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Is Russia pointing the way?, 1933.

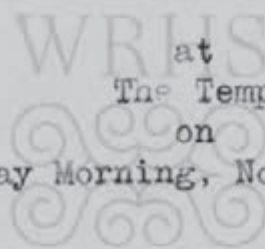
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IS RUSSIA POINTING THE WAY?
The Recognition of Russia--What is Involved.

Address Delivered By

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

at
The Temple
on
Sunday Morning, November 5, 1933.



After fifteen years our government is finally ready to recognize Soviet Russia. This is a very belated recognition. The accepted principles in international law which determine the recognition of any defacto government is its stability and its capacity to maintain law and order within its boundaries. And Russia, has for years, been one of the most stable and orderly countries in the world. But it suited our purpose to recognize revolutionary governments long before they demonstrated their stability. Thus we recognized the provisional government under Karensky within the same month that government was established.

It was President Wilson who gave a legitimately new touchstone in the matter of the recognition of governments. It was first applied to Mexico and some of the South American states. This new touchstone distinguished for recognition has to do with the manner in which government came into existence and our estimate of that government. In other words we maintain that such government which rests upon the consent of government and which conform to their government shall be recognized and this new and altogether arbitrary principle of "legitimacy" has delayed the recognition of Russia for many years. This implies

that we approve of that government, which is, of course, not the case at all. Recognition simply means the re-establishment of formal relations and intercourse with that country. Twenty-five governments have already recognized Russia; France, England and Italy almost ten years ago. Our attitude toward the Soviet Union in the last fifteen years has been a confused one, one almost incomprehensible from the point of international law and international relations.

Consider for example that for four and one-half years after the Soviet government was established, we had been recognizing as the official ambassador of Russia, a man who represented a government which no longer existed.

M. Bakmeteff who was sent here by the Kerensky regime which lasted only six months was regarded in Washington as the official representative of Russia for four and one-half years, while the real officially designated Soviet ambassador, Martens, whom the Soviet government sent to Washington was not even received. His credentials were ignored and he was ordered to leave the country.

While we refused to recognize Russia, our people

continued to do business with that country, for business is business, recognition or no recognition. While we were doing business with Russia, our government was warning business men that they were doing business at their own risk and responsibility. As if they did not know it!

All through these fifteen years when we were hesitant about recognizing Russia, the Soviet Union had successfully resisted the Allied blockade, had stamped out any number of counter-revolutions and had established law and order, was paying off all its commercial debts, was attending international economic and disarmament conferences where we were represented and was being recognized by almost every nation in the world. Yet our government refused to recognize Russia.

Now the man who emphatically brushed aside all this red tape was President Roosevelt. Last month he sent President Kalinin a cordial letter inviting him to send a representative to come to Washington to talk over the matter of recognition of Russia by the American government.

What was behind our hesitancy to recognize Russia was the fear of Communism. Generally, we believe that every nation has a right to its own form of government, to any form of government it pleases. But in the case of Russia, the form of government did not please us so we refused to take recognition officially.

We were afraid of Communism. If it were not for

desperate conditions we might still not recognize Russia. We are afraid of Communist propagandists coming to our shores, to undermine our government. Seemingly, we are not afraid of Nazi propagandists and Fascist propagandists coming to our shores. They also represent dictatorships. But Nazi and Fascist propagandists represent a form of government which, while it is anti-democratic, is not opposed to Catholicism and the rights of private property. They have free reign in this country to run around and agitate and stir up race antipathy. But we are afraid of Communism.

We have not learned that foreign propagandists are really no menace to any country. Revolution rises from the native soil, the native conditions of life. When economic conditions do not warrant any unrest or any revolution, no foreign propagandists can bring them to be and when these conditions do warrant them, the conditions themselves create them.

Furthermore it is clear that the hope of a world revolution which Lenin and his followers entertained in the early days of the revolution and for which the revolution was to be the signal, has gone glimmering. The Soviet heads in Russia have more or less abandoned the idea of revolution. They are content to devote themselves to

building up the social state within Russia. This is job enough for any nation. Stalin represents this point of view and is master of Russia today. Trotsky represented the old view of world revolution. He is in exile. Only another war or the complete breakdown of the capitalistic system will bring about the world revolution. But then it will not be brought about by any imported propagandists but will be brought about by conditions from within.

And so the United States is about to negotiate the recognition of Soviet Russia. That gives thinking men and women in this country the chance to appraise Russia after fifteen years under this amazing regime. What has it achieved? What has it failed to achieve? What can we learn from its failures and its successes?

In the first place Russia has demonstrated that a Socialistic government can carry on an economic regime and administer the whole life of a civilized people without leading it to chaos or disaster. The dogma prevailing up to that time that any economic order based on private ownership and the profit system are indispensable under the present order in any country, has been refuted. Russia has not yet demonstrated that public ownership is better than private ownership, or that it is more efficient and that it

capable of creating a higher standard of living for people. But it has demonstrated that people can live and work and develop huge public works and carry through a full program of civilized social life under the Socialist regime. That has been amply demonstrated. The fear that Socialism means a return to barbarism and chaos has not been justified.

Russia has made amazing industrial progress, especially under the Five Year Plan. I want to quote one paragraph from a very recent book on Russia written by Maurice Hindus called "The Great Offensive."

"The first Five Year Plan has given Russia a metal industry which she never had before, together with a wholly new coal and iron center in the Urals and in Siberia. It has given her an automobile and tractor industry, and a tool and machine-building industry which mark such advances over the past that they may be called new, and which make it possible for her to manufacture for the first time in history her own equipment for electrical and metallurgical industries. It has given her a network of shops for the manufacture of agricultural implements, and a new chemical industry with plants scattered all the way from the south to the arctic circle. It has given her an aviation industry with factories in Moscow, in Nizhni Novgorod, in Moronezh, and in Siberia. It has expanded her textile industry so that it is no longer centered in the north in

the Moscow region, but has reached out to eastern Siberia, Central Asia, and the Muggan steppes on the Persian border. It has given her fifteen hundred new plants, some small and some as large as any in the world. The story of the industrial development of the Urals (which may some day challenge comparison with the Ruhr) and of Siberia reads like a heroic epic. Indeed, this struggle for a new industrial machine has changed the very face of Russia, has converted her into a land of steel and iron and motors and engines and smokestacks and aeroplanes.

Russia in other words is becoming one of the great industrial countries of the world. It is amazing for a people which was not noted for energetic enterprises, but which was indifferent, shiftless, to lead with a spirit of daring and pioneering in a plan of national economy at the cost of great sacrifices. Russia has launched upon the career of a great modern industrial nation.

Of course this achievement cannot be rightly credited to Socialism. In the first place, capitalistic countries have shown quite as great achievements as has Russia, greater, perhaps. Then, too, Russia could not have done all that without expert technicians which were trained in capitalistic countries and without capitalistic credit. That is true. On the other hand it is also true that without

Russia's initiative, without the socialist will and energy, those things could not have been achieved either.

But this picture of Russia's industrial expansion is not altogether rosy. Many an important item in the Five Year Plan failed in reaching the goal. It is particularly true of the heavy industries, coal, pig-iron and steel. Furthermore, the Russians, themselves, know that there are great shortcomings to their industrial setup -- the low quality of production, the high cost of production, incompetent labor and terrific turnover.

Again, the standard of living in Russia today is still very low and the Five Year Plan has not improved it. The standard of living is lower in Russia than in that of any industrial country in the world. Food is scarce, housing is bad and the necessities of life are hard to get. And here again, I should like to quote:

"The queues in Russia make one realize how hard life is now at the beginning of the second Five Year Plan, how badly organized, over-strained and ill supplied are the institutions that minister to the everyday wants of the people, and how acute is the shortage of commodities which they had hoped they would have in abundance on completion of the first Five Year Plan. These queues set at naught the

gay boasts of unthinking Communists and the dismal premonitions of no less unthinking capitalists who at the inception of the original Five Year Plan had imagined that on its conclusion Russia would take her place among the most advanced and prosperous nations of the world. The Russians have launched the slogan: "To catch up with and to surpass the capitalistic countries!" in production and in consumption. Whether or not they will ever realize the aim of their slogan remains a question. But at present they are still at an impressive -- even a prodigious -- distance from their goal. In fact, the beginning of the second Five Year Plan, despite the external sparkle of Moscow, which as the most favored city of the Soviets has received special attention, despite the imposing construction in progress throughout the country, and despite the ever-expanding cultural opportunities in city and village, find Russia face to face with a crucial food problem, a problem more extensive than it has ever been since the days of the famine. The rations of meat and of fats have not been so meager in a whole decade!

"In Moscow the rations of sugar, even for workers, have been cut from one kilo to eight hundred grams a month. Nowhere is there an adequate supply of tobacco or matches or even cigarette paper. Many Muscovites who smoke are saving their newspapers like peasants in the country, in order to

use them for cigarette paper. On main street corners, boys stop pedestrians and offer them a light for five copecks. And if you give a Russian porter in a hotel or at a railroad station a piece of soap, a packet of the cheapest cigarettes, or a can of sardines, he will reward you with the lowest bow you have ever witnessed. He will prize it far more highly than a tip in money, however generous.

"I know Russians who have been vainly seeking to buy an overcoat for three years. There simply are not enough overcoats to go round. In a city like Kiev, in the autumn of 1932, the daily rations of bread for workers were cut from two pounds to one and one-half and for white-collar folk, from one pound to half a pound. Except in some of the well-organized shops, it is difficult to buy even handkerchiefs or towels or bedding in Russia today. And every time I look into a five-and-ten-cent store in America I see scores of articles of which the Russians have never even heard. Such a store would be to them a miracle of miracles and a boon of the highest order. So far as I know even now, at the end of the first Five Year Plan, Russia is not manufacturing either fountain pens or cameras, and the great dream of Russian School-children is to come into possession of a good pencil. It is impossible to go into a Russian drug store and buy a bottle of iodine or mercurochrome. Only hospitals and dispensaries

are well supplied with the common drugs. There is a shortage of every conceivable commodity in the country, from food (now and then, in some places outside the industrial centers, even of bread) to footwear, from safety pins to good ink -- a shortage of everything in fact possibly cosmetics!

"Judged, then, in terms of everyday material satisfactions, the first Five Year Plan, which is the first step in the Great Offensive for a new society, a new world, and a new human personality, has not only failed to improve, but has actually lowered the material standard of living. The machine, it is true, has swept forward with rapid and tumultuous strides. In the years between 1923 and 1927 there were few automobiles in Russia, and these of foreign make; there were few home-manufactured tractors and no home-made aeroplanes. But peasants and workers had substantial and sometimes ample supplies of meat, eggs, cheese and butter. They had begun to eat as never before in all their history. Now Russia has scores of the most modern and best equipped factories in the world. All over the land one hears the whine and roar of new machines. Gigantic smoke-stacks are constantly rising above the earth. Huge brick structures take shape before one's eyes. But of the things that the people need for their bodily comfort there is less and less.

"In the original schedule of the first Five Year Plan, the cost of living was to be reduced by 14 per cent.

The people in the city were to consume 27.7 percent more meat, 72 per cent more meat, 45.2 per cent more eggs, 24.7 per cent more milk products. Yakovlev, the Commissary of Agriculture, in a long, highly statistical, and eloquent address before the Communist Congress in 1930 assured the Russian people that the end of the first Plan they would have twice as much meat and milk. But neither the original schedule of the Plan nor the inflated promises of the oratorical Commissary of Agriculture have materialized.

The agricultural problem in Russia has not been solved. While it is true that 4/5 of the farming land of Russia is collectivized it is also true that there is a terrific instability and insecurity in the agricultural situation in Russia. Drastic means which the Soviet government resorted to in order to carry through the Five Year Plan, to stamp out the rich peasant, to insure an adequate supply of foodstuffs for working men in the cities -- measures carried through with cruelty -- led to a complete disorganization of agricultural life, to the whole-sale slaughter of live-stock and sabotage, with the result that last year, millions of people died from undernourishment and malnutrition. A new policy giving greater security to the

has materially improved the situation. But this struggle between town and country, between peasant and proletariat has not been solved today.

The world depression has retarded the industrial expansion of Russia in the last few years. Russia has had to export twice what it could really afford to export out of Russia with the result that many of its own people had to go without food. Russia had to maintain her credit abroad.

But out of these frustrations it is clear to any impartial observer that Russia in the last decade has made marvelous gigantic strides forward in its industrial life. And it has also shown a capacity to correct mistakes, to undo that which was wrong, trying out new ways and mounting great difficulties.

Our capitalistic countries today, who find themselves in the midst of a crippled domestic economy, in the midst of depression, in the midst of vast unemployment -- capitalistic countries cannot today afford to point a finger of scorn at Russia.

Russia has taught the world a few things. First of all, the importance of national planning. That national planning is only a social relation maintained under a non-profit, non private property system, that national planning is necessary is no longer a debatable question.

Unguided and unrestricted capitalism brings on the periodic crises which Karl Marx prophesied 75 years ago -- leads our whole economic system to collapse.

It is clear from the criticism and the sniping and the sabotage which is going on in our country to which our first attempt at social planning under the New Deal is being subjected -- it is clear that it will be very difficult to plan under our capitalistic system. At first reaction will attempt to throttle every effort. But every effort must be made. It is imperative and to my mind clear that Russia is pointing the way to the world in national planning of the economic life of a nation.

Russia must be credited with that tremendous new spurt of energy which it has let loose among the Russian people. That is something, of course, we don't have to learn. But then Russia had to learn it. Bolshevism taught the people that which they sadly needed. The Russian people were a slow-moving people, apathetic, careless of tomorrow. And the intellectual leaders sought to escape in intellectual anarchy. The new regime has taught the Russian people discipline, has trained them to work. That is a great contribution to mankind when you do that for a people of 160 million souls.

The new government should also be credited with the amazing achievement of stamping out illiteracy in Russia.

It has dotted the vast land of Russia with schools. In 1920, 68 per cent of the Russian people -- men and women -- were illiterate. After ten years only 9 percent were illiterate. Illiteracy has been stamped out.

Russia is taking care of its children. Ten million children are taken care of in nurseries, kindergartens and playgrounds. Russia, in this regard does not have much to teach an advanced country like ours. It has learned a great deal from us.

But there is one other thing, we and other countries can learn from Russia. A very important thing that Russia has taught the world is how races and nationalities can live together in peace and harmony. Russia, as you know, is not a country of one race, of one people or of one nationality. It is a conglomeration of all these. Almost over-night, the Soviet regime was able to establish the most cordial relations between these peoples. Russia achieved this simply by granting to each nationality within its borders absolute and complete cultural autonomy. In Russia any group that wants to use its own language and wants to teach its children its own language is not only allowed to do so but is encouraged to do so. Schools are conducted in seventy different languages in Russia today. That does not matter. The confused mind naturally learns Russian.

In Russia anti-semitism has been stamped out officially. It is regarded as counter-revolutionary. It is punishable. Think of Russia with this picture in mind and then turn westward to Germany and you will understand how vastly superior is the social outlook of these Russians.

America, too, will learn this lesson from Russia. We cannot solve the the racial problem by discriminating against minority races. You can solve it by giving each race the fullest freedom of self-expression, equality and opportunity within the framework of our country.

I believe that Russia has over-emphasized the socialization of man. That, too, is an evil. I think there is danger of over-organizing man, for after all, man is not a mere bee in a bee-hive. I believe that the club, or the factory is not an adequate substitute for the family. But under the capitalistic system, we have over-stressed the other side. We have laid so much emphasis on the importance of the individual to the point where he has become an exploiter of other individuals. In other words, the social sense, the sense of group responsibility has been weakened in our midst, otherwise this poverty and inequality would not be existing in our midst.

To summarize, then, my friends, I believe that in national planning, in international and national cooperation, in socializing the life of the individual, Russia is today leading the world and is pointing the way. And these we may well learn from her.

It is not likely that we shall adopt the methods which Russia adopted to reach the ultimate goal of a perfect society. We have a long ingrained democratic tradition which Russia never had. And we hold as precious and desirable many values which have come to us as a result of a long democratic history and which Russians hold very light. We have lived under a capitalistic system which has yielded us much good as well as much evil and it is not likely that our people will be led to sacrifice the much good in a desperate effort to destroy the much evil. It is likely that we will grope our way through trial and error, through experience rather than through theory to the better day. But if we are wise, we will learn from the experiences of other people. We will see in the achievements of other people, guide-posts to our own achievements.

So it is, I believe, from the American point of view, a good thing that America and Russia are about to resume friendly and cordial relations. An open and friendly channel of communication will be established between the two countries not only through trading with each other but we shall be able to study one another more closely and learn from each other how to solve our problems guided by each other's experience.

1. after 1591. U.S. is finally ready to recognize the Soviet Govt. This is a very belated recognition. We had in the past recognized some revol. govts. two weeks after they came into power. The accepted principle which determines recognition is stability of gov't. and its capacity to guarantee order, not its stability in Europe. We recognized the Provisional Govt. of Russia which followed the rev. (March, 1917). within a week after it was constituted without even waiting to hear if it was a belated recognition. It was Pres. Wilson who introduced a resolution following the precedent during the Civil War.

for recognition. It was first applied by him in relation to
to Mexico and S. Am. govts. ^{It is the manner in which a gov't. comes into existence and its estimate of its} ^{not to be confused with the fact which rest}
upon the current, the general, and which go with our
ambassadors & consuls. ^{govts.} ~~govts.~~ ^{govts.} will be recognized.

It was in this latter ^{article} test of "by, time" that we have presumably with held our very ~~fact~~ of R. for 15 years. This position implies that recognition of any de facto gov. means approval, that gov. What is not the case. It ~~seems~~ simply means the establishment of formal diplomatic relations and not that gov.

25 girls have already requested ~~the~~ the Soviet Union.
England, France, Italy nearly ten years ago.

The attitude, U.S. towards Soviet Russia has been most uncomprehending from 1917 to 1921, under Law. For 4 years after the Soviet govt. was established, we continued to recognize the ~~former~~ ^{existing} represent. Mr. Kalchmeteff as the official ambassador, Russia - i.e. ambassador of a govt. which no longer existed as the fact, the reality

The credentials which Wartenberg presented as Soviet Ambassador
to the U.S. in 1919 were ignored. - and the following year
Mr. Wartenberg was ^{advised} deported as an alien who is affiliated
with an org. which seeks to overthrow the U.S. govt. ^{people}
But while refusing to recog. the Soviet Union ~~it can just~~
~~you're not aware of~~ ^{to} doing business with it - whenever the
need for increasing exports was felt, altho no threat
left. ~~maintained~~ ^{and advised} that the ^{any} public that Soviets Econ. System
could not ensure normal production and is unusual
trade with R. was quite impossible, and those who do
bus. with it. do so at their own expense & let their own
risk - as the ones Mr. Wartenberg did not know -
and did not know the full pain and experience
with other - non-socialist countries - in Europe.

All these these years, however, the U.S. was govt. Russia,
successfully running the Allied blockade, keeping out
civil war, estab. standards, expanding its ^{expanding} ~~expanding~~
life amazingly, trading with the whole world ^{people}
and paying all its ^{debts} ~~debts~~, ~~and maintaining of them~~
participating in inter. Econ. & League of Nations, where
we were a member, and being recog. by all the leading
nations, the Soviets.

The man who pushed aside the debt not to pay
was Mr. Hoover when last month he wrote
a friendly, sensible note Mr. Kalmus writing him
to send over his rep. to talk over the matter
recog. & remove the anomalous situation which
has existed for years bet. 2 great nations -

And Maxam Kalmus - the present situation in Europe -
was his own to represent his part -

2- What are behind factors of very. our of our fears and
disfats, our common whole I've got enablers.

generally we maintain that ~~every~~ every nation has a right
to any form of govt she pleases - but in the case of Russia
its form, just did not please us - and so we refused
to have anything to do with her.

a. have anything to do with her.
 We were afraid of Communism. We still are. Her it
 was for desperate need for ^{her} markets we probably agreed
 not to be negotiating concerning R. Rep. Etc. now.
 We were ~~not~~ afraid of Communism. propagandists. We don't
 mind Nazi property. I suspect property. - who also
 represent dictatorial ~~states~~ are men everywhere, the
 Am. drive. ideal. But they stand for capitalism
 & for the right of private property. The Bolsheviks do
 not.

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

ud.

We have not yet learned the lesson that foreign propagandists ~~do not really influence~~ as really as we are to us or to any other country. Revolution springs from native conditions, where even conditions do not warrant a revl. no amount of prop. will bring it about. Why they do - prop. do not have to be suspected. They create their own native stockholders there.

Furthermore, the hope of a world-revol which seems to the
 leaders, the Prot. rev. entertained in the early years, the Rev.
~~has gone~~ ~~planned~~ and which are to be equalized &
 carried out by their rev. has gone ~~planned~~ ^{changed}
 the front Soviet leaders have abandoned ^{the missionary program} all that
 and are content to build up the Sov. state within
 Russia - which is just enough for any ~~unhappy~~
 nation. Trotsky who refused the world-revol. idea
 is in ex. Stalin is absorbed in building up Sov. Econ. The

Only Ws - and total breakdown of present Econ. ^③ System
may bring the world-civil. about - but then it will
be the work of ^{people} ~~the~~ ~~people~~ and not of ~~the~~ ~~people~~ But ~~the~~ ~~people~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~
blind reactionaries who will not accept preventive
measures, and ~~the~~ ~~people~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~ —

3. Chance to appraise the new Russia.

What has it achieved.

.. .. failed to achieve.

.. .. failed to achieve.
What can we learn from its successes & failures?

Demand also

4. to Soc. Govt. can Max. harm on the an Econ. regime and admin.
the whole life of a people without leading it to chaos & disasters.

The dogma that private ownership & means & production are unavoidable for nat. existence has been exploded. It has not yet been demonstrated that public ownership is better, that it yields a higher standard of living, or makes for greater efficiency or greater personal happiness. But it has fully demonstrated that people can live, work & build up great industries and means, carry them forward with a full program of civilized life under a socialist regime.

The fear that men entertained & do now entertain that Czarism means a return to barbarism is amply justified by the 15 years, Czar. rule in Russia.

5. Russia has made amazing industrial progress in this time, esp. in last 5 years when it carried thru 2 great rev. 7 years - the Gosplan - the 5 year plan.

7. (P. 45) R. is becoming one, the great industrial world is
with amazing energy - amazing for a people formerly lazy, indolent
and shiftless, with a spirit of daring, pioneering in field of

* natural planning, at cost, terrific sacrifices further it out
& freed. and launched it upon career, great, modern industrial
nations.

6. This achievement must not be credited wholly to socialism
without ~~foreign~~ ^{foreign} ~~working~~ ^{working} ~~first~~ ^{first} in cap. countries, without
technical ~~aspects~~ ^{aspects} found in cap. countries and actual
new credit from cap countries, it would not have
been possible.

But without Russ. Soviet initiative, will every ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} ~~in the~~ ^{in the} ~~world~~ ^{world}.
Planning, it would also not have been possible.

7. As is the industrial picture all ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~important~~ ^{important} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~5 year plan~~ ^{5 year plan} ~~failed~~ ^{failed}, achievement.
particularly in the heavy industries. In the production
of coal, by iron and steel there was a serious lag
behind the figure, the 5 year plan - The industrial system, R.
judging by report, by its own experts, suffers severely
from low quality, production, incompetent labor,
& huge shipping ~~turnover~~ ^{turnover}, labor, high cost, production

8. The standard of living is low. The 5 year plan has not
improved it. It is lower than in any industrial country
in the world. Food is scarce. Housing is bad. Ordinary
necessities of life are hard to have.

→ (p. 22)

9. The Agricultural problem has not been solved - the 4/5
of ag. land in Russia is now collectivized.
Last year millions died from scarcity of food in

as soc. machine under non-profit, with proper profit-sharing system is debatable. But the need for it is no longer debatable. Unguided & unstructured private comp. capital. hangs on the periodic crises where H. man had prophesied 50 years ago - and leads to disaster.

→ (1) From the criticism, stripping it all away to which our first attempts at social planning resulted under the New Deal as ^{always} suggested, it is clear that such planning under a comp. plan. regime will be extremely different. But that is unquestionable is clear to any right-thinking man.

13. Let loose vast new energy in people. Moved it to new activity & to an apprehension, the active, creative social life. A people apathetic, fatalistic, passive, to-morrow, whose intell. surge was always afraid to work with life, who sought escape from life in a twilight dream world, a in intell. disaffection ^{the human} has been → disciplined trained to work, to pursue specific definite objectives to valleys seen in work —
(the world of machines)

1920 - 6870 lbs/hr
1931 - 97 "

14. Abolished illiteracy - Noted land with newly the Scotch education is still sharply restricted. Highly technical. Too little stress on humanities - on gen. culture.

Reprimanded education of an army. But the way is now open

→ R. is taking care, its children. 10 m. are in universities, kindergartens, play grounds

15. Taught how men & people may live in harmony
→ absolute cultural autonomy. Schools conducted in 10 languages
→ Racial friction a discrimination does not exist —
→ Anti-Semitism stamped out - officially - resented, revolted.
→ cf. this with Hitler's primary - with other lands - and see advance — then again R. pointing way!

16. - Skewed the social man - not careerist - not exploiter -

9 They may have socialized man too much. That too is an evil. Robbed him, his individuality to a degree. Regimented him too much -

Taught him to think in mass - mis-organized him

Man is after all not a beast in a be-hive.

→ Undermined the family unit - Club + factory + Comm.
associations are after all no substitutes for the family

But - under our cap. soc. - (W3) has skewed too much the individual to a point where he became an exploiter of other individuals -

The social sense was weakened - also all this poverty & inequality in the world could not have existed

Too much cultivation, the Acquisitive instinct in man and not enough, cooperation - Enjoyment in terms of phys. comforts

It is not necessary to over-emphasize it to make men do their best abstraction, pride, approval

Here again R is pointing the way

17. To summarize

(1) In national Econ. planning

In inter-racial racial cooperation

In socializing man the individual

R. is to-day leading the world, & pointing the way.

To these values we may well learn from R.

It is not likely that we shall adopt the methods which
R. adopted to reach the ultimate goal of a perfect society.
→ We have a very, impaired desire. frustration; And we treasure
certain human values which doctrinaire soc. holds
light.

→ We have lived under a capital. system which has
yielded us very great good as well as great evil.
We ~~shall not~~ ^{are not likely to} ~~hesitate~~ ^{hesitate} to sacrifice that great good
in a ~~desperate~~ ^{valiant} effort to destroy the great evils.

→ In our own way we shall go our way through
Trial and error, this experiment and this dialectic,
to the better way.

16. But we ought to be wise to learn from the experiences
of other peoples - and to discern in their adventures
guides posts to our own.

I. After 15 yrs. U.S. is finally ready To recog. Soviet Union.
This is a very belated recog.

The accepted principle - stability - capacity to maintain order
and S. among most stable.

When, it suited our purpose, we did not wait - 2 weeks
we recog. Prov. govt. of Kentucky, in March 1917 - with our wife

II. It was Pres. Wilson who introduced a relat. new touch stone
It was just applied. Mexico & S. Am. countries
The manner in which a govt. comes into power and
our estimate of it

Only those govs which rest upon consent of govt. & fall in
with our concept of dem. & const. govt. - recognized

III. It was this new & arbitrary principle of 'leg. to many' - delayed
This position implies that recog. means "approval"
Not the case! Simply estat. of formal dipl. relations
and intercourses

IV. 25 govs have already -
Eng - France, 2 July - 10 years ago!

V. Atts. made by U.S. conferred & ~~presented~~ ^{received} from govt. of Russia
For 4 1/2 years. after fall of Prov. govt. - Mr. Bakmeteff -
The credentials of Mar. 1919 - Soviet Am. ^{granted}
ordered deported.

Did business - at same time govt. warned - "at our
risk & responsibility"

2. Chance to appraise - What achieved - failed, - can learn

3. Demonstrated - A Soc. just can carry on an Econ. regime
Chaos, disaster -

The Dogma - private property indispensable

It has not yet been demonstrated - pub. ownership is better
can live, & work

The Fear - return to barbarism -

4. R. has made amazing indus. progress - "5 yr plan"

(P. 45)

Becoming great indus. nation

with amazing energy - pioneering - sacrifice.

5. Achievement - not credited wholly to Soviet Union, without

6. Picture not all Rosy. Important items failed.

Heavy industry -

Food system suffers, low quality, high cost, waste

7. Standard of Living Low - 5 yr. plan not improved it

lower > in any indus. country

Food is scarce - Housing bad - necess. of life

(P. 22)

8. Agricultural problem not solved. 4/5 collectivized

- last year - died -

All through these years of her herbaten, Soviet resisted allied blat

VI. The man who brushed aside diplomatic ref. tape
Pres. Kalinin

Maxim Litvinov, chief statesman

VII What, of course was behind failure to recog. - Fear, Am-
gen. we believe that every nation has a right to any form
of govt it pleases - But in case, R.

we were afraid, Am - we still are - we it not
we are afraid, Am. propog. Not, Nazi or Fascist

VIII We have not yet learnt lesson, foreign prop. us menace
Revolution springs from within - nation's self-interests.
When Econ. Cond. do not warrant -

IX For this man hope for a world Revol - which Lenin
many - abandoned missionary - Stalin, Trotsky
was - great - change, Prop.
But that will not be due to prop -
militarist, blind revolutionaries, Hitler's others etc

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABRA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE,
ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 5, 1933.

IS RUSSIA POINTING THE WAY?

After fifteen years the United States is finally ready to recognize Soviet Russia. This is a belated recognition. Russia has been one of the most stable countries of the world and stability and capacity to maintain order was the sole basis for recognition of any defacto of government until the relatively new principle of legitimacy and consent of government was introduced by President Roosevelt. Recognition does not imply approval. It is simply the establishment of formal intercourse with the country recognized.

Back of our hesitancy to recognize Soviet Russia was our fear of Communism. We are afraid of Communistic agitators. We have not yet learned the lesson that foreign propagandists are no menace to any country. Revolutions spring from within. When economic conditions do not warrant a revolution, no amount of propaganda will bring it about and when they do, they create their own spokesmen and propagandists.

Russia has demonstrated that a socialist government can carry on a complete economic and political regime without the inevitable chaos and disaster which was prophesied for it. The dogma that private property and the profit system are indispensable for a modern nation has been refuted. Russia has not yet demonstrated that public ownership is better than private ownership, or that it more efficient and is capable of creating a higher standard of living for people. But it has demonstrated that men can live and work and carry through great industrial as well as cultural projects under Socialism. The fear which has been entertained that Socialism means a return to barbarism and chaos has not been justified.

The achievements of the Five Year Plan have been noteworthy, but not to justify the hopes of those great champions. In important items the value has failed of its objective. The Industrial System of Russia, to judge by the testimony of its own experts, suffers seriously from low quality of production, high cost of production, incompetent labor and great labor shifting and turnover. The standard of living in Russia is very low -- lower than in any industrial country in the world. The Five Year Plan has not improved it. Food is scarce, housing bad, necessities of life hard to procure. The agricultural problem has not been solved. Today, four-fifths of Russian agricultural land is collectivized. There has been frightful shortage of food in the most fertile regions of Russia.

But our Western Capitalist countries sunk in their own depression, their millions of unemployed and their impoverished farms, cannot afford to point the finger of scorn at Russia today.

The Soviet regime is stamping out illiteracy -- dotting the land with schools. New Russia has taught the world how races and people can live in harmony and cooperation. It has granted complete cultural autonomy to the numerous races and people within its borders. Russia has thus overnight solved the problem of ~~international~~ inter-racial and international conflicts which is the nightmare of nearly all of the countries of Europe. Russia has pointed the way at national economic planning. That this is possible only under a Social regime is debatable. That it is imperative in all countries today is clear to every right thinking man. The criticism sniping and sabotage to which our incipient efforts at national economic planning are being ~~subjected~~ subjected, are proof that it is very hard to plan nationally under Capitalism and Democracy. But that it is necessary, goes without saying.

Russia has perhaps over-socialized the individual. That ~~is~~ too is an evil. It is an evil to over-organize man for after all man is not a mere bee in a heehive. But we have over-emphasized the individual to the point where he is allowed to become an exploiter of other individuals. Our social sense has been weakened, else there could not exist all this poverty and inequality in the world.

It is not likely that we shall adopt the measures which Russia adopted in order to reach our ultimate goal of a society. We have a long ingrained democratic traditon. We treasure certain human values which doctrinnaire socialists hold light. We have lived under a capitalist system which has yielded us great good as well as great evil and it is not likely that we will sacrifice the great good in a violent effort to destroy the great evil. In our own way we shall grope our way through trial and error, through experiment and not through theory, to the better day. But we should be wise enough to learn from the experiences of other peoples and to see in their achievements guide posts to their own.