

Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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Taking stock of 1934, 1934.

TAKING STOCK OF 1934

Delivered by
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
At
The Temple
On

Sunday morning, December 23, 1934.

The year 1934, my friends, is about to end. It has been a rather turbulent, unsteady and jittery sort of year in the domestic life of this country and in the international life of the world. There were sharp ups and downs as happens in the case of a patient who had recovered from a serious illness and who is still convalescing.

Domestically, there was a slow but perceptible improvement in our economic life in business, industry and agriculture, an improvement which gained momentum as the year drew to a close and which promised to carry over with increased tempo into the new year. There seems to be much more optimism in the air at the close of this year — an optimism which is based not merely upon confidence, but seemingly upon some very substantial evidence which justifies a measure of optimism.

A cursory survey of our economic life during the last year shows, for example, that the value of agriculture and agricultural products has increased substantially. Cotton has improved. The production of bituminous coal is ten percent ahead of last year; the automobile industry is forty percent ahead of last year -- which was a good year; the furniture industry was thirty-three and one-half percent ahead of last year. There was a slight improvement in the building and construction industries.

There was a remarkable improvement in the retail field. The retail business of last year in the United States was better by four billion dollars than in 1933.

It was in the field of the manufacture of durable goods, heavy machinery, where the least improvement was noticable. In fact, up to the middle of last year there was a steady decline. Since July there has been a moderate up-turn in heavy industry. Sixty percent of the unemployed

are to be placed in this industry, alone.

It is unquestionable that the great stimulus given to business and industry in the last year and a half by way of direct loans and subsidies and indirectly by codes and legislation -- this stimulus was responsible for this considerable improvement in the economic life of our people in 1934. And the full force of this stimulus in terms of public works, in terms of subsidies for agriculture, in terms of home loans and Federal agencies will be felt, I believe, in the coming year.

Again, there has accumulated in the last five or six years a vast obsolescence in housing, in industrial plants and equipment which must now be attended to. The replacement and the new equipment, especially railway equipment, the renovating and remodeling of homes, slum clearances will yield a tremendous impulse to public building in our country.

These were the encouraging facts and prospects of 1934.

On the other hand there are discouraging facts and a picture which is not altogether a bright one. There are still ten to twelve million people unemployed in the United States. There are still today some seventeen million people who are on relief and who receive their pittance of dole from the government to keep themselves and their families from utter destitution.

Now our government, both Federal and local governments, supplemented by private charitable agencies have done a good job in caring for these millions of people. No one need have gone hungry in the United States during the past year. The dole which was provided was certainly not abundant. But it was at least adequate for the basic, the absolutely elemental needs

of a human being. Of course the dole is a miserable makeshift -- forcing millions of self-respecting workers to take charity. The problem of unemployment has not yet been solved and it is now six years since the depression began. The dole is no substitute for a job. It is a disgrace to permit millions of men who want work and who are willing to work to remain idle and to be driven to the degradation of receiving relief. It is humiliating, demoralizing. It is dangerous. And the problem grows in menace as it is prolonged. Until we have substantially solved this problem of putting men back to work, we must consider ourselves still in the very depths of the depression regardless of any improvement in this or that line of business.

1934, my friends, gave an overwhelming popular endorsement to the policies of the new administration through the leader, the political head of our government in the November election. The opposing party was practically wiped out. The great masses of the American people overwhelmingly indicated their endorsement of the New Deal. That does not mean that they thoroughly understand it. They are very much confused in the maze of its many alphabetical ramifications. They understand that their original hope that the New Deal would return prosperity has not been realized. Nevertheless they realize in their good common sense that an earnest and sincere attempt was being made under the leadership of a man in whom they have absolute confidence to rectify the abuses of the depression, to reform our economic system so that the average man and his family will have a better chance, to break the stranglehold of the small monied class over government and to make America a land for happy folks and not a paradise for millionaires, gamblers,

speculators and exploiters.

President Roosevelt enters upon a new year and faces his new Congress with the overwhelming endorsement of a practically united people. It is our hope that he will not hesitate or retreat. Terrific pressure is being brought to bear upon him. Big business, financiers, bankers and Chambers of Commerce in the past few months have brought terrific pressure to bear on the President to scrap the reform measures which have been introduced to strengthen the government control over industry and finance and to permit private business to reassume its responsibility for bringing back prosperity -- as if private industry at any time within the last six years was restrained by anyone from reassuming such responsibility. It will be a blunder of momentous proportion if the President of the United States after receiving this over-whelming endorsement sacrifices these measures which he introduced for social control. Big business wants a free hand once again to perpetrate the economic crimes and stupidities of the decade before the collapse in '29. There can be no enduring recovery and no economic stability in our national life without even more vital and thorough-going reforms than those which the present administration has so far introduced.

1934 saw the very serious perilous industrial strikes, bitter industrial conflicts, the textile strike in the south and others which indicate that the problem of the relation of albor to industry is far from solved. Our Federal government has not faced the issue squarely. It did not know what to do with Article 7-A of the N.R. A. Code after it introduced it. The government will sooner or later have to make up its mind what to do about it, whether it means to insist on the right of collective bargaining and the right of labor to be dealt with through representatives

of their own choosing, whether it means to enforce that law which insures the right of collective bargaining or not. The issue cannot be indefinitely dallied with. A definite and courageous solution of this problem will have to be found and found soon.

1934 saw two war clouds gather and disperse on the international horizon.

It was a year full of the rumors of war and the alarms of war. The

Saar and the Jugoslavian-Hungarian controversies both brought the

European people dangerously near to the brink of another war. Fortunately,

these problems were solved by diplomacy and through the medium of the

League of Nations. The League of Nations gained considerable prestige

as a result of its intervention particularly in the Jugoslavian
Hungarian controversy.

all through 1934 and how it is increasing as the day of the plebescite on January 13 approaches. Last October the armies of France marched to the frontiers. French dispatches announced that their army was ready to take over police duty in the Saar district. The talk of a Nazi putsch in the Saar Basin was feared. But evidently neither France nor Germany was ready for war, for nothing happened. An agreement was made as to the amount of money France was to receive from Germany for the French owned mines. International armies were sent to the Saar to insure a peaceful and honest election. This is the first time that an international army was created by the League of Nations to help straighten out an international question. This will in days to come create a significant precedent for other situations.

The Disarmament Conference, in 1934, was allowed to die without having adopted one protocol, without having entered into one agreement. While these peace discussions were going on, nearly every nation in the world continued to increase its armament, on land, on sea, and in the air. In South America, in the Gran Chaco, the armies of two nations, Paraguay and Bolivia, are killing each other by the thousands and are assisted and abetted by machine guns and poison gas supplied to them by the United States and Great Britain and other peace loving nations of the world.

It was a year of ups and downs, lights and shadows.

In 1934, the Yugoslav-Hungarian conflict arose. It resulted in the assassination of King Alexander of Yogoslavia at Marseilles on October 9. It might have been another assassination at Sarajevo, in 1914. That was the signal for war. But there was no international League of Nations in 1914 which could adjust the situation amicably. Because of the existence of the League of Nations that was done in 1934 in the Yugoslav-Hungarian controversy. Hungary was blamed for encouraging the Croation terrorists. The assassin was said to have been harbored in Hungary. Behind the charges and counter-charges, was of course the the old bitter problem of/Revision of the treaty of Trianon, Roumania and Czechoslovakia on the side of Yugoslavia and Italy on the side of Hungary. The spark was there. The powder-keg was there. But the League intervened. In four days the air cleared and the issue for the time being, at least, was settled. That added prestige to the League. These two events and the admission of Russia into the League in 1934 have been, in my mind, definite contributions to the cause of world peace.

On the other hand I must include as/definite set-back the break-down of the London Naval Conference between Japan, Great Britain and the United States. Japan served notice that it intends to renounce the Washington, the 5:5:3 ratio. Japan is determined to become one of the great naval powers of the world and equal to the other two. Japan intends to build up a huge empire on the Pacific. Nothing will stop this imperialism of Japan. This renunciation means but one thing -- that a relentless race in naval construction will now take place by these three naval powers. And these things always, my friends, lead to war.

Hitlerism, in 1934, continued to hang on to its stranglehold upon Germany. It was not an easy year for Hitler and for his cohorts. It is still in power but it has suffered a serious set-back. In the first place almost nothing of the program of twenty-five points of the National Socialist Party have been carried out except, of course, that which had to do with the Jews. This program of the Nazis promised that as soon as they got into power they would nationalize the stock exchanges and the banks. They would distribute the profits of the large corporations. They would abolish what they called "interest slavery". They would close down the department stores. They wouldraise the wages, improve the standard of living of the people and bring about, in a few months, Kingdom Come. The banks still charge a six percent interest in Germany. The department stores remain. The wages have fallen sharply and the cost of living has risen. Germany's export trade is crippled. Her shortage of raw materials is menacing.

The great national awakening which has been promised to the German people and by which they had been beguiled, has turned out to be a miserable coup at their own expense. They have been forced to surrender their rights by these

bloody hirelings of Yunkerdom, these physical and intellectual perverts.

But there will be an awakening, a different kind of national awakening. It
will be an awakening out of a stupor. It will be a realization sooner or
later that they had been tricked and robbed and exploited. When that day
of awakening comes, this people will rise in its wrath and wreak its vengeance
on these lying prophets. And terrible will be this day of reckoning!

1934 saw the first break of the Nazis in Germany. In June of 1934, came the first bloody purge. Hitler turned against his closest followers to keep in power. In the last few days there was a second purge, the details of which we have not learned. The Reichswehr is now in control of Germany. They are getting the Brown Shirts out of the way. There will/other purges.

In 1934 the Nazis tried to strangle the free church in Germany and failed. They tried to make religion a propaganda. But these spokesmen of religion bravely dared to oppose them and dared to say "nein!".

1934 showed to the world that dictatorship, too, cannot bring about the millenium. That is true not only in Germany. It is true in Italy.

It is also true in Russia.

Russia, too, has been having its purge in the last few weeks. One bold leader was assassinated and to this day 117 people have been made to pay the price of the assassination -- 117 people who had absolutely nothing to do with the crime are those who are being assassinated. Men and even women very close to the party, Bolsheviks, most of them, who won their spurs in fighting for years for the cause of Bolshevism. They start out by killing those who oppose them and then end up by killing each other. That was true of the

religious dictators of the Middle Ages. First the Church started killing the infidels -- the Jews and the Mohammedans, those who opposed them -- then they ended up by burning Christians at the stake. It is very difficult for human beings to understand what it is all about. A dictatorship does not allow for a free play of differences of opinion. Any division is fatal to dictatorship. Therefore, dictatorship must destroy and kill the greatest and mightiest of its party.

1934 saw the assassination of the little dictator, Dollfus, of Austria. If there is any man who deserved his fate, he deserved it. Here is a man who turned the canon upon defenseless men, women and children. The socialists were in power. But in order to gain backing of Mussolini, he had to uproot the socialist government which was the government of Vienna then and slew his people by the hundreds in a blood bath and permitted the Nazis who were sworn enemies, to come into power. And it was a Nazi who killed Dollfus.

1934 was a hard year for the Jewish people in most parts of the world. In fact, most of the recent years haven't been exceptionally good years for us. The position of the Jews in Germany remains unchanged. There has been no improvement. All the laws tend to alienate the Jew from the social, cultural and political life of Germany and ultimately from the economic life. The Jew has not yet been deprived of his citizenship. Normally he is still a citizen.....

I look forward to a break in the German situation in 1934. I look forward to a change for the better in the position of the Jews in Germany in 1935 and I base it entirely upon the supposition that Hitler's power will continue to wane, to disintegrate during the coming. Germany will have to make a determined effort to recapture foreign trade and she cannot do it as long as.

the world boycott against Germany continues in force. The condition of the Jews in other countries is being obscured because of the German situation. For example, there are only about one-half million Jews in Germany. There are three million Jews in Poland. The condition of the Jews in Poland is very bad.....Recently I read where some fifteen hundred Polish Jews received permission from the Russian government to settle in Biro-Bidjan where these poor people who have absolutely no chance of making a living in Poland, hope to make a living.

of them insignificant, some of them serious, an increase of anti-Semitic agitation and on the other hand a counter movement to resist the spread of anti-Semitism, in this country. I want to say that by and large, the reaction of the American people to the anti-Semitic propaganda has been almost entirely negligible. The American so far have not been beguiled or enticed and misled by these vicious propagandas most of which are stimulated and financed by the Nazi agencies. The American press has been singularly free from any anti-Jewish prejudice. On the contrary, the spokesmen of American life have been remarkably understanding to our point of view. We are not fighting our battle alone. No Jew ought to be be demoralized when he hears rumors of this party organization or of that. What the future holds for it, no one knows. For the present, anti-Semitism has not spread in the United States to any alarming degree.

One of the bright spots of 1934, ***************** as far as the Jews are concerned, has been Palestine. Fifty to sixty thousand Jews entered Palestine. Hundreds of thousands of new homes have been built. Industry has been expanding and only a few weeks ago a vast new tract of land was acquired by the Jews, which after

it is drained and prepared for colonization will take care of twenty to thirty thousand more Jews. At the present rate of immigration in five or six years the Jews will be a majority people in Palestine.

It has been a hard road. Perhaps the road during the coming year will also be hard. But with courage, faith and perseverance I feel confident that next year or the year after that we will come to the door of a better and a happier year. At least that is the only way in which thoughtful men and women can and should face the future.



RK TIMES, THURSDAY, DECEM

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to tighten and increase them, until soon it is suppressing the slightest deviations from "the party line." The phenomenon is familiar to the most casual student of religious history, who reads of men burned at the stake, not because they were atheists, but because they were held to be "heretical" on points of doctrine so fine that only the rare specialist on such matters today can explain what the heresies were.

The ordinary reader must puzzle over the recent dispatches from Russia with much the same feelings. He reads of men being arrested for preaching what a few years ago were regarded as orthodox Communist doctrines. He reads of other men being dismissed from their jobs as heads of universities, not because there is anything unorthodox in their own opinions, but because they failed to dismiss still other men who were allegedly corrupting youth with Trotskyist tenets.

The French Revolution, the Nazi revolution and the Russian revolution have passed, in this respect, through the same cycle. They began by killing, arresting or exiling those outside their own group; they ended by internal "purges" which, if anything, were of greater brutality.

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STAMPING OUT "HERESIES."

It has long been a Communist maxim that the end justifies the means, that a dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be firmly established without a ruthless suppression of free speech, in the sense of fundamental criticism. Events in Russia illustrate what inevitably happens under such a policy. The Government may begin by suppressing only those doctrines that seem in its eyes to threaten its existence; but instead of gradually relaxing its curbs, it tends

ORK TIMES, THURSDAY, DECE

BOOKS OF TH

By JOHN CHAMBER

TER spending years in Far Eastern lands. George Sokolsky has returned to take a look own country. His viewpoint, as set forth abor's Fight for Power" (Doubleday, Doran, s somewhat unique. Mr. Sokolsky has seen rophe, starvation and revolution in both and Russia. By contrast, the United s, even in depression, seems to him a land lk and honey. Hence he tends to play down ears of the American people. Where others seen disaster in the offing, he doesn't think will be a revolution. There is too much fat n the American animal. What he predicts recrudescence of the "conservative opposito the New Deal. This, he says, will be an resting reversion to the American type." fore coming to this conclusion, Mr. Sckolsky s his analytic eye upon the fight between al and labor, upon the possible growing ts of an American Fascist movement, upon rican foreign policy under Stimson, and upon American tariff. Much of what he has to is shrewd. Whatever one may think of Mr. olsky's own sympathies, which come to the ace during odd pauses in the objectivity, it ot be denied that the articles on the psychol aspects of the labor conflict are the result They have the true inalternat union, h itself fo rate of capitalis trial un rightly would no were or capitalis ances in America the late model. inevitably in degree munist to

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ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1934.

TAKING STOCK OF 1934

It has been a turbulent, unsteady and jittery year nationally and internationally. The ups and downs have been as sharp as fluctations in the recovery of a convalescent.

There was a slow but perceptible improvement in our country in business, industry and agriculture in 1934 which mained momentum towards the end of the year and which promises to carry on into the new year. Unquestionably, the stimulus given by our Government to industry and agriculture, directly through loans and subsidies, and indirectly through codes and other legislation, has been in a large measure responsible for the improvement. And the full force of these measures will probably be felt in 1935. Again, the necessity of taking care of the great obsolescences which accumulated in the last few years in housing and industrial equipment of all kinds promises still further to stimulate industrial activity.

On the debit side of the column are discouraging figures of ten to twelve million people still unemployed and fifteen to seventeen million people on relief. Our Government did a commendable job in caring for the unemployed and destitute during the past year. While relief was not as abundant nor as adequate as some imagine, still it provided the families with the indispensable basic necessities of life. The dole, however generous, is, of course, a sorry makeshift. Our people want jobs not charity. And until the unemployed are allowed to return to work, we must consider curselves to be in the very depths of our national depression.

endorsement in the November elections. The American people are for the New Deal.

They do not understand it all. They are very much confused in the mazes of its many alphabetical ramifications. Nevertheless they realize in their good common sense

that here an earnest and sincere effort is being made under the leadership of a man in whom they can have complete confidence to correct the abuses which bring about depressions, to reform our economic system so that the average man and his family will have a better chance, to break the stranglehold of the small monied class over Government and to make American a land of happy people, not a paradise for millionaires, gamblers, speculators and exploiters.

President Roosevelt can now press forward with his program confident of an almost unanimous backing of his people. It is our hope that he will not hesitate or retreat. The pressure upon him to retreat is tragic. Big business, financiers, bankers and Chambers of Commerce are trying to persuade him that recovery can come about only by scrapping reform. Government control over industry must be relaxed in order to enable private enterprise to resume reasonability for restoring prosperity — as if private industry at any time within the last six years was restrained by anyone from reassuming such responsibility. Big business wants a free hand once a aim to perpetrate the economic crimes and stupidities of the decade before the collapse in *29. There can be no enduring recovery and no economic stability in our national life without even more fix vital and through-going reforms than those which the present administration has so far introduced. President Roosevelt faces the crucial test of his career in the next few months.

Internationally, 1934 saw two war clouds gather and disperse. The League of Nations gained considerable prestige in helping to adjust the Saar and the Yugoslav-Hungarian difficulties. The cause of world peace received a set-back with the breakdown of the London Naval Conference and the continued ineffectiveness and inactivity of the Disarmament Conference. A bitter naval race between the United States, Japan and Great Britain is in the militage offing.

Hitlerism continued in power in Germany but suffered a serious set-back.

Not one of the twenty-five points of the Nazi program has been carried into

effect -- except anti-Semitism. Hitler was forced to resort to two bloody

Furges during the year to suppress disunion and resentment in his own party.

He failed also to stifle church op esition to his program of coordination.

All dictatorships begin by killing off the opposition and end up by killing each other. Russia, too has had to resort to a bloody Purge, not against the enemies of socialism, but against party members who differed on some subtle points of party dogma.

