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The tides of revolution sweep on, 1931.

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THE TIDES OF REVOLUTION SWEEP ON

BY

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY
MAY 3d, 1931

In 1492 the last of the Jews were exiled from Spain by the decree of expulsion of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.

In 1931 the last of those who inherited the crown of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were exiled from Spain by the decree of the people.

Alphonso XIII was driven out of his own continent by one of the most peaceful, amazingly, orderly and swift revolutions known to history. Spain has thus joined the ranks of the great democracies of the world. Spain which in a sense has been the most medieval and reactionary country in Europe has now shaken off the shackles of medieval monarchy, of ecclesiastical domination and is facing the dawn of a new day of freedom.

Spain is a glamorous country and its history is a glamorous one. The greatest disaster which ever befell that country was the expulsion of one quarter of a million Jews and some eight hundred thousand Moors from the country.

When the Jews and Moors lived in Spain, Spain was the center of culture, art, science, commerce and wealth. The whole of Europe looked to Spain and to the marvelous Moorish civilization. Europe sent its best sons to the universities founded by the Moslems in Spain, to study. With the expulsion of these people, the Jews and the Moors, induced by narrow religious intolerance, the decline of Spain set in.

There was an afterglow in the Sixteenth Century especially under the reign of Charles V when Spain was the master of Europe and possessor of practically the whole of the Western hemisphere which was discovered and settled upon by Spanish explorers and conquerors.

But the life blood had been drained from it and soon a decline, sharp, amazingly sudden, set in. So that Spain became from being the first rate power of Europe, a third rate power and sank into economic, dormant, political, social, religious reaction of medievalism. And it is just now emerging from it. The tide of liberalism seemingly has now reached even the shores of Spain.

The Republic which has now been set up under the leadership of Zamora through what one might call a model revolution, a revolution accomplished not by bullets but by ballots, really a model revolution, - the Republic which has thus been established, is certain not to have very smooth sailing in the approximate future. There are many signs showing trying times for the new democracy.

In the first place the forces which overthrew the monarchy, while united in the over-throwing of the monarchy are worlds apart in their world outlook. The main objective attained they may be counted upon to fly apart. There have always been separatist tendencies in Spain. Certain peoples have always sought these intensions, the Province of Basque, Catalonia, Valencia and they may now cause the new republic considerable trouble.

Likewise the separation of Church and State will not be accomplished very amicably. That is not how the church yields to a separation.

But whatever is likely to happen in Spain, whether the Republic will continue or whether the monarchy will ~~XXXXXXXX~~ return for a brief spell before its final defeat, this is certain; that the monarchical government in Spain is through, outlived. It has become an anachronism there as elsewhere in the world. The new social setup and new economic forces in the world no longer have use for that particular form of government and peoples have been burying that form of government either decently or indecently as the case may be.

The revolt began way back in the days of Cromwell in the middle of the Seventeenth Century in England. The American revolution and the French revolutions at the close of the Eighteenth Century gave absolutism two crushing blows from which it never recovered. The revolution of 1830 practically signed the death warrant of monarchyism in Europe. The World War destroyed the last of the great absolutist powers in Europe, the Czar of all the Russians and scrapped two emperors who flirted with absolutism powers in Austria Hungary and in Germany. Political liberalism, democracy, became inevitable once the middleman began to rise to power, once the industrial revolution placed wealth and therefore power in the hands of the new class, the traders, the merchants and the manufacturers. The old system of monarchy with its medieval tradition of caste and privilege was too inelastic and too cumbersome for the new class of middleman who wanted as little interference by government in their affairs as possible and quite naturally looked with favor upon any movement which would deprive royalty of any or all of its power. Therefore control of government was placed in the hands of the people who at that time were the middle class,--the laboring classes did not yet count. Monarchy was then what Marx would call the Dialectics of history. Here and there a monarch survived through the local

conditions of his country, but the tides of life were sweeping on. They were bound to overtake it in the long run and swallow it up. Democracy was triumphant.

Towards the close of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth Century the unsettled conditions which followed the World War gave the autocrat and the dictator another and perhaps his last opportunity. Parliamentary government seemed to break down especially in defeated or in economically prostrated countries like Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Russia, Poland and Hungary.

In unsettled post-bellum days dictatorship again raised its head. Half a dozen dictators sprang up in Europe. And for a time these dictators were actually hailed by the very people over whom they exercised their dictatorial power. Democracy for a time became discredited even among the democrats. It became the fashion to question the dogmas of democracy, to point out its weaknesses and because dictators of the type of Mussolini mocked and jeered at democracy. Mussolini spoke of the Goddess of Liberty as that rotting carcass. Lenin of Russia spoke of democracy as Bourgeoise illusion. Pilsudski of Poland spoke of it as of a prostitute.

For four or five years the glow of dictatorship and dictators were extolled. Men seemed to forget the main currents of history. They became impressed with the eddies and cross currents with the surface of things. They forgot the tides which were sweeping on. But life moved on and after a brief reign the years 1930 and 1931 saw a new revolutionary movement sweeping out the dictators and restoring the democratic government. Why, because autocracy is wasteful and inefficient in our present social system.

I remember some five years ago in an address which I delivered here in the city I took occasion to point out at the time when Fascism was being

extolled and praised by American tourists who had returned from Italy, that the victories of dictatorship are early victories, not lasting ones; that dictatorship speeds up government. For a time it speeds up government and then is ensnarled in its own bureaucratic net. It becomes the prey of corruption, favoritism and wilfulness and it has no means at hand by which to correct these abuses. Ultimately it leads a country to financial bankruptcy and to moral decay. It is much more speedy than when you have to consult people and pass laws through bodies of people. Men are sometimes deluded by it and think that dictatorship is more efficient than democracy. But before very long the faults of this kind of government become apparent, over-centralization which goes with dictatorship in the long run spells defeat. It became frightfully cumbersome, much more inefficient than the agencies of the democracy before graft began to creep in.

Within the last month I read an article by a keen observer of European affairs which confirmed my judgment of five years ago. The article appears this month in the Scribner's Magazine and is called "Twilight of the Dictators." I came across the following statements:

"It must also be noted that the psychological reaction against dictatorship is gaining, even among the unimportant masses."

The author proceeds to take up in particular the case of Italy where dictatorship has manifested its finest qualities and its greatest success and he indicts the dictatorship of the Fascists in Italy on six scores and shows where it has utterly and miserably failed.

"Italy has been the pet example of a successful dictatorship, and therefore I propose to note first some of the Italian "errors and absurdities"

which are typical of dictatorships and which are at work for the fall of Mussolini's regime; Budget manipulation, artificial stabilization, graft of billions, waste of billions, war preparations costing billions, suppression of parliament, press, public assembly, free masonry, or all critical, controlling factors."

"The crisis which Mussolini admits at last cannot be the result of the American crisis because it began in Italy in 1925. In that year and in the years which followed, until 1929, it was cleverly hidden from the general public by manipulation of the budget, treasury balances, and various official but not necessarily true financial statements. European economists and financial experts knew this. Perhaps it is possible that the American bankers did not. That they do at present is evident."

The author proceeds in great detail to indicate that the dictatorship of Mussolini is driving Italy to financial bankruptcy not to speak of the budget of setting up a vast military machine which might cause serious trouble throughout Europe.

And that was the case too of the dictatorship in Spain and true also of many of the countries in South America which have recently revolted. And so the revolutionary movement is sweeping these pseudo-superior men, these men on horseback, these saviors of society into the scrap heap. The same story is true in countries like China, India, and Indo-China. China has been in recent years bestirring itself out of its centuries old slumber. China is demanding freedom, national self determination and the end of foreign imperial exploitation.

India through the prophetic voice of Gandhi is demanding the self-same thing, freedom or democracy and the end of foreign dominion and exploitation. China and India are destined to win their freedom. They

may face many and perhaps bloody tribulations in the years to come but it is written in the stars that these people together representing the sum of a billion human beings, a billion human beings, shall be free.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the governments which are oppressing and dominating these people and denying them their freedom are themselves democracies. England, France and Indo-China are free democratic governments which shows again how confused and involved are frequently the acts and policies of men and nature. Democracy itself is no guarantee against war, foreign, aggressive, imperialistic, - against all manner of wrong.

Democracy then, if I were to summarize, today stands vindicated.

But there is one great threat facing democracy, facing imperialism in government in economics and that's the threat of Russia. In Russia dictatorship is still vigorous, virile and on the defensive. In Russia dictatorship is not apologetic. It is being extolled and praised. Through a dictatorship Russia has set up a revolutionary system of government and social life and is reconstructing the whole civilization. Russia defends dictatorship on the ground that it alone can achieve the desired end not for the privileged, for the few, for the clique, but for the masses of the country. The ballot, the whole paraphernalia of democratic government, free press, the right of free assembly, all these are looked upon and practically branded as obstacles in the way of achieving the great ends of revolution.

The spokesman of Russian dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat maintain that democracy and liberalism are out-worn and out-dated concepts; that they may have served their day and their generation but the new conditions of life require a new set of governmental machinery. They maintain, that as far as the masses of the earth are concerned, democracy is a snare and a delusion for popular government only, a farce, never a government

of the masses, but always a government of the few. It is the men who control wealth and industry who also control legislation and the machinery of government. No radical reform benefiting the masses, they maintain, can ever be achieved under liberal democratic government. They point to the increase of wealth in the hands of the few in spite of the democratic government. They point to unemployment situations which throw millions out of work and force them to want and misery and their power of the ballot, their avowed control of government, in no way helps them to solve their economic problem.

And so the battle line is drawn. The conflict of the future is not between democracy and monarchy. That struggle has been ended and the victor is democracy. The struggle of the future, my friends, I believe, is going to be between the democratic government with its philosophy of economic individualism and dictatorship with every philosophy of socialism and state ownership and management of industry and all agriculture. And the next century or two will decide the issue.

It is clear, is it not, that revolutions of a sort are going on in practically every country of the earth, even when these revolutions do not express themselves in new political forms. The machine, mass production, the industrialization of countries, the international character of finance, these things are revamping completely our economic and social structure even though their manifestations, their workings are not sharp and dramatic enough to attract our attention. There is revolution going on in the economic and therefore in the social and political life in every country of Western Europe, in England and in the United States.

They speak of Russia with its five year plan through which every Russian may achieve his has already been achieved by some countries of Europe and in the United States. At the close of the five year

plan, assuming that it would be 100% successful, Russia will be industrialized fully up to 20% of American industrialization. This has already taken place on a far larger scale in countries like Germany, England and the United States.

The question therefore presents itself, can democratic government continue to function adequately, in that new economic set up which the machine has created. Is it elastic enough to accommodate itself to the new economic forces which have been let loose in the world. Can popular democratic government exercise a sufficiently powerful control over this great consideration of wealth so that wealth may serve the interests of the masses, not merely the interests of the classes? Can it permit vast units of power to be set up in competition with political power seemingly concentrated in democratic government? Will some form of collective planning and control be necessary in the years to come? Can a middle ground be found between collectiveism on the one hand and individualism on the other?

In other words can the promised virtues of state ownership or control of industry and the clear benefits of a free and individual life under a democracy, can these two be in some way accommodated one to another. That will be the task to my mind, of countries like ours to work out in the next few generations. If the struggle is unavoidable, if the challenge of Russia, the Soviet, is a real challenge, and I believe that it is a real challenge, then it is clear that if democracies, liberal governments, want to save themselves they have got to set about cleaning house.

The ultimate test, my friends, will not be the test of theory, what you like or what I like, the ultimate test will be what country in the world will give its people a higher standard of living.

Russia will not be able to feed its people indefinitely on

propoganda or to keep that original enthusiasm incited by the revolutions. That's not characteristic of human nature. Ultimately the test will be can the Soviet give its people a higher standard of living, greater economic security than the capitalist government can? If it can it will succeed and eventually destroy the Capitalist system throughout the world.

The task therefore facing peoples today is not to denounce or criticize what's good or not good in Russia, but it is to set their own house in order. It is so to reorganize their own industrial life that inefficiency shall be eliminated, that want and poverty shall be eliminated, that all who work shall have a greater share in the things produced, a fuller measure of economic security to all toilers of the land, that the threat of unemployment shall be removed, that men and women who toil shall be given protection against sickness, old age and disability, that wars caused by capitalist rivalry and competition be eliminated, ^{to} eliminate competitive armaments, to distribute social goods more equitably among the laboring masses of the earth.

If these things are done democracy, economic liberalism will survive. It has given men, many men, the right to live their own lives without being constrained by social pressure, by the machine. If we can not make these adjustments, why then it will go the way of Feudalism, of monarchy. The tides of life sweep on irresistably.

I believe that the great democracies of the earth are awakening to the realizations of the terribly difficult tasks of reorganization on an economic level which are confronting them. If we wish to maintain some form of free democratic government without dictatorship of class or group we have so to reconstruct our economic system that men will want democracy and find in it the sure way of attaining the good life.

ABSTRACT OF THE ADDRESS
THE TIDES OF REVOLUTION SWEEP ON
BY

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY,
MAY 3d, 1931

Alphonso XIII was driven out of Spain by his own people in a revolution which for speed, effectiveness and bloodlessness is almost unmatched in history. Monarchy in Spain could not survive nor will monarchy survive much longer anywhere else. The monarchical system is an anachronism in our present civilization. And so is dictatorship.

For a time following the World War parliamentary government seemed to break down. A crop of dictators appeared. They were hailed as saviors by those who never understand the main currents of human history. Men grew sceptical of democracy. But again the irresistible tides of human progress are sweeping these little, self-designated, supermen into the gulf of oblivion.

Autocracy is wasteful and inefficient in our present economic civilization. Whatever victories it achieves are early victories, never lasting ones. For a time it speeds up government and then is ensnared in its own bureaucratic net. It becomes the prey of corruption, favoritism and wilfulness and it has no means at hand by which to correct these abuses. Ultimately it leads a country to financial bankruptcy and to moral decay.

The tides of revolution are also sweeping out foreign dictatorships over subject peoples. The fires are raging in China, India, Indo-China and in some of our Latin American Republics. The European democracies have themselves been culpable of the worst autocratic exploitation of subject peoples. But the day of their emancipation is at hand.

The only dictatorship which is today threatening democracy is that of

Russia, where it is vigorous and on the defensive. Back of it is a vast social passion, a sincerity for the wellbeing of the masses. It maintains that liberalism and democracy are a snare and a delusion, the masses enjoy only the illusion of self government not its substance; the rulers in a democracy are not the people but a few who control wealth and economic power and the channels of education and public opinion and the very instruments of government. It is maintained that no radical reform to benefit the masses can be carried through under existing democratic governments.

So the battle line is drawn. The struggle of tomorrow is not between democracy and monarchy. That is over and done with. The struggle will be between the democratic state built on the philosophy of political liberalism and economic individualism, and the Soviet state built on the philosophy of class dictatorship, at least as an ad interim measure, and socialism. The next century or two will decide the issue.

If the democratic government can discover a middle ground between collective control and planning, which seem to be indicating^{ed} by our new industrial civilization and individualism which has yielded so many cultural and spiritual values to mankind, if it can find ways of eliminating poverty and want, distribute social goods more equitably, secure men against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age, eliminate capitalistic wars and competitive armaments, our democratic civilization will survive. If not, then the tides of life will sweep it aside.

Ultimately the issue will be decided not on the basis of theory or personal preferences but whether the Russian system will give its people a higher standard of living and more of the good things of life than the capitalist system in other countries. Neither propaganda nor revolutionary enthusiasm in the last analysis determine the real processes of history.

1. In 1492 - last year left sp. ^{as 1931} In 1931 - last, the benches - dec.

of Fred. & Matilla - kept Sp. as exhib. - Alfonso XIII was drawn out by his new people - in a revolt. which for speed, efficiency - never & bloodshed was ~~be~~ is almost unmatched in history -

1. Spain has now found great demon. & faith. This country -
which in many ways met Modernism, church & state & W. Eu.
has now shaken off the her change & remembrance & is
echoing - & is giving a new day of freedom -

2. Sp. is a glaucous sand - The a glauc. history. The
most dramatic that ever befell her - the Expulsion;
J. & M. at close; 15c - M. & J. who had
lived there for 100 yrs - made it center of art-civil-culture
15c; When it became exch. & whole. Ch. - the drama
set in - ~~Then~~ ^{Then} ~~was an~~ ^{after} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~glory~~ ^{glory} ~~culture~~ ^{culture}
than the 16c - part. under Europ. Chanc. V. Sp. was then
Master of Europe - & sent forth its ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~ex~~ ^{ex} ~~plains~~ ^{plains} & con-
quered, to conquer, conquer & conquer, mark the
whole of the W. Hemisphere - Then came the sharp, striking
decline began - Sp. sank rapidly to pos. 53 - at
present - Econ. decadent, pol. shocked in Monarchy,
steeped in a theocracy & superstition. It is just begun
to emerge! The tide of literature has ~~not~~ ^{not} finally
reached it & there too.

3. The Rep. which has been set up, under Gandra,
no G. Wood Rev. - a discomfited us by bullet, but by ballot
carefully & Expt - 1st, undoubtedly, have all smooth
sailing in the future. The country was united in the

more than 5000 - It may be united at present in little
else. The power which overthrew - Republic in America -
The main objective attacks - they may fly apart -
One had been the separatist tendency in Sp -
which may cause trouble - Prussia &
Basque - Catalonia - Valencia - The
Church will not yield - which has - gracefully
to a separation from Italy. But whatever
trial - frustrations etc. Monarchy is then
in Sp - It may come back for another ~~spell~~ ^{spell} -
but it is then - For it is outlived -
It has for outlived that part forming
part. It no longer corresponds to the Econ.
& Sp. needs of a people - It is an anachronism -
And nature as giving it a decent
or an eminent burial -

2. The revolt against absolutism began with the
rise of the middle class to power - The continuous
most varying fortunes from Cromwell to this day.
The Am. & French Rev. gave it 2 crushing blows -
The Rev. of 1830 ~~smashed~~ ^{smashed} the world death warrant.
The world was ~~not~~ killed the last, the absolutist
rulers in Europe - The Czar, all the Russias.
And furnished off the European & American - it was

6a. In a brief period gloom - extolled - then had lengthy canals
They were impressed with surface Eddies and
cross-currents - but life was as in silent,
invisible tides. In 1930 & '31 a canal revolt.
was tides is two ways one will, engulfing
monarch dictators, & democ. is again violated.

4. For Anthony in his present state 5
unhappy and inefficient deval. is

(1) City club - early victories - I find confirmed
in recent articles & lectures. By Geo. Seligman.
Trust (Trust p. 466)

(2) He turns his particular attention to Italy
which was so fulcrum praised by Am. trust
(Trust p. 467) 1-2-3-4-5.

5. Story is same with Spain - also with
J. Am. Republics which have
revolted - Wants for the trust on foreign
loans sold their concrete to foreign money
lenders - As soon as Econ. depression set in -
as soon as loans was no longer forth coming
the ships of dest. collapsed as house of
cards -

6. Tides of Revolt are also sweeping out foreign dictators
steps over subject peoples - The Praxis are saying
in China, India, Indo-China - Then
nations are demanding democr. self-determin. and
an end to dictat. & exploit. foreign imperialism
There's no doubt why not. They are all seen. People want a law that
there has guaranteed after the fallen slaves
the Chinese from Autoc. Peking - from down to independence -
around in India - South, the exploiting foreign
nations like Eng. & Fr. are as democr. - which
mean that have peoples as the ways & men
& nations. Unmuzzled peace is our guarantee
against war - a universal affirmation!

7. China & India are destined to become free!
They may pass thru many tribulations - but it
is written in the stars guaranteeing that the
reign of Empire & dictator is about to
end!

8. The real threat to liberal democracy to-day is
Russia. This class dictatorship is vile & on the
offensive. It does not apologize. It extols the
doctrine. It has revol. Russia by power
& dictatorship - plans to construct a new
world order by it means - It represents

liberalism, Parl. + all the pare. of a liberal
society - for speech - a hindrance + thereby
blacks; + ruthlessly suppress them. It is
all done, merely, in belief not of a class
or a clique, but for in behalf of the
masses, the country -

9. It declares that dems. + librs. are autum
crimpts. They no longer meet highest interests
of men. They are a trap + a delusion for the
masses. Under a dem. the masses cease
to be - never control their destiny. They
are given the illusion of self-govt - not its
reality. No ruler is a dem. as the
monied interests who control all
channels, sources + public information
+ the very instrument of govt. No radical
reform for benefit of nation's classes can
be carried thru such ~~existing~~ ^{existing} govt.
Without the continued concentration of
wealth + power in few - without the
continued Econ. mismanagement, the masses
between the millstone + the lever is lands
abundantly rich. ~~the~~

10 - ~~The~~ There is the battle here. The struggle
of tomorrow will not be bet. U.S. & Germany. That
war is practically over - with victory in hand, & all.
The struggle for - more is bet. the dem. / stat,
built on the phil. & pol. liberalism / Econ. individualism
& the Soviet but on phil. & class dentat. & Econ.
socialism. The next century or two will decide
the issue.

~~11. Even the east, which, Russia, to-day have more
than even.~~

11. It is clear, & comes, that east, another sort
are proceeding in other lands, even who we
pol. upheaval occurs - vast Econ. reorg.
is taking place in ~~over~~ the whole, Western
Europe - ~~the~~ England / U.S. ~~The~~ The machine,
mass production, concentration of ^{Econ.} activities.
power ^{intern. transfer} ~~is~~ ^{completely} reorganizing
our ^{new} ~~old~~ structure. The indust. which Russia
is trying to achieve thru 5 Year Plan - has
been achieved long ago & far outdistanced
by W-E. ~~There~~ - will dem. liberal. from
elastic enough ^{to accommodate itself to} the new Econ. forces
let loose in the world

Will it ~~not~~ be able to express that
neous control so that ^{well born & really} ~~mass~~ ~~class~~
~~than~~ ~~class~~ ~~is~~ ~~advised~~? is advised. Can the liberal
state permit them. Concentrated power
to exist uncontrolled + unregulated by the
will of the people? Can the present regime
& econ. situation continue without some
form of collection planning + central control?
Can I readily find to permit that. collection +
individualism?

12. If the State is inevitable - must it
be based on order - if it can feed way
of distributive goods equitably - universal
peace + security - against Un-Subversive-
~~disruptive + exploitation~~ ~~element~~ Capitalism war - it will
win - if not - why - but more
m - + its tide sweep on inevitably.

who aspired to some form of dictat. power.

P.H. liberalism became in the wake of the new
the Prog. class - the class, merchants & merchants
to financial power - the monar. system with
its Medieval traditions & castes & privileges, was too
inert & too cumbersome for the new class &
middlemen who wanted the least possible
amount of govt. interference in their enterprise -
In new Econ. ^{some part. the later industrial world} spell down of liberalism -

Here and there a remnant royal power - but the
disasters of history - the madness of Econ. progress -
were certain to overturn them in long run & end
them. The new order - was democracy!

3. In the untitled part between Era - dictatorship
again raised its head - Part. govt. seems to
beat down - Esp. in defeated or in Econ.
backward countries - Italy, Greece, Italy,
Turkey - Russia, Poland, Hungary - dictator
arose - They were hated, even in our land,
by Rever persons - then grew suspicious
of democracy - Mundell refers to soldiers
about - "rotting carcass" - Rever - "bourgeois
class" - Parliament - "parliament"

1. And for a few years glorious, dictator was extolled!
They had forgotten the main current of their history

1. In 1492 - Alfonso XII driven out -
2. Sp. has now found - Medieval - has now shaken
3. Sp. is a glamorous - Greatest disaster - After-glow - Charles V - Master - decline - 3rd - Steepest - Onwards
4. The Republic - set up - Zamora - Model Revolution - no smooth sailing - But whatever tribulations Monarchy is there - outlived - no longer corresponds anarchism - decent or indecent breed
5. Revolt against Absolutism began with rise of Middle class - Cromwell - Am. Fr. Rev. - Cyars - 2 Emperors -
 (1) Pol. liberalism came as result, ^{with} Econ. liberalism - merchants - manufactures - inelastic - least possible intake - is by 9 cut -
 (2) Monarchy was doomed - Here & there - Survive dictators & Hut - Memorandum -
6. In unsettled post-bellum day - dictatorship again raised its head - Parl. Govt. seemed to break down - Exp. in defeated - Portugal, Spain etc -
 - Dictators Healed -
 - Men grew sceptical & disenchant -
 - Munich - nothing came
 - Levin - bourgeois illusion
 - Pilsudski - Prostitute

- For brief period - glories extolled -
- then had forgotten main currents - unpressed
- but life moved on - In 1930-31

7. For autocracy in our present - is wasteful time spent

(1) City Club - confirmed Geo. Seldes
"Scribners"

(2) (Quote p. 466.)

(3) Italy (Quote p. 467.)

8. Story is same in Spain - S. Am. Republics -

Wasteful - "Whatat. thrive on foreign loans"

9. Tide, Rev. as also wasting away Foreign Sup. debt.

- Fires - India, China.

- China has awakened

- Spent, Sancho -

- Some of Exploiting foreign nat. are as liberal

- China + India destined, U.S. is in distress

10. Real threat - Russia.

- There class rest. is violence, on the ground

- apology - extolled

- to them what - achieved Rev - new st.

- It reads liberalism U.S. all paraphrase -
- hand down - suppressed Swearing

11- Outworn concepts - No radical reform
possible - within concentration & wealth -
- millions, hundreds

12. New Battle-line is drawn - Not Dem. vs. Monarchy -
next century or two will decide course

13. It is clear, of course, that revols. & another sort -
- The Machine - revamping -
- The Industrialization while Russia - 5 yrs
- 207.
- will eliminate sort - charter enough - to accommodate
- Control & for masses ?
- Can prevent ^{even} regime without some form
of collective planning & control !
- Can a united front -

14. If struggle is unavoidable - Clear How.