,
We hide
Behind the strong walls of our songs,
But the wind finds us
In the evening,
And takes our songs
And our days
Like leaves.

6.

Like an army with lit torches,
The first frosts
Have come upon my fields
Burning the young corn.

7.

Like wolves
The winds came upon my fruit trees,
And tore them to the ground;
But there are no stones
To kill the wolves of the wind,
And no curses to wither their teeth.

DAVID ROSENTHAL.

The Bandwagon

THE JOYS OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

VIENNA, Oct. 10.—Southern Tyrol, allotted to Italy by the Austrian peace treaty, formally passed into Italian hands yesterday. There were solemn ceremonies in the churches and public places. The city of Innsbruck was draped in mourning.—*New York Times*.

ANOTHER LITERARY PRESIDENT.

"The speech [at Des Moines] was especially noticeable for that epigrammatic quality which seems to be a gift of Senator Harding's."—*New York Sun*.

NOW THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST "THE REACTIONARY CANDIDATE" CAN PROCEED AT FULL SPEED.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12.—Attorney-General Palmer said today that he had decided to make a number of speeches for the Democratic national ticket.

Mr. Palmer had not intended to enter the campaign because of criticisms made against his administration by Governor Cox. It is understood that Governor Cox has made a full explanation of his speech in which he criticised the Attorney-General, and therefore Mr. Palmer will make a number of speeches.—*New York Times*.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN PRIVATE.

"You cannot give one right to a white man and deny the same right to a black man, but while I stand for that particular principle, I want you in Oklahoma to know that that does not mean, and I do not ever intend that it means, that the white man and the black man must be made to experience the enjoyment of their rights in each other's company."—*Mr. Harding*.

WATCH ME!

"When my countrymen turn their attention again to the commonplace I shall know that American institutions are secure."—*Calvin Coolidge*.

MR. HARDING AT ST. LOUIS.

"I will never submit the covenant before the United States Senate with Article X in it. Article X is the heart of the League. Yes, the steel heart of the League."

The crowd jumped to its feet cheering, but when quiet was restored a volley of questions came from the galleries.

"Let's be homey," the Senator said.—*New York Times*.

"IT WAS A FAMOUS VICTORY. . . ."

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15.—The campaign conducted by the Department of Justice against the high cost of living will be ended and the entire fair price organization disbanded on November 1st.—*New York Times*.

NO JOB AT ALL.

"Government is a very simple thing, after all."—*Mr. Harding*.