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Why Bolshevism Will Fail, 1920.

LECTURE BY RABBI ABBA H. SILVER, ON  
"WHY BOLSHEVISM WILL FAIL," AT THE  
TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER  
28th, 1920, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

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It might, indeed, seem presumptuous to speak on "Why Bolshevism Will Fail" at a time when bolshevism seems triumphant. Soviet Russia has established peace with Poland; it has driven General Wrangel's army into the sea; it has cleared Russian soil of practically every threatening counterrevolutionary army, and has brought France and England to a point where they are ready to discuss trade negotiations.

At no time has the foreign policy of soviet Russia seemed so promising. France has been thwarted; England has been checkmated; Italy is clamoring for the resumption of trade with Russia; the United States, while publicly denouncing soviet Russia, is privately gaining concessions in Russia. And yet in spite of all these manifestations of victory and triumph, I am bold enough to predict this morning the absolute failure of bolshevism. I should really say I am modest enough to predict its failure; for one of the dearest and strongest friends of communism, Bertrand Russell, who has visited Russia and has written upon it, devotes a chapter in his book on "Bolshevism, Practice and Theory" to the theme--Why Russian

communism has failed.

I am modest enough not to assume that it has failed, but I am bold enough to predict that it will fail. I want to say to begin with that my information is not first hand. I have not been to Russia; my information is drawn principally from books, magazines, newspapers, and personal association with men here and abroad who have been to Europe.

I believe that we ought to make great allowance for propaganda. I believe that most of the information we receive from Russia today is tainted by propaganda in one way or another. I mean by that that the orthodox Socialist is just as much carried away by his enthusiasm for soviet Russia as the orthodox capitalist is carried away by his hatred of soviet Russia. Both have shown themselves more eager to preach, to propagate, to defend their particular system or hobbies rather than search after the truth and the facts as they are.

Most of my material for my discussion this morning I have drawn from this same book of Mr. Russell's because he is a Communist, because he is a pacifist, because by no stretch of the imagination can he be accused of being a hireling of any capitalistic government. During the war Mr. Russell was imprisoned in England for his anti-war policy.

I do hope, friends, that I shall not be misunderstood; I do hope that you will not take my criticism of

bolshevism as an indorsement or an attempt to whitewash any other economic system or philosophy. I am not championing any one economic system this morning, and I am not attempting to condone the injustices of one at the expense of the injustices of another. What I wish to say this morning concerning bolshevism is consistent with what I have said of bolshevism since November, 1917.

I believe that it is in theory, and fundamentally, primitive and naive, and in practice wicked and destructive. I believe that it does not and will not make for greater human freedom or greater human happiness; and I believe that industrial democracy and industrial progress must be found along other lines than those of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I believe in industrial democracy, and I believe in progress in economic development. I am all too well familiar with the shortcomings and the injustices and the glaring inequalities in wealth and power and in its present economic organization. But all these facts, to my mind, do not justify a system which, in the name of absolute perfection, justice and freedom, is perpetuating the very abuses which we are decrying in the capitalistic system.

You will recall that I was among the first--perhaps the very first in the city of Cleveland--that denounced the Russian blockade; that I was among the very first that demanded the withdrawal of American troops from Russia. I did it on principles the very reverse of the principles of bolshevism; for on the ground of bolshevism,

on the ground of class struggle, on the ground that force is the only means for achieving a goal, the Allies were absolutely justified in establishing a blockade of Russia. If you preach class struggle you must not raise a cry of resentment when the other fellow begins to struggle. If you preach the unity of the workingman throughout the world you must not raise a cry of resentment if some doctrine is adopted by the capitalists of the whole world. And if you preach force and justify force you must not criticise your antagonist if he uses force.

But I constantly attacked the blockade of Russia on principles which, to the Bolshevik, would appear frightfully bourgeois; not on the principle of economic determinism, and not on the principle of an imperialistic conception of history, but I attacked it and denounced it and demanded its revocation on the ground of the absolute principles of human justice and the rights of every nation to determine its own life, its own form of organization, its own political scheme and its own destiny.

But just as I do not believe in a British blockade of Russia, I do not believe in a Bolshevik blockade of Russia; and my reading--and I assure you that it has been unprejudiced--and my study, has led me to the conclusion that bolshevism has established in Russia a blockade under methods of suppression and ruthlessness such as no autocratic capitalistic government in our generation has attempted.

As a background to what I am going to say, let me

read this short paragraph from this same book to which I have referred, from the pen of a Communist and a friend of Russia: "Owing to unpopularity the Bolsheviki have had to rely on the army and the extraordinary commission, and have been compelled to reduce the soviet system to an empty form. More and more the pretense of representing the proletariat has grown threadbare. Amid official demonstrations and processions and meetings the genuine proletarian looks on apathetic and disillusioned, unless he is possessed of unusual energy and fire, in which case he looks to the ideas of syndicalism or the I. W. W. to liberate him from a slavery far more complete than that of capitalism. A sweated wage, long hours, industrial conscription, prohibition of strikes, prison for slackers, diminution of the already insufficient rations in factories, where the production falls below what the authorities expect, an army of spies, ready to report any tendency to political disaffection and to procure imprisonment for its promoters--this is the reality of a system which still professes to govern in the name of the proletariat."

Just what are the actual conditions in Russia today? To be sure everything is imperfect and incomplete, and due allowance should be made for all that, but we can gain in general outline the broad contour of conditions in Russia as they are, after three years of Bolshevik domination. I shall not qualify this sentence one bit when I say that the government of Russia today is absolute and despotic. That is due, of course, in large measure,

to civil war, to the danger of counter-revolution, to the external pressure by foreign powers; but it is also due, I believe, to the philosophy of the men in control of affairs. When men preach dictatorship of the proletariat, it means exactly what the word implies--dictatorship. A dictatorship makes no allowance for individual freedom and the expression of individual opinion for the free exchange of ideas. Dictatorship is dictatorship--czarism, and nothing else.

There are no free elections in Russia today. The Russian Bolsheviks know that they cannot gain a majority in free elections, and so voting is by show of hand; there is no secret ballot in Russia. In other words, the man who votes against the government is a marked man; he is singled out. No one who is not a government candidate, says Mr. Russell, can have any access to the government printing press, or can hold a meeting, for all the halls are in the hands of the soviet government. Many of the villages are not at all represented, because in the villages are the vast majority of the people that are opposed to bolshevism. And when one is elected from their midst to the larger soviet, he cannot receive a permit to travel on the government railway.

It is a mistake to assume that the power of Russia today is in the hands of the working class. The power of Russia today is in the hands of those of the working class who are members of the Communist party; and the Communist

party numbers about six hundred thousand out of a population of one hundred and twenty million. It is only the class conscious, communistic workingman of Russia who is represented in the present government.

Now, this government, under the stress of military invasion, has taken unto itself extraordinary powers, and it is backed in its power by a so-called extraordinary commission, which frequently arrests and imprisons and executes men, either without trial or with a mere show of trial, and is furthermore backed by an army of spies, the like of which no capitalistic government in the world can boast of. Russia is honeycombed with spies and secret police, and every slight expression of disaffection, dissatisfaction or difference of opinion is ferreted out and ruthlessly suppressed.

There is no liberal press in Russia today. Conscientious objectors have been shot in Russia; all the forms of the czarist regime have been reestablished under Bolshevik regime. Under the Czar it was done by the authority and in the name of the divine rights of the Czar; under bolshevism it has been established by the authority and in the name of the divine rights of the proletariat. The justification differs; the means, the methods, the agencies, the institutions, the realities are just as crude and just as stupid and just as blind and just as vicious as those of the Czar.

Of course, there is no real communism in Russia

today. The land has not been nationalized; it has only been distributed among the peasants. And the peasant of Russia today is a small land proprietor. He, by the way, intensely hates the government, and I shall speak of that in a moment. The government is compelled to requisition the produce from these farms, and in return for the produce the government can offer the peasant no goods, no commodities, because none are produced in Russia; and it offers him worthless paper money, which the peasant refuses to accept. Just as Bolshevism was compelled to make concessions to the peasant in the matter of communism, so has it had to make concessions in the matter of remuneration.

It set out with a philosophy that all work is of equal value, and consequently all wages should be alike; and it suddenly realized that the skilled workman and the technical expert and the engineer, who are essential to the upbuilding of Russian industry, were either leaving Russia or were refusing to work, and so the government was compelled to institute what it calls premiums and bonuses; in other words, to reestablish the forms which capitalistic societies have found necessary.

Let me read you one of the resolutions of the Ninth Soviet Congress, which was held in March and April of this year. First comes a criticism of the attitude of many of the proletariat class--the attitude of hate against the burgeoise class. The Congress, says this resolution,

makes it obligatory on all members of the party--the Communist party--"mercilessly to fight that particular, obnoxious form, the ignorant conceit which deems the working class capable of solving all problems without the assistance in the most responsible cases of specialists of the burgeoise school."

Mind you, the Congress makes it obligatory on all members mercilessly to fight that ignorant conceit which thinks that the working class is able to run the government without that much despised burgeoise class. And it urges furthermore, "that premiums (remunerations) in excess of those established as a universal scale be encouraged; and, furthermore, that rivalry between workingmen be encouraged."

Rivalry--that despised idea of the capitalists, has been reintroduced in soviet Russia so as to make increased production possible. I read again that . . . . the great Russian actor demands and does receive two hundred thousand rubles for a performance. Now, a ruble does not mean so very much, but two hundred thousand rubles is not what the average Russian workingman receives for a day's work. In other words, the inequality of remuneration has been another concession which communism has had to make in Russia.

Food is, of course, scarce, and food has been rationed in the cities in the industrial centers; but the food is insufficient, and so private enterprise and speculation, private buying and selling, has become rampant

throughout Russia, and the soviet government has been compelled to wink at it. On top of it all Bolshevism has actually invited foreign capital--that obnoxious thing, that thing to be suppressed by force and violence, that enemy of the proletariat,--foreign capital, usually from vast corporations, to come into Russia, offering them huge concessions; and one of our Americans, enterprising, of course, and full of initiative, has availed himself in the name of a great American syndicate to receive one of the first vast concessions in Russian territory.

Industry, it need not be said, is, of course, appallingly disorganized in Russia. Transport facilities have broken down, and the soviet government has confessed as much. Very little is produced besides munitions and the things absolutely necessary for the many armies in the field. It was inevitable that this condition should obtain, for Russia is not an industrially developed country. Russia is dependent upon foreign countries for machinery, for skilled workmen, for technical knowledge, and a government which set out to fight and to destroy foreign governments could not, naturally, expect foreign governments to come to its aid in moments of need.

What about labor in Russia? What about the condition of the workingman in Russia? How does it compare with the condition of the workingman in the United States? Labor has been completely militarized in Russia. Militarized! Labor has been conscripted; strikes have been declared

illegal, and strikers have been imprisoned and often shot. The wage, of course, is inadequate, and the hours are much longer than the hours of the American workingman. An eight hour day was first proclaimed, and then because of the stress and the need it was extended to ten hours; and now a workingman who actually wishes to earn a day's bread must work far in excess of the ten hours.

Let me read again a sentence from this book concerning the condition of the workingman in Russia.

"There is a theory," says Mr. Russell, "that the Moscow workingman feels himself free from capitalist domination, and therefore bears hardship gladly. This is no doubt true of the minority who are active Communists, but I do not think it has any truth for the others. The average workingman, to judge by a rather hasty impression, feels himself the slave of the government, and has no sense whatever of having been liberated from a tyranny."

Now, conditions being such as I have described them, you may ask: Why is it that bolshevism has endured for three years in spite of the many enemies that threaten its destruction? Well, in the first place, bolshevism has centered almost its entire attention, from the very beginning, upon the army. The army received food and clothing; it was better taken care of than the average workingman in Russia, so that the man who wanted food and wanted clothing naturally drifted to the army. Besides, the army, you must remember, received its recruits from the

class conscious Communists of Russia, the young men who were fired by the zeal, by the enthusiasm for their cause, and who were ready to lay down their lives for it. But the greatest help which the Bolsheviks have received, and which has kept them in power in spite of their disastrous experiment in industrial reconstruction, they have received from our allies, England and France, and from the United States.

As long as these powers, publicly or secretly, finance and inspire counter-revolutions, feed hostile armies, and supply them with munitions, so long will all the elements in Russia, those who are bitter enemies of bolshevism, stand together, cemented by the one common danger--the determination to save the Russian Revolution and avoid the reestablishment of a reactionary government in Russia.

External pressure enthroned bolshevism in Russia, for you must understand that bolshevism did not gain control of Russia on the basis of its principles--on the basis of communism; bolshevism was carried on a wave of dissatisfaction; the people were clamoring for peace and land, and the Kerensky government could not give them peace and did not give them land, and the Bolsheviks became the spokesman and the exponent of this idea of peace and land, and because they championed these two basic things that were near and immediate to the life of the Russian people, they were carried into power.

For example, just as our Republican party in the United States was not carried into power on the basis of its own principles, on its program, but simply on the basis of general dissatisfaction of conditions as they were and the cry for a change, just so has it been with bolshevism; and were it not for this external pressure bolshevism would have collapsed long ago, because its principles have not been found satisfactory, workable, and conducive to the happiness and the freedom of the Russian people.

I want to say in all fairness that one must not overlook, first of all, the earnestness and the sincerity of these men. I am not speaking now of Bolsheviks; I am speaking of bolshevism. Lenin and Trotsky and Tchicherin and Bucharin and all their followers may be, and I believe are, very sincere, very earnest men; and I know that the Bolsheviks have tried hard to do good things in Russia. The things which they have done for the children of Russia will always redound to their credit. The children are taken care of in Russia; the soviet government has expended a great deal of love and affection upon the rising generation of Russia. They have the first claim on clothing, on food, on schools; and I do want to say that the Bolshevik government has endeavored to destroy that monster of Russian life, that frightful illiteracy, that ignorance among the people. It has built schools, and it has, in cases, compelled the adult to learn to read and to write. But all these things, beautiful and creditable

and desirable as they are, could easily be achieved under a form of government not as drastic and not as autocratic as bolshevism.

I believe that you will agree with me that bolshevism has not succeeded. Now, why do I say that it will fail? First, from a practical consideration. Russia, I said, depends on the outside world; it cannot rebuild its industry without the machinery and the tools and the expert knowledge which it must receive from the outside world. Now, if it refuses to receive foreign capital, this thing will happen: the industrial centers will be ruined, the workingmen will starve, because the peasant will not supply the workingman with food unless the peasant can receive in return for his food the commodities which he needs.

This exalted idea of the solidarity of the workingman is fine in books, but it does not work out in practical life. No peasant will till his soil, plant his crop and harvest it, and then send it in a spirit of altruism to the great centers where the need for food is very intense,--out of a pure spirit of communism or comradeship; unless those centers can send back to the peasant farming implements and tools and clothing--things which he needs, they will not plant above the minimum which they need for themselves.

The peasantry represents eighty-five percent of the Russian population; and Lenine has said: "The peasant is not with us; the peasant is against us." The peasant

has become resentful under this constant requisitioning by the government, and giving him for his produce, which is real in value, valueless paper.

I say, if bolshevism refuses to accept foreign capital industry will not be reconstructed; the industrial population will starve; bolshevism will be compelled to requisition food from the peasant, and the peasant will turn against the government. If the industrial centers cannot procure food they, in spite of their long patience, will ultimately turn against the government.

If Russia accepts foreign capital and invites it, then this will happen: there will be established throughout Russia centers of capitalistic influence, which will ultimately prove disruptive to bolshevism. The average Russian will soon come to demand this: "Why is it that a foreign capitalist can hold private property in Russia and not a native Russian?"

In other words, bolshevism is doomed one way or another, and its quickest doom will come through the resumption of trade with the Allied nations. Bolshevism cannot play to universal revolution that will establish communism throughout the world. That is not feasible; that is not probable. And were it probable, and were it possible for revolutions to take place simultaneously, or within a few days, with every civilized nation in Europe, that would not help Russia, because those revolutions would disorganize industrial life in those particular countries,

and Russia could not receive from them the machinery and the tools which it needs for its own revival.

With peace, also, those other minorities or majorities in Russia that have been held down by the necessity of united action will assert themselves, and they, too, will attempt revolutions and counter-revolutions to establish their power in Russia.

So that from a practical consideration bolshevism, to my mind, is doomed to failure. I mean by that real bolshevism. Some form of government may survive that will call itself bolshevism merely in form and name, but the substance of it, the reality of it will not be such. Just as the French Republic called itself a republic in the early days of Napoleon; in reality it was a despotism.

From a theoretic consideration bolshevism will not survive. No revolution can survive unless a majority of the people want the revolution; and it is patent in Russia that the majority of the people, certainly the peasantry, which is eighty-five percent of the Russian population, do not today desire bolshevism. Furthermore, no revolution can achieve its ends unless the people are educated up to them.

This is a basic truth that must be underscored and remembered: No revolution can succeed ultimately in establishing itself unless its ideas have first been accepted through a process of education by the people as a whole. A minority may succeed by force and violence, by a

fortunate arrangement of circumstances, to seize the reins of government and introduce vast changes, but these changes will not endure unless the majority of the people have been educated up to wanting them and to needing them, and that is not the case in Russia today.

Russia is no more ready for bolshevism, a real communism, than it is, to my mind, ready for real democracy. The Russian people have just emerged from centuries of slavery; the sense of self-government has not yet developed among them. On the contrary, they have swung to the other extreme which reaction always engenders, namely, anarchy; a sense of intense individualism. Russia will have to go through generations of self-discipline and self-government before even democracy is possible, not to speak of real communism in Russia.

These are my reasons for saying that bolshevism will fail. And my reasons for saying that bolshevism should fail are these: I am not now speaking of the ideals of bolshevism; I am not a dogmatist; I am not a doctrinaire, and I do not say that this ideal is perfect and that this ideal is imperfect; that this ideal is better than that ideal. Only one who is rigidly bound by creeds and theories and metaphysical speculations will devote much time and thought to an abstract ideal. What we are concerned with in this life is principles with method. We all believe in establishing fundamental justice among men; we all believe in freedom. These things were pronounced

three thousand years ago by the seers and the sayers of our prophets. The ideal is there; it is the technique, it is the methods, the means of realizing these ideals that we differ on. And very often the doctrinaire, who is so infatuated with his ideal, who considers it absolute and final and the only salvation, is willing to utilize every means and method, foul, ungodly and immoral, to bring about his ideal.

That is what religious intolerance means; that is what bigotry means. The Sermon on the Mount does not preach intolerance, but it is because these men felt they had the only solution and the only ideal and the only salvation that they sent their people through hell in order to make them accept their salvation.

Now that, to my mind, is the most vicious feature of bolshevism; they are naive, they are primitive, they have the unscientific mind. You will recall a few weeks ago that I spoke on, "Can Faith Heal?" I said the difference between the scientifically trained mind and the unscientifically trained mind is this: that the scientifically trained mind does not generalize and is always in doubt; it has that saving grace of skepticism; but the untrained mind always generalizes and is always cocksure.

Now, bolshevism, based on a hard-fixed philosophy of history, is primitive in its dogmatism, and because of that it has become fanatic in its methods, and it is methods that must be denounced. Their methods are revolution and

dictatorship. Now, on the subject of revolution I am not a dogmatist. I do not say that revolution is never unjustified. There are times when the stream of human life is dammed, when there is no opportunity given for the free expression of human life, for the realization of the higher ideals of life, that <sup>the</sup> revolution becomes absolutely necessary and moral and godly; and the dam must be destroyed that the free waters of the human spirit may course on to their destiny.

In an autocracy that suppresses freedom of thought and free expression, that prohibits education of the people up to a new ideal; in an autocracy that uses force and violence to enthrone itself and keep it in power, revolution is not only justified but necessary; and from the higher concept of human life ~~compulsory~~ revolution in Russia during the days of the czar was necessary and justified.

But when you have a democracy, where there is no insuperable dams to the free expression of life, when minorities have an opportunity through education to become ultimately the dominant majorities, when suppression and violence are not the agencies used to keep the government in power, but merely the popular will as expressed in the ballot, then revolution is not justified, whatever the ultimate idea may be. Then one must be patient in his efforts to teach, to propagate, and to educate others until your ideas are accepted by the majority and expressed in

the ballot.

Bolshevism preaches universal revolution as a means for the attaining of this great golden goal. I tell you, men and women, that universal revolution today would not only not achieve that desired goal of bolshevism, but would throw humanity into the very mire of a new medievalism and a Dark Age, because revolution means struggle--war; and war means hatred and the loosening of passion and the throwing open of tides of all that is cruel and hateful and ugly in human life.

Universal revolution today would mean infinitely more than what the war of the past few years has meant. It would mean the absolute destruction of those things in civilization which we have achieved through centuries of building. Revolution would dissipate the spirit of human kindness and love in the hearts of men; revolution would make us beastly. And in the name of no theory and no ideal, however exalted, and however tantalizing, and however perfect; in the name of no creed and no metaphysical speculation should humanity be hurled into revolution, struggle, suffering, hunger and starvation, and the vulgarization and the brutalization of human life. These things can be done too readily and corrected with too great difficulty in life.

I say, its methods are vicious, are wicked, are destructive in democracies; and their other method of dictatorship is wicked and destructive, because that

dictatorship is hostile to the free spirit of man. Man can grow and develop only through the free exchange of ideas; man can grow and develop only through free rein given to human intelligence. Any suppressive measure, in whatever name, is hostile to the spirit of man; and dictatorship makes for the concentration of power in the hands of a few, and the concentration of power in the hands of a few makes for all the evils from which we suffer.

I say, then, that bolshevism not alone will fail but ought to fail. That does not mean that I say that our present economic organization must be retained in all its phases unaltered and unchanged. Am I justifying the status quo and the conditions as they are? Am I condoning the inequalities and patent abuses and suffering and poverty and the denial of rights of the human being? No! No! But I say that all these things can be and will be corrected by means and agencies less cruel, less stringent, less destructive, less dangerous than the means preached by bolshevism.

So long as we have democracies and so long as we have education, we can, by dint of constant effort and labor, so change the minds of men so that ultimately we can change the structure of human society. What this world needs more than it needs anything else, my friends,-- what this tired and tortured world of ours needs more than it needs food is a little bit of human love, of human sympathy, of human kindness, as the healing balm of

reconciliation. What we need is not struggle with fury and madness; what we need is not fellowman against fellowman in the name of any theory or any ideal; but what we need is that all-embracing, cleansing, purifying, sanctifying ideal of human love, of kindredship, of comradeship, of bringing men together in closer ties and closer sympathy, in closer understanding. What we ought to preach today is companionship--cooperation among the children of men, and not struggle.

American democracy, my friends, for one thing, will not perpetuate the evils which are incidental to our present economic organization. There are tens of thousands of men in this land today in all classes who are eager to make straight the crooked ways, to correct the abuses and to pave the way for a brighter day and a finer future.

And what America needs today, my friends, is not the preachment of any doctrinaire, and not a theory of any fanatic, but what it needs today is the inculcation of a spirit of broad kindness and tolerance throughout the land, so that we can all get together and work to solve each difficulty in and by itself; to experiment with new ideas as they are presented to us, at all times to remember that love is more potent than hate, and that love is more permanent than hate.

Three years ago, when I spoke on "Bolshevism--How To Meet It," I said: "Kill bolshevism with love." I repeat it again after three years of study and observation--Kill bolshevism with love.

What are we to think of the Bolsh.

1. I have not heard Holmes -
2. My information second hand. Wells.  
Ransome - Russell - Langbury - Malouf.  
Louise Bryant, Reed. I see  
Soviet Russia, the laborer - liberator  
+ Manchester Guardian. B in Europe.  
1. Allenances for lies both ways.
3. Am not Marxian Soc. - Bol. or Com.  
Who not believe in Class Struggle -  
Elements of non-revol. Soc. which  
appears - but this is not time for  
defining my own plan.
4. My experience with Russia  
7 in prison  
1. I opposed blockade - on pure  
long <sup>determinate</sup> periods - troops.  
2. Favor resumption of trade - for  
I would save Russ. whatever its  
gov. may be - will outlive it -  
① Trade will test strength of gov.  
3. Would not have you regard me  
as little brother of rich - but  
on even reac. occurs every lab.  
of being a red. So every red occurs  
every lab. & every reac. occurs

5. What do I think of Holsheritti. a Men.

1. Leaders - sincere, gifted - some genuine.  
Lerin, Trotsky, Lunacharsky,  
Kassin, Gorky, Rikoff - head of  
Ukr. & Rikoff's Germany.

2. Love & strenuous work - & clean-  
self-sacrificing -

3. Most unwise, bigots, Jesuits -  
End justifies means - talking  
in imagination - More theory  
than psychologists - More  
formulas than facts -

4. Following corrupt Russ. Gov -  
relief - idealism - but they  
partake of point of view of Gov -

5. Many rascals among  
fellows - humanitarian  
& universalism men. no  
more than in West. Eur. or Am.

6. What I think of Bol. theories.

1. Essentially naive. all dogma-  
tists are. Wells - leads to  
Intolerance -

2. Revolution. When justified -  
"Chaos" - Presume machinery  
when successful -  
French Revolution

Reverent  
Wells

7. Read Wells—

8

32

8. The Good They have done. 28

1. Order out of chaos. which  
they helped to bring about.

2. Education - Training schools -  
Familiarity,

1.

9. Our attitude to it.

1. As everywhere.

2. Help. Red Cross.

3. Trade.

4. Gen. Summits!

4. Alcoholism - Always wrong.  
- vs. education - ~~Profer~~ <sup>Profer</sup> ~~democr.~~  
would not have angle -

5. Alcoholism of Pol. - Russia  
best place where it could  
be successful - driving pro.  
to farms.

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7. What I think of B - Achievements

1. Pol. suffering most. Peasant is  
happy - Peasant opposed to  
govt.

2. No real Communism - Land.

3. Labr. unorganized. Strikes.

1. Bourgeois :

4. Experts. Bourgeois Specialist  
administ. experts, techni-  
crats ruling caste. "Pykov"  
- Rev. not made on their  
behalf.

5. Free Elections - but govt of  
working classes - (1) All  
Russian Exec. Com. least  
Central Com. & Com. Party  
in actual control.

6. Spies - Extraordinary Com.  
will always remain

1. Presumptuous - Modest.

2. Criticism of B. not endorsement of Status Quo.
1. Believe in Quota. alone. - also not justify
  2. First to champion cause of R. Blutrade  
Troops - on grounds other than B.
  3. Also not believe in R. Blutrade via Btl.
  4. B. in theory primitive - in practice destitute.
  5. Read p. 5.

3. Actual Conditions:

- Tr. Govt. absolute & despotic. dictatorship
2. Elections. no secret ballot
  3. Not governed by workingmen. 600,000
  4. Extraordinary Com. - spec. no trial.
  5. No liberal press - free speech - soldiers

II.

1. No real Communism - Land.

2. No Equal Pay. Skilled. & Experts

3. Note p. 8-9. Rev. Schatzgasser

III.

Food. Private speculation

IV. Foreign Capital. Fixed.

V. Industry deranged. Very little  
produced. Indust. undeveloped.

VI. Techn. Muddled. Corrupted.

1. Ways inadequate
2. Thus longer - above 10 hrs.

3. Juste p. 11.

4. Why has it melted,  
1. army. 2. allies.

5. Good they have done. <sup>themselves of leaders</sup> ~~seems~~. Could he  
1. school. 2. children. achieved otherwise.

6. Will Fail.

1. If refuses to invite foreign capital.  
presently \$570 - will not start cups.  
150 acres.

2. If it accepts - disintegration.

3. Cannot hope for universal Rev.

4. Not backed by masses.

5. Not stronger than education & mass

7. Ought to fail. Not bec. of ideas but means

1. Primitive dogmatism. Intolerance

2. Revolution. When justified - at this time

3. Ultrastatism

8. Am I justifying abuses of to-day? No.
1. Reform to be achieved less cruelly.
  2. Education - necessary
  3. Love. companionship & cooperation
  4. What we need. not doctrinaires  
but love - love more potent &  
permanent than hate.
- 

9. Tell B. with love. 3 yrs ago



1. Secret - corn & barley in food  
allowed - to mixed peasant to  
buy in food -
2. Red reg. for prolet - will  
not benefit him -
3. But - only men - idea of action - formula  
able to seize & retain control  
of the smashed empire -
4. The strength
  1. Peasant - perm. to work land
  2. Reduced order - shorting - Exhau.  
com -
5. Russian first, secure - sheet  
as safe - Red Army -
6. I do not believe in Marxian Soc.  
I do not bel. in divis. of Soc. in long  
geometric & prolet. - produce & consum.
7. Wells - reach in to May. 83.
8. little diff. but a wage system  
and a bread card -

hol. just.

- Russia should have been left  
alone when it had chance  
of success - Just when  
it chance of key -

Really has no proletarian  
class - to amount to work

Have no class - Communism  
prev. in West. Countries to  
large degree - to little degree  
in Am -

Education - good - in towns

- in rural districts slow.  
immorality among young  
social collapse -  
schools -

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not clear - & troubled by  
vision of King come. Superb bear

Enigmas -

Rationality for necessary in fact  
conditions.

Gen. Spirit - darkness  
1. northern capt. 2. Absolute  
being & trade, social det -  
ments - the millennium -

Pol. success - & clean - what  
cannot be said of Brigands -  
Gen. inefficiency -

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Controlled by <sup>not all</sup> <sup>fallen into disrepute</sup>  
Run by Exec. Com. - but  
<sup>19</sup> Central Com. y Bolshev.  
Party - Soviet Court -  
in abeyance -



# CO-OPERATION

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## "Why Bolshevism Will Fail"

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

I SUPPOSE that it sounds rather presumptuous at this time when Bolshevism seems triumphant as far as its foreign policy at least is concerned, to speak of "Why Bolshevism Will Fail."

The Soviet Government of Russia has compelled Poland to make peace; it has driven General Wrangel into the sea; it has successfully stamped out every counter revolution within the Russian territory; it has thwarted France; it has checkmated Great Britain; Italy is clamoring for resumption of trade with Russia, and the United States, while officially denouncing the Soviet Government, is privately through its alert and enterprising citizens, bargaining for concessions in Russia. And yet in spite of these apparent triumphs of Bolshevism, I am bold enough to speak this evening of "Why Bolshevism will fail." Perhaps I should say I am *modest* enough to speak on this subject, because one of the greatest friends of Communism in England who recently visited Russia devotes a chapter in his book on "Bolshevism in Theory and Practice" to "Why Russian Communism Has Failed."

I am therefore a little more modest when I say that I believe that if Russian Bolshevism has not yet failed, it will fail. I would not have you believe, friends, that my criticism of Soviet Russia is in any way an endorsement of any other economic organization or any other economic system. I am not championing one at the expense of another, nor shall I whitewash the evident weaknesses and shortcomings of our own industrial and economic organization. I criticize Bolshevism on its own defects from practical and theoretical consideration.

I am not an enemy of Russia; some of you will recall that I was among the first, if not the first in the city, to insist upon the removal of that invidious blockade of Russia. I was among the first to demand the with-

drawal of American troops from Russian territory, but I felt justified in demanding these things on grounds the very reverse of Bolshevism. On the grounds of Bolshevik theory, the blockade was justified. Bolshevism preaches class struggle and a man who preaches class struggle mustn't raise a howl if the other fellow begins to struggle. A group of people that preached the solitariness of the working men as opposed to the capitalists must not be at all astounded or outraged when the capitalists begin to organize. I opposed the blockade and the presence of American troops in Russia on the grounds that would appear to Lenin and his co-workers as bourgeois-old-fashioned capitalistic morality, on the basis of the fundamental rights of peoples, great or small, lovable or unattractive, to determine their own destiny and to solve their own problems without hindrance from any other people.

I am opposed to Bolshevism because in theory it is primitive and naive and in practice, wicked and destructive.

What are the actual conditions in Russia to-day that prompt me to declare that Bolshevism will fail. I want to say that I have not been in Russia in recent years. I have been to Europe thrice in the last three years. I have been in position to gain, if not first hand knowledge a rather close knowledge from secondary sources. I sometimes think that one can gain a much better view and a more comprehensive knowledge away from the maelstrom of activities within a country, than by being tossed about in the center of the agitation, seeing only a fragment and a broken bit of reality and drawing conclusions from that. My conclusions are based upon reading, upon conversation with men who have been to Russia recently and upon a general study of fundamental economic principles. I have no hesitancy in saying and I say it without any qualifica-

tions—that the Government in Russia to-day is absolute, despotic and czaristic. Whatever its pretensions may be, whatever its ultimate objective for good may be, its present form as it expresses itself in life, in action, in institutions, in its relations to the people of Russia—is absolutely dictatorial, autocratic, medieval.

There are no free elections in Russia to-day. The Bolshevik Government knows that it can never gain a majority and therefore insists that elections be open and that voting be by the showing of the hand so that one who votes against the Government is a marked and a doomed man. Many districts, rural districts in Russia, are not at all represented because as we shall see in a moment, the Russian peasantry is opposed to the Soviet Government. A candidate who is anti-administration, can gain no hall in which to hold a meeting, no newspaper to advocate his principles because the halls and the places of meeting and the newspapers are in the sole control of the Government.

One of the superstitions abroad in the land is this—that Russia is ruled by the working class—that the working men are actually ruling Russia; that is a fine piece of fiction. Russia is not ruled by its working men; Russia to-day is ruled by a very small group of men class-conscious members of the Communist party who number about 600,000 out of a population of 120,000,000. This highly organized, highly efficient party, working through skillful and efficient administrators has back of it an extraordinary commission to enforce its acts—to ferret out and discover any movement against the Government, or any attempt to criticize the Government. Russia to-day is honeycombed with spies and secret service men such as Russia never had in the good old days of the czar. There is no free press in Russia to-day and there is no free

speech in Russia to-day. I am stating these facts coldly with no reservations, they are absolute facts. A few days ago I was in the city of Milwaukee and met a gentleman, a member of the Socialist party, who had recently returned from Russia, a Mr. Rubin. Mr. Rubin spent sixteen months in the country, perhaps the only man I have met who had been in Russia so long a time, and he speaks the Russian language, as most tourists do not. Mr. Rubin came back a disillusioned man. He recounted his experiences there; the one fact that startled him, that almost broke his spirit, that disillusioned him so completely was not the misery of the land, not the starvation or the industrial disorganization, nor the reduction of production to a minimum—but the fact that in Russia, the land that had for one hundred years struggled for freedom and had in 1917 finally succeeded in overthrowing the czar and in establishing freedom—there was not a vestige of it left. He tells a rather humorous anecdote of meeting in the streets of Moscow an old friend of his, Emma Goldman. He asked her how she liked things in Russia. She said, "Rotten." He said, "What is the trouble, Emma." "Why", she said, "they don't give you a chance to talk here at all. These Bolsheviks have a habit of shooting you straight in the mouth if you attack the Government. Freedom! the place to look for freedom is in Chicago."

There is another fiction abroad in the land, that Russia to-day is a Communism, that the Communistic system has been established. There is no Communism in Russia to-day, because the basis of real communism is land and land has not been nationalized in Russia. The peasant took the land, but having taken it, he holds it as his private property and private possession.

The peasant refuses to send any of his produce to the cities to feed his laboring fellow proletariat because his fellow proletariat can pay him nothing in return for his produce except paper money.

Bolshevism started out with the theory of equality of wages. Every man's work is of the same value as another man's. They soon found that the skilled men, the mechanics and technicians left Russia or refused to work and in order to entice them back to their jobs, the Bolshevik Government was compelled to institute obnoxious capitalist practices and promise bonuses and increased salaries. The Ninth Soviet Congress adopted a resolution which is rather interesting. First comes a criticism of many of the proletariat class because of their hatred of the bourgeois

class. "The Congress makes it obligatory on all members of the Communist party mercilessly to fight that particular obnoxious form, the ignorant conceit which deems the working class capable of solving all problems without the assistance in the most responsible cases of specialists of the bourgeois school," and furthermore, "that premiums and remunerations in excess of those established by the universal scale be encouraged; and that rivalry between working men be encouraged."

I read a few days ago a statement where the famous Russian actor, Schalyapin, demands and receives 200,000 rubles for a performance; 200,000 rubles isn't much when you come to figure it out but it is much more than the average Russian workman receives.

There is very little food in the large centers of population and as a result, there has developed a semi-secret speculation in buying and selling of food at which the Soviet Government has to wink. To cap the climax, as evidence of the absolute collapse of communism in Russia, there has appeared an almost painful anxiety on the part of Bolshevik leaders to invite foreign capital into Russia; that hated thing, the cause of all the ills of the working class is being tempted, actually inveigled into Russia.

Industry in Russia has been crippled. There is no production to speak of except the production of munitions and things necessary for the army. This condition is due partly to the blockade, but the Bolsheviks should have foreseen that. Russia is industrially undeveloped. Russia needs the machinery, the tools, the skill, the foreign capital; foreign governments must provide her with these things if she is to succeed and a government that sets out deliberately to antagonize every other power could not, should not expect those foreign powers to come readily, eagerly to her aid.

What are the conditions of labor in Russia? Labor has been militarized. We don't know in this land what that means, really. Labor has been absolutely conscripted in Russia. Strikes have been outlawed to an extent that we can't conceive of in this land. Strikers have been shot. Wages have always been inadequate. There has been an official declaration in behalf of the eight-hour day. But production was so low that the authorities insisted that men work ten hours a day and the working man who wants to keep body and soul together must work beyond the ten-hour day.

In one of the chapters of his book, Russel says this about conditions of

labor in Russia: "There is a theory," says he, "that the Moscow workman feels himself free from capitalistic domination and therefore bears hardship gladly. This is no doubt true of the minority who are active Communists, but I don't think it has any truth for the others. The average workman, to judge by a rather hasty impression, feels himself a slave of the Government and has no sense whatever of having been liberated from a tyranny."

I would speak more at length about actual conditions in Russia did time permit. From what I have said you might be tempted to ask this question—"If conditions are as bad as you have described them, if industry is crippled and the working man a slave and the peasant dissatisfied and starvation raging throughout the land, how comes it that the Government has endured so long. For three years Bolshevism has held its own against external aggression and internal revolution. There are, to my mind, two things that account for this; in the first place, the army has been the pet of Soviet Russia. Early in the day, the leaders of Soviet Russia realized that authority and power are based on force and the one agency for the perpetuation of authority is the army. So food was sent in abundance to the army, while the population starved, and clothing was sent to the army and every convenience was extended to the army with the result that able-bodied Russians who wanted more than the average Russian got, and that was mighty little, joined the army. The army furthermore was recruited in a measure from the young men of Russia, class conscious communists, who believed in their system of Government and were ready to lay down their lives for it. The army has been the backbone of Bolshevism. But the real reason, to my mind, why Bolshevism has endured is this: the meddling, the stupid meddling, the criminal meddling of the Allies in Russia; the Allies refused to give Kerensky proper help. The Allies backed Kornilov in his disastrous counter-revolution, and failed; they backed Kolchak, the frightful reactionary, and failed; they backed Yudenitch and failed; they backed Wrangel, and France actually reconized the Government of Wrangel and failed. What other conclusion could the Russian arrive at but this, that the Allies were determined to crush the Russian revolution and restore the Czar. So, that even those Russians who were not Communists, who were the enemies of Communism, rallied to the support of the party in power for the defense of the Revolution and the freedom of the Russian people; and

as long as external pressure endures, so long will Bolshevism endure. It is a coalescing, rather than a disintegrating fact.

I do want to give the Soviet Government credit for the good things it has done; it has taken remarkably fine care, at least, so reports read, of the children of Russia; next to the army, the children are its greatest care. It has worked incessantly for the advancement and propagation of education in Russia and has made education compulsory in certain cases, even for adults. I believe that the leaders of Bolshevism in Russia, Lenine and Trotsky and Krassin and Tchicherin and others, are honest men, honest in their convictions, honest in their fanaticism, cruel in their tactics, stupid, blind because of their fanaticism, but I believe them sincere. I want also to say this: In the early days of Bolshevism, rumors were spread abroad in this land and in other lands, that the leaders of the Bolsheviks and of Soviet Russia are Jews, that the majority of the Bolsheviks are Jews, that the Russians themselves are lovers of the old regime; that the Jews are causing all the trouble there. That is not true. Of the forty members of the Central Commissariat, the controlling body of Soviet Russia, of the forty members, three only are Jews. In Central Russia, the local Soviets are almost exclusively non-Jewish. It would be surprising if some Jews were not represented in Soviet Councils. The Jews of Russia number close on to three million. They have had educational advantages a little above that of the average Russian peasant, so that it would be surprising if you did not find them among the leaders of every political party in Russia. The leader of the Cadet Party, which is opposed to Bolshevism, is a Jew, Vinaver, and four or five of the leaders of the Social Democratic and Social Revolutionary Parties in Russia, who are the opponents of the Bolsheviks are Jews. The most important fact to be remembered is this, that the Jew in Russia belongs, in the main, to the middle class; he is the merchant, the small tradesman; he is engaged in business and in commerce; and Bolshevism has outlawed the middle class and destroyed his means of livelihood. It has practically wiped him out economically and it would be a miracle of miracles if he were friendly to an economic system which has robbed him of things he has achieved through years of labor. I take this opportunity to speak of this because I feel that the minds of people ought to be informed concerning these facts.

To return to our subject. Bolshe-

vism will fail one way or another. If it refuses to accept foreign capital, which means that it refuses to accept the machinery and tools of production and farm implements and technical advice which it needs, industry in the larger cities will deteriorate more and more. If the working man in the city will not produce, the peasant in the rural districts will not send him food. Russia is made up of 85% peasantry and Lenine has already said that the peasant is against us, because the Soviet Government has been compelled to resort to requisitioning farm produce in order to get enough food for the working population in the cities.

If Russia does not make peace with the outside world and invite foreign capital, conditions will come to a breaking point. If Russia does accept foreign capital it will establish in the heart of Russia, centers of capitalistic influence that ultimately are bound to disintegrate the entire Bolshevik system. Before long, the Russian will say to his Government, "Look here, you permit American capitalists to come here and make money; and British and French capitalists, but the Russians themselves, whose land it is, you deny that right. Sovietism is on the double horns of a dilemma."

Bolshevism will fail for theoretical reasons; no revolution can succeed that has not the backing of the vast masses of the people. It may endure for a day or a month or a year or five years, but if it is not based upon the voluntary consent of the whole people, it is bound to collapse sooner or later. Bolshevism has not the endorsement of the Russian people. Furthermore, no revolution can endure, unless the people are educated up to it. What was wrong with the French Revolution? Why did it end in an autocracy? Because the masses prated about liberty, equality, and fraternity when they had not been educated and disciplined up to the idea; they were paying lip service to an ideal that had not become dominant, controlling, potent influence in their lives; they were not adjusted to the responsibilities and the duties implied in these ideals. The Russian people are no more fit to-day for the Communistic system of society, which is the supreme idealism of economic organization, than they are for a democracy. They have just emerged out of centuries of serfdom and they have not passed through those trying and soul-searching experiences necessary before a people can use democracy worthily and to understand it. A people cannot go directly from Czarism to republicanism any more than a child can mature into manhood in a day.

And now I shall tell you why I believe that Bolshevism *ought* to fail, having told you why I believe it *will* fail. You know people talk too much these days about ideals and too little about methods. We are too doctrinaire. We believe that as soon as we can evolve intellectually a beautiful ideal and hold it out tantalizingly before the eyes of men that we have reached the acme of achievement. The ideals of human life have been announced some two or three thousand years ago and we have not added one iota to them: "Peace on Earth, Good Will Among Men." "Justice, justice, shalt thou purpose." Why these ideals are millennial old; we have added nothing to them. That a man is worthy of his hire; that no man should rob his neighbor; that every man should be given a chance to develop himself freely; that every man is equal in the sight of God; that every man is made in the image of God; these ideals are not new, they are not 1920 ideals; they date way back to Jesus and Moses and Confucius and Buddha. What we need today are more effective *methods* for the approximate realization of those ideals; what we need is a technique. And the man who can tell us what the *next step* is towards the goal is the real prophet to-day, and not he who can vaguely and in beautiful phraseology describe a Utopia. I will tell you also what is wrong also with this man who talks of Utopias; he is so fascinated by the end and knows so little about the means that he is willing to use every means, right or wrong, to achieve that end. He is just centered completely upon that great goal before him; he becomes a bigot, intolerant, narrow, despotic, unsympathetic. You will find that every man, or group of men, in the history of mankind who prated about ideals and very little about methods, were fanatics of the worst sort—bigots, inquisitors, Bolsheviks. They have a ready made, rigid, fixed, preconceived "Utopia" for mankind and they are ready to use every method under the sun, anything that comes to their hands, to achieve that as quickly as they know how. Similarly, the Bolsheviks have determined on the two quickest ways of achieving their "Utopia." One is revolution, continuous revolution—frightfulness, and the other is the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

You will notice this—I have not said a word in criticism of the ideals of the Bolsheviks, the same ideals are common to all progressive men. I am concerned with methods and means. You tell me that you would like to establish fundamental justice in the world. Well, friends, how are

you going to go about it? Are your methods to be human, kindly, methods that will contribute a little more sweetness and light to the world, then I am with you. Methods are the important things because the goal will not be reached in my lifetime or in your lifetime. Our race has a long time to live on this earth and it will not become perfect in a century, or even in a thousand years. But the methods making for progressive perfection touch the lives of men closely and if these methods are kindly, good and just, then their lives will be kindly, good and just; and if they are severe, cruel, and destructive, then their lives will react in a similar way.

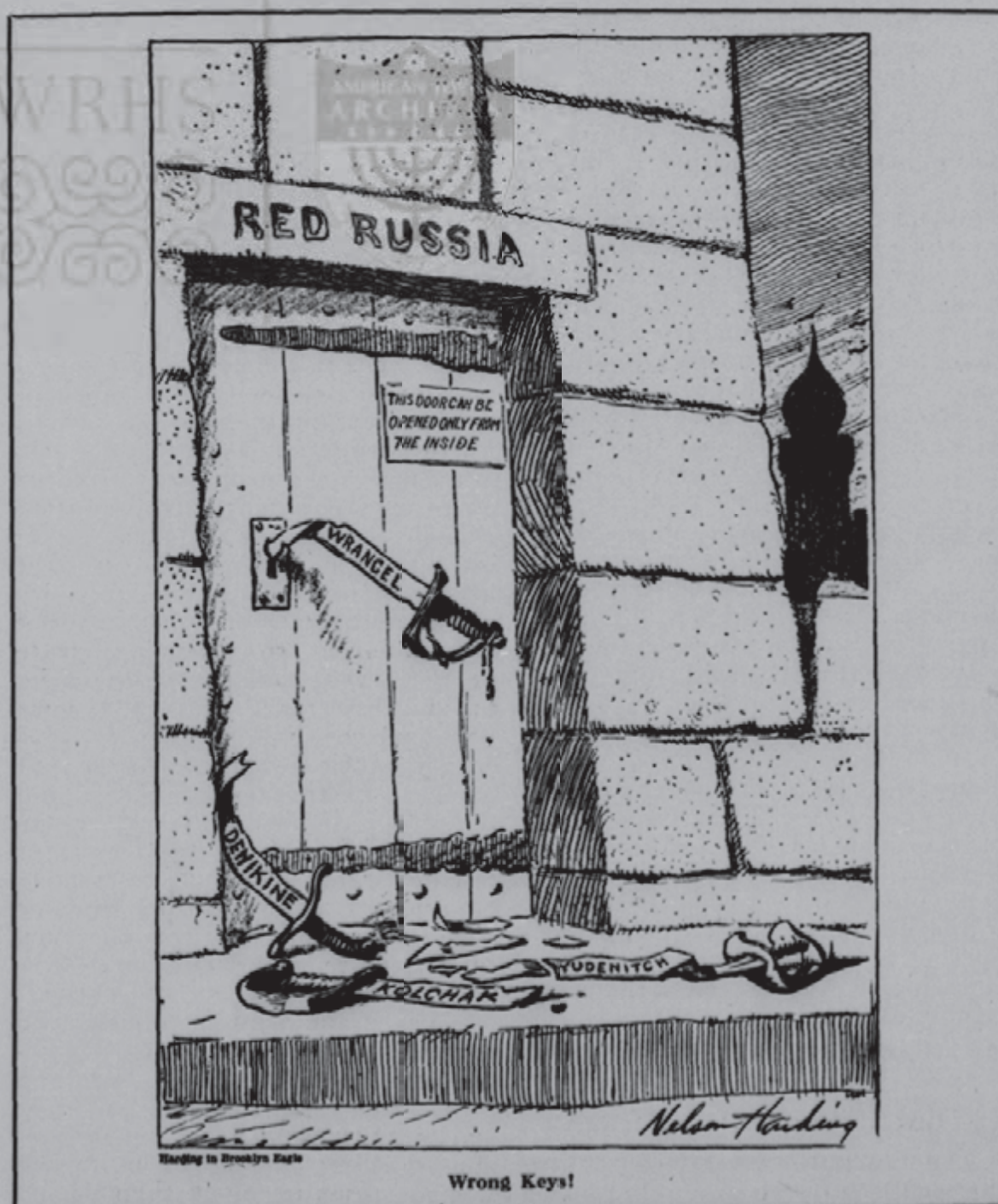
The Bolsheviks preach revolution; I am not a doctrinaire of the subject of revolution. I do not say that revolution is never justified; there are times when revolutions are not only justified, but necessary. When the stream of life becomes damned, when no channel is open for the free expression of the human soul, when man is shackled, fettered and enslaved, with no opportunity to free himself except by force, then revolution must free him. Life must move on and the spirit of man must grow from less to more, from lower to higher. But when there is no such unsurmountable dam which hinders the free flow of human life, when in a democratic form of government, man has the opportunity to express himself, when in a democracy a minority that has a new ideal has the opportunity through education and propaganda, ultimately to become the majority, in such a society, revolution is unnecessary, futile, destructive and stupid. Universal revolution at this time, my friends, when humanity is not yet recovered from the frightful cataclysm, when the wounds are still fresh and raw and bleeding, universal revolution at this time would destroy all the cherished treasures of our civilization and would hurl our civilization down into the abyss. After all is said and done, revolution means war, revolution means the unchaining of all that is beastly and animalic and destructive in the human soul and revolution at this time would but complete the havoc and the ruin effected by five years of universal war. No people who preach revolution at this time, in whatever name they do it, whether it is universal brotherhood or absolute justice or the rights of the working class or God Himself, no people, I say, who preach revolution at this time are friends of civilization or of mankind. And the second method of the Bolsheviks—the dictatorship of the proletariat—is wrong because every dictatorship is wrong. The very idea

of dictatorship is obnoxious to the free spirit of man. Progress is possible only through the freedom of individual opinion and individual initiative and enterprise. Civilization is possible through the free exchange of ideas. The spark of life is borne out of the clash of opposing opinion. Those who would crib and confine the spirit of man by the rule of a few, who would lay down the law and dictate as to what men should think or say or do, in the name of whatever glorious ideal it is done, are not the friends of the growing and evolving spirit of man. Bolshevism ought to fail because its methods make not for the success of human life, but for the failure of human life.

Has all this that I have said, friends, been a justification of the flaws that do exist in our present economic system here and elsewhere? No. Has it been an attempt to whitewash them? No. Has it been in the nature of an apology? No. I am keenly alert and sensitive to all the deficiencies and all the weaknesses in our present economic structure.

I know that there are tens of thousands of God's children who are still denied those things that are by right theirs. I know that much, very much, will yet have to be done before the distribution of wealth will become equitable and just based on merit and labor. I know that we shall have to travel long upon the hard road leading to the shrine of human justice. What I have tried to emphasize this evening is this, that in our efforts to achieve this highly desirable goal of a better readjustment, we must be careful, supremely careful, as to the means and the methods we employ, for it is by means and methods that life is advanced or retarded and not by the ultimate end. I believe that love and sympathy and mutual understanding and the spirit of give and take are much more potent and much more permanent in human life than the spirit of hate, of antagonism, of class struggle, of bitterness, of cruelty. I believe that we can achieve the end, much more slowly perhaps, (but it will never be achieved unless it is slow and deliber-

(Continued on Page 25)



Wrong Keys!

## CO-OPERATION

(Continued from Page 12)

ate and patient through successive stages of experimentation) but surely if the task of achievement is dominated by a spirit of benignity and not of malignity, of love and mutuality of co-operation. I believe that in this land of ours, blessed by God with plenty and prosperity, where there is enough of a social surplus to go around and where there is no cause for poverty and want, we can in a broad spirit of fraternalism, gradually evolve a system of life that will be fair and just to every man.

Some three years ago, when Bolshevism first appeared on the arena and we grew a bit nervous and agitated, I told people wherever I went, in the first place not to fear it. Bolshevism cannot reach a land where democracy in spite of its shortcomings is still regnant and perfectable, a land where a man has a chance, a land where millions own their homes and their farms, a land not of want or scarcity; in such a land I said there is no danger of Bolshevism. And if there were danger, the way to kill Bolshevism is with love, the way to kill class struggle is with class understanding and co-operation and mutual faith and trust. Kill all that is wicked and ugly in our industrial

life with all that is fine and beautiful, all that has survived and shall endure eternally because they are of the eternal verities, of life, love, faith and brotherliness.