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Stalin - Mussolini - Roosevelt, 1935.

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STALIN--MUSSOLINI--ROOSEVELT  
Three Symbols of World Reconstruction

By  
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
At  
The Temple  
On  
Sunday morning, February 3, 1935.



Stalin, Mussolini, Roosevelt -- these three names are today the three great symbols of three movements of world reconstruction.

Stalin -- the symbol of communism -- the man of steel -- a man who graduated from every training school in Siberia -- the hardened revolutionary -- fearless, almost ruthless individual -- the iron hand of Russia today.

Mussolini -- the symbol of Fascism -- the eloquent, passionate haranger, the man given frequently to eloquent gesturing -- the ex-socialist -- a clever journalist and orator -- the master of Italy.

Roosevelt -- a kindly cheerful human man -- friend of the common man -- a skillful, clever man who easily earns the confidence of his people and the admiration even of his foes -- the champion and spokesman of the New Deal.

These three men are today symbols, standard bearers, if you will, of three philosophies of government, three systems of economics. I do not mention Hitler, for after all, Naziism is only a Nordic version of Fascism. There is nothing new in Naziism. Because of its defeat and humiliation after the World War, Fascism in Germany became x much more violent and vindictive. There is nothing original in Naziism. The proud Aryan borrowed his technique from the Mediterraneans and the Mediterraneans borrowed it from the Slav in Moscow. Lenin taught Mussolini how to destroy democracy and Mussolini taught Hitler. Lenin, himself, did not have to originate the system of dictatorship



and the suppression of opposition. He learned that from a thousand-year old hierarchy of Czars in Russia who specialized in absolutist terrorist dictatorships.

Each of these three men has a cure for the ills of our economic system. They all three recognize the ailments which exist. They are too self-evident to be ignored or lightly treated. Stalin's cure is communism. The source of the ailment is private capitalism. The cure is the abolishment of private capitalism. The method is proletarian dictatorship. Mussolini's cure is Fascism. Source -

The method is the dictatorial state, the outlawing of all party but one and the regimentation of the whole life of the nation in one iron discipline. Roosevelt's cure is the New Deal. The source of the economic ill is the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few resulting in an over-privileged class and a large under-privileged class, an over-privileged class which victimizes the under-privileged class composed of union men. This concentration of wealth brings about periods of economic depression and suffering. The cure is raising the standard of the masses at the expense of the classes, social planning and a modicum of social control of production and distribution which will normalize the economic processes of the nation and the establishment of security of livelihood against the hazards of unemployment. The method is that of democratic government, the awakening and arousing of the political intelligence of the whole people so that they will demand and achieve these objectives.



Now of these three programs of reconstruction, the youngest is the New Deal. The New Deal is only two years old. Fascism is twelve years old. Communism is sixteen years old. It is perhaps too early to evaluate any of these three systems of world reconstruction, although a decade or a decade and a half in these swiftly moving times of ours is an inconsiderable period of time. The spokesmen of these three systems themselves like to point with pride to their achievements and acts.

The Russian reconstruction movement was of course the most thorough-going revolutionary bloody and the most extensive as far as the number of people were concerned, affecting one hundred sixty millions of people. The Russian Revolution swept over that people with a besom of destruction. It uprooted their world. It liquidated a whole class. It turned everything topsy-turvy. And now, after sixteen years in power, it is possible to take stock of the constructive achievements of the Russian Revolution as well as of its destructive elements.

At the end of sixteen years, it appears that the Russian Revolution did achieve an almost complete socialization of industry. It almost succeeded in realizing that part of its program. It has achieved the collectivization of agriculture up to sixty-five percent of the population affected and eighty-five percent of the land area affected. It carried through in these sixteen years amazing projects for industrial expansion.

The motivating principle of the First Five Year Plan was to over-take and outstrip America. While not quite succeeding in doing



that, Russia has become dotted with factories. Industrial towns and cities have sprung up. The industrial output of the country has increased. The output of coal, iron, steel, electrical power has jumped two and three-fold -- in some cases, ten-fold.

Sixteen years have shown a remarkable development in the educational and cultural field. Remarkable work was done in stamping out illiteracy in Russia. They built schools in out of the way places. They built hospitals, clinics. The health of the people improved. They stimulated the artlife of the people. These are very definite gains. They are eloquent achievements which must be put to the credit of the Soviet regime. These are definite achievements and the hope is that they will continue to increase in the coming year. And certainly no one would wish to have an interruption in these laudable processes of economic and cultural evolution.

And yet, if one had visited Russia, observed it objectively, unbiased by any philosophies, one would report that Russia has a long long way to go before the ideal millennium anticipated will be achieved. In fact, the millennium has not even been approximated. It is as far off as it has ever been. Poverty is still the norm of the Russian people. The standard of living is very low. Food is poor and scarce. The housing conditions of the working people is almost primitive, whole families living in one room or at best in two rooms. Life in Russia today is hard and full of deprivation. Wages are low. The cost of living has doubled and trebled, in four or five years.



Evidently the absence of capitalistic exploitation does not of itself insure improvement of living conditions of the masses. Friends of Russia prophecy that conditions are bound to improve, that as Russia develops more and more industrially, the working classes will enjoy more and more of the social goods. It is quite possible but it is of course prophecy and wish fulfillment which may come true and may not.

Now this deprivation of 160 million people might be justified on the assumption that they are helping to establish a classless society in which absolute equality will prevail, in which inequality of the whole society will no longer exist. But unfortunately, even that is not the case in Russia. The older the Soviet system grows, the more class differences on the basis of economic conditions and living conditions develop. New classes will arise in Russia. This class which exists in Russia is different from the classes which exist in capitalist societies. Nevertheless, definite class is sharply marked off.

Communism, of course, has long since been dead in Russia. There is no attempt to establish communism of the state, of the universal paymaster or employer. Wm. H. Chamberlin who lived in Russia for six years has this to say about the rise of new classes in Communist Russia:

"Inequality is actually being preached as a State economic dogma and is regarded not as something temporary and transitional, but as something which will persist even when the Soviet regime has reached its millennial stage of perfection, the stage of communism. On this point there is the interesting and emphatic testimony of Stalin himself, delivered in the course of his long speech at the last Congress of the All-Union Communist



party, early in 1934.

"Equalization in the sphere of consumption and personal life is reactionary petty-bourgeois nonsense, worthy of some primitive sect of ascetics but not of a Socialist society," Stalin declared on this occasion. "Marxism proceeds from the assumption that tastes and needs are not and cannot be the same as regards quality or quantity, either in the period of socialism or in the period of communism."

"This emphatic stress on the virtues and necessity of inequality has found expression in many trends of recent Soviet social and economic policy. Lenin's demand that a Soviet Commissar should receive only the wages of a skilled worker has long been cast into the realm of forgotten things. A mathematically-minded foreign correspondent who attended the recent State ball in the Kremlin on the anniversary of the Bolshevist revolution reckoned that the costumes worn by some of the wives of high government officials cost four times the average wage of an unskilled worker.

"The spread between the earnings of the skilled and the unskilled manual workers, between the earnings of the skilled worker and of the engineer or of the high State officials, is constantly growing. As the country emerges from the extreme raw bleakness of 1930, 1931 and 1932, when there was at least the surface impression of equality of general deprivation, differences in standards of living as between different classes in the new Soviet social order become more marked.

"Now, this increasing material inequality goes against the grain of many rank-and-file Communists. I recall a former Red partisan whom I once met on a collective farm in Southeastern Russia. To him communism meant something



like complete leveling and equality in living standards, and he welcomed the ruthless 'liquidation of the kulaks' which was proceeding at the time on the ground that it was eliminating those peasants who had raised themselves too much above the level of their fellows. This Red partisan was naively convinced that what had happened in the villages would soon follow in the towns, and that all Soviet employes, from Stalin down, would soon be placed on the same basis as far as wages and rations were concerned.

"This growing inequality is not the only blow which Stalin has recently dealt to the sensibilities of some Communist party members. A vigorous campaign is under way to make the directors of factories and State institutions completely independent of those traces of workers' control which had survived from the early years of the revolution. The official who is in charge of an institution, the 'Red director' who manages a factory, is given more and more of the attributes of a full-fledged boss. This insistence on one-man management doubtless makes for efficiency, but is sometimes unpopular with those Communists who are rank-and-file workers."

Loyal Communists are of course dissatisfied with this and this dissatisfaction was culminated in the bloody purge last month, when at the assassination of Kiroff, 117 communists were put to death who were directly or indirectly responsible for the death of Kiroff. It is a pity that these people were put to death. But it is the law of revolution that the over-zealous ones, the dogmatic ones, the 100 percent faithful ones are put out of the way. It was true of the French Revolution. It was true of Hitler's purge of last month. Hitler attracted young idealists



who believed in the Socialist part of the Nazi-Socialist platform. Stalin, Trotsky insisted on world revolution.

So that after sixteen years of communistic efforts with the continuing low standard of living of the masses, with a growing economic inequality and reestablishment of class distinction, with a government forced again into military alliances, into making international alliances with other countries, just as the Czars of old in Russia and as in capitalistic countries, one is justified in asking whether the terrific cost paid for the revolution in terms of economic tragedy and sacrifice, in terrorism, expropriation and the suppression of all human liberties was warranted, whether the actual acknowledged gains in education, health and industrialization could not have been achieved in other ways, or must we assume that the golden but problematic future is ample compensation for all that transpired in the last sixteen years?

And after twelve years of Fascism the trains are still running <sup>on</sup> ~~time~~ in Italy. Beggars are not to be seen on the Public Square but you do find bread lines in the back streets. What are the achievements of Fascism?

"The mounting figures of total unemployment in Italy have been, according to the League of Nations reports: 113,901 in 1926; 734,454 in 1931; 1,008,953 in 1933; and 1,158,418 in 1934. The Under Secretary of State for Corporations wrote in 1932:

Between June 1927 and December 1928, the wages of industrial workers fell by 20 per cent. In 1929 a new drop of 10 per cent took place. In 1930 there was a general lowering of wages, varying according to the categories of workers, from 18 to 20 per cent.



"The director of a fascist syndicate states that between 1927 and 1932 the wages of glass workers have fallen from 30 to 40 percent; of metal workers, 23 per cent; of workers in the building trades, 30 per cent. Real wages have decreased in many cases by 50 per cent. The cost of living during the same period has fallen by only 22 per cent and remains extraordinarily high. The burden of direct taxation falls in Italy on the workers to greater excess than in any other country.

"At the very moment that the 'Chief of the State' was perorating at the Palazzo Venezia over 'corporations' that are to help enforce the Draconian measures of misery decreed by a stroke of his pen, the starving workers of the closed sulphur mines in Sicily were rioting in the streets of Caltanissetta, crying for bread. Such was the extremity of their misery that even the police and the militia gangs of the fascist government had not the heart to carry out effective repression. At Pratolo Poligna, near Aquila, however, four workers were wounded, and one killed, in a similar food riot.

"Economic distress is everywhere at the present time the rule, not the exception. Mussolini has not failed to avail himself of the excuse that the financial difficulties of Italy are in some degree common to all capitalist countries. The plea is legitimate, although it stands in contradiction to the fascist claims that their controlled economics transcend the ordinary ills of capitalism. As regards Italy, it is to be noted that the economic crisis began to manifest itself in that country two years before it was apparent to the rest of the world. While other capitalist countries continued until 1929 to congratulate themselves on conditions of 'prosperity,' fascist Italy, which had begun before the 'March on Rome' to recover economic stability, came on critical times in 1927. This was very clearly brought



out by the Institute of Statistics of the University of Rome, an institution which was accordingly suppressed by the fascists."

So that on the basis of economics, neither Communism in Russia nor Fascism in Italy for the time being can be justified nor vindicated, nor for that matter, Naziism in Germany. In Germany, the government has tried in the last two years artificially to stimulate employment through a labor creation program, armament preparation, by sending many to conscript labor camps, by the elimination of women from industry and by eliminating men under 25.

However, the cost of living has climbed in the last two years. Germany has defaulted in its private as well as in its public debts. These figures might be of interest: In 1931 before the Nazis came into power, the balance of trade was 2,497 million marks. In 1932, a bad year, Germany still had a favorable trade balance of 1,073 million marks. In the first year of Hitler's regime it had fallen to 667 million marks. In 1934 there was an actual deficit of 283 million marks so that within two years of Hitlerism, German foreign trade lost a billion marks.

What does dictatorship give to its people for all these things it takes away from them? There is no economic improvement. The standard of living is no higher. What does it give them? It regiments them. It makes them cogs in a wheel. In the case of Germany it gives them racial romanticism. In Italy, nationalism. In Russia, the millennial dream of a classless society. People are gullible and easily persuaded. They readily surrender their hard won privileges, their liberties and rights.



Neither the achievements of communist Russia nor the achievements of Mussolini or Hitler have so far vindicated them nor do they warrant a repudiation of democracy. I am of the opinion that Communism and Fascism and Naziism will yet prove and establish the inherent fundamentalities, nationally, and /economically of the democratic method of making progress. I don't think that democracy or liberalism need abdicate because of what happened in these countries.

Of course our democracy has failed to achieve the millennial goal. And our economic system is not above criticism and it does not justify us in remaining smug and complacent about the iniquities and miseries of our own system simply by pointing a finger at other systems which are failing. If we believe that democracy is the sound method of progress to achieve a just system, then we must put before them democratic instrumentalities with which to achieve the ideal social order.

What has been wrong with our democratic system? We have permitted it to bring about periodic depressions which devastate the lives of millions of our people. What our democracy needs is courage -- courage to experiment, to try new ways, to be daring. My criticism which I uttered against President Roosevelt was not directed against the New Deal but for the New Deal. It was not directed against President Roosevelt personally at all. It was directed against slipping back into the old ways which I feared was happening, the pandering to reconstruction work and to relief measures which is temporary and inadequate.

Roosevelt's closest adviser for a long time recently voiced the same



criticism. General Johnson, himself, in an article recently written states that "the National Recovery Act has been put to sleep, that the codes are being allowed to languish, that the Blue Eagle, without which it cannot live, is dying, that the principles on which the whole plan proceeded, are being ignored. 'General Johnson emphasized that nowhere in his articles can any criticism of President Roosevelt, either expressed, or implied, be found.'

"There is no more vital and fundamental issue before the country than whether we are going to control modern scientific and industrial development to our use or suffer it to our destruction.

"The only force that can control it is industrial self-government under Federal supervision, and the only plan that was ever presented through which that control can be applied is NRA. If we scrap NRA it will be just like releasing on a roomful of school children a flock of mechanical Frankenstein man-eating/monsters, irresistible and ravenous. If we follow and develop and perfect NRA it will be like harnessing them, putting brains into their brazen skulls and driving them in a powerful team to pull us out of the mud of this morass."

Courage in a democracy is what we need. We who believe in democracy and liberalism, and I am one who is a democrat and a liberal, will not be stampeded by any form of dictatorship or Fascism or overwhelmed by high sounding dogmatism. We who believe in Democracy must be prepared to try new things and new ways and not call everything new and different radicalism, bolshevism -- labeling it in such a way that we become afraid of it.

I remember six years ago I began in this state an agitation for unemployment insurance. Even before the depression, a group of men and



women studied with me the subject of unemployment insurance. For two years we met week after week and studied the problem. Finally the Unemployment Insurance Bill was drafted -- the outline of the bill was drafted right here in one of the rooms of the Temple -- and was presented to the State Legislature. What was the result? Many organized business men and retail merchants began to bombard the legislators in Columbus with telegrams and letters against the bill and particularly against Rabbi Silver -- this terrible person who was backing this Bill. For four or five years we had to struggle against hostile people. A few weeks ago, the very organization which strongly opposed the bill at first sent people to Washington to back it.

Those who are interested in safeguarding democracy, who understand what is going on in the world today, who understand that unless something drastic is done to put men back to work, to guard against unemployment, old age, people will not indefinitely remain continuously dumb. We must correct the evils which exist. Larger amount of social control of industry should be established. Nine-tenths of the social program can be taken over and should be taken over by government. Socialization in many of the basic industries is bound to come. It is only a question how it will come, through war, agony, bloodshed or through peaceful methods and democracy.

I close with the words of the great democratic leader Thomas Jefferson, spoken over 100 years ago: "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."



That may sound like a slow method -- to improve a people by education -- to inform them by education. But that is liberalism...

I believe that Mr. Roosevelt's method is the true method, provided that method is used. The New Deal is the ideal way in Democracy for bringing about a better social order. The New Deal is not a matter of giving alms and doles. It is not a stop-gap measure. It is not an emergency measure for a temporary depression....

And my prayer is that President Roosevelt will prosecute courageously his program and will not yield to the voices of the entrenched privileged classes and be beguiled into scrapping and destroying all that is really fundamental and worthwhile -- what we call the New Deal.



babies are brought into the world. It is not a "sex" question. It is merely that natural "how?" and "why?" which is responsible for all of humanity's learning. He is innocently and normally asking his question. Nine times out of ten the child is made to feel that he should not have asked it. This is, perhaps, the first rebuff he receives, and he is puzzled but all the more curious for it. He grows and gets his information from other children in an atmosphere of shame and secrecy. The natural tendency of the child is to believe any idea which is clearly formed in his mind, especially if he knows of no conflicting, dispelling facts. He believes, he mingles, and the grimy secret is passed on from one ignorant, little mind to another, and that divine gift, one of the loveliest that belongs to humanity, is handed on to the rising generation covered with mud.

Yet society is not wholly stagnant concerning sex. It is beginning to overcome the inertia of centuries. We are beginning to progress; but it is only a beginning.

Here is the legal opinion of Judge A. N. Hand, in a decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, reversing the decision for the conviction of Mary Ware Dennett for the circulation of a pamphlet entitled *The Sex Side of Life* and alleged to be obscene:

It may reasonably be thought that accurate information, rather than mystery and curiosity, is better in the long run and is less likely to occasion lascivious thoughts than ignorance and anxiety. . . . We hold that an accurate exposition of the relevant facts of the sex side of life in decent language and in a manifestly serious and disinterested spirit, cannot ordinarily be regarded as obscene.

The significance of the Mary Ware Dennett affair, however, lies not so much in the fact that there are a few enlightened jurists in our midst but in the fact that there still exist numerous social influences (such as the Watch and Ward Society and the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice) that rigidly oppose any attempt at social progress. Conditions, to them, never change. They seem to think that life has been neatly laid out in small, checkerboard squares and that any attempt at change from the ancient ways is blasphemous and points to social ruin. These people show their

ignorance by placing veneration before reason.

Happily, many church organizations are becoming amenable to the extent that they are sponsoring publications that do attempt to "analyze," which is, as Wundt says, such a necessary step in scientific investigation.

"The Church Militant" published in London as a monthly organ of the League of the Church Militant of London, has carried a series of sermons by Miss A. M. Royden on the subject of "Sex and Moral Standards" which were indeed encouraging.

M. J. Exner, M.D., Secretary of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, has published many enlightening studies on the subject. No doubt there are many others connected with the Church who also admit the existence of a grave sex problem and the inability of that problem to adjust itself.

The Church, however, can suggest only one thing — absolute continence until marriage. Obviously, this can do nothing for many of the social afflictions previously mentioned. If such continence were faithfully and universally practiced it would, no doubt, do much in helping to retard the spread of venereal diseases, since they are spread mainly by promiscuous sexual relations; but it would only aggravate the other conditions.

The sex trap has been made out of maladjustments. Since sociology is the study of contemporary society in which problems arising from maladjustments are stressed, and since the art of organizing public opinion is the consummate application of the art of sociology, it is up to the science of applied sociology, not governmental restrictions nor traditional taboos, to drag us up out of this chaotic slough of moral ignorance. Let us have non-partisan committees (with Hoover's Committee on Social Trends and Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security as examples), and let ourselves and our government be guided by their findings. Let the Church, the government, the people co-operate as a *sociological* unit toward making this a better place in which to live rather than a better place in which to muddle through a maladjusted existence.

In an early issue: "The Psychic Side of Sex," by Ernest R. Groves



# IS FASCISM COLLAPSING?

BY ROBERT BRIFFAULT

Fascism is on the march. Its impressive and grandiose expansion through the world prefigures the eventual universality of fascism. To arrest that march is not possible.

**T**HUS does the *Popolo d'Italia* sing the triumphant spread of fascist rule. It may be, however, that the development of that phase of European reaction has already attained its summit and is even now approaching a precipitous decline.

To-day, while some 170 millions of people in Europe (exclusive of the Soviet Union) live under régimes which are still nominally democratic, more than 204 millions are subject to fascist domination. The surviving democratic governments themselves have so modified the application of democratic principles that their opposition is accounted merely nominal. In France a government which has obtained full powers to dispense with parliamentary discussion in financial matters has appointed a commission to report on the revision of the constitution. The proposed modifications would so curtail the powers of the Chamber of Deputies as practically to abolish them. The Spanish Republic, whose model constitution was acclaimed three years ago, is now at the mercy of reaction, and the fascist leader, Gil Robles, is expected at any moment to assume dictatorial power. Switzerland is now notoriously fascist in sympathy and tendencies. There are strong fascist parties in Czechoslovakia and Belgium. Similar orientations are present in Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.

To the objective observer it is apparent that, other things remaining equal, it is only a matter of time until the whole of Europe, with the possible exception of England, shall become avowedly fascist. But that contingency does depend upon "other things remaining equal."

By that is meant, for one thing, that war in the meantime shall be successfully warded off. Every European government, whether fascist or not, knows, or at least fears, that the outbreak of war would be the signal for revolution in the rear. Consequently, despite the frantic race for armaments and the scarcely veiled threats of war, never have militaristic states been so cautious in avoiding a *casus belli*.

## II

**B**UT THERE IS another possibility which is ever more closely approaching the plane of probability. Despite the seemingly triumphant spread of fascism in Europe, the conditions at present obtaining in the two most important fascist states, Italy and Germany, are such that, even before the danger of war materializes, fascist power may crumble down in sheer material chaos and dissolution.

The Bloody Saturday of Adolf Hitler is a definite sign of this and coincides with an economic condition in Germany which presages both collapse and possible revolt from below, but it may be felt that Germany is a special case. What of the patron saint of fascism, Mussolini, and his land where the trains run on time and where for fifteen years he has had an opportunity to establish his doctrines?

The mounting figures of total unemployment in Italy have been, according to the League of Nations reports: 113,901 in 1926; 734,454 in 1931; 1,008,953 in 1933; and 1,158,418 in 1934. The Under Secretary of State for Corporations wrote in 1932:

Between June 1927 and December 1928, the wages of industrial workers fell by 20 per cent. In 1929 a new drop of 10 per cent took place. In 1930 there was a general lowering of wages, varying according to the categories of workers, from 18 to 20 per cent.

The director of a fascist syndicate states that between 1927 and 1932 the wages of



glass workers have fallen from 30 to 40 per cent; of metal workers, 23 per cent; of workers in the building trades, 30 per cent. Real wages have decreased in many cases by 50 per cent. The cost of living during the same period has fallen by only 22 per cent and remains extraordinarily high. The burden of direct taxation falls in Italy on the workers to greater excess than in any other country.

While workers are suffering from deflation of wages, industrial enterprises are further handicapped by the enormous tax burden, chiefly brought about by efforts to keep up agricultural prices. The effect may be gauged by the gold index of over a thousand leading industrial shares on the market, given by the *Journal de la Bourse*. Taking the prices in 1913 as 100, those values are: for 1929, 34.7; for 1930, 31.5; for 1931, 22.1; for 1932, 14.1, for 1933, 16.9. External trade has been reduced to nearly one fourth of what it was in 1925, and the adverse balance has increased in like proportion.

Signor Mussolini has endeavored to camouflage the truly desperate conditions, and the even more desperate famine-producing measures intended to stem them, by the ballyhoo of the Corporative State. Divested of its cloud of verbiage, the Italian "corporative economy" represents nothing but what has long been known as "compulsory arbitration." The theory has never been put into practice and is brought out anew only when it is desired to break the workers' powers of collective bargaining and defensive action.

At the very moment that the "Chief of the State" was perorating at the Palazzo Venezia over "corporations" that are to help enforce



the Draconian measures of misery decreed by a stroke of his pen, the starving workers of the closed sulphur mines in Sicily were rioting in the streets of Caltanissetta, crying for bread. Such was the extremity of their misery that even the police and the militia gangs of the fascist government had not the heart to carry out effective repression. At Pratolo Poligna, near Aquila, however, four workers were wounded, and one killed, in a similar food riot.

### III

IN ITALY the opposition to the fascist régime has never ceased. Fascism has maintained its power by the same means it established it. An impression has been disseminated that, although fascism was established by violence and terrorism, its position has become so secure that such measures have long since



been dispensed with. The impression is incorrect. The plebiscite of April, 1934, which was accounted an indispensable preliminary to putting into force the drastic reductions of wages and other measures imposing misery and starvation, rendered necessary by the economic bankruptcy of the fascist state, was attended by a terrorism not excelled at the time of the "March on Rome." The balloting was open, and the most violent intimidation was exercised by the state forces. Nevertheless, in Turin the negative votes have been estimated at between 12,000 and 15,000, and those who abstained from voting numbered 40,000. Similar reports were forthcoming from Milan. In Venice the "plebiscite" led to violent riots, which the militia were unable to control before several of the "Dopolavoro" houses had been wrecked.

Open opposition to fascism is, despite all measures of terrorism, assuming ever-larger proportions in recent months. Practically the whole of Sicily and Calabria is now manifesting openly its anti-fascist spirit. At Bistari, Mussolini was burnt in effigy. At Catanzaro, a procession was stopped by masses of rioters shouting anti-fascist slogans. At Udine, in February, large demonstrations, including women and children, paraded, crying "Down with fascism." Anti-fascist riots have taken place in Livorno. Everything indicates that the opposition to fascism which is in reality almost universal among the working classes is daily becoming bolder. There can be no doubt that it will receive a large impetus from the drastic measures necessitated by economic bankruptcy.

One of the chief dangers of the desperate situation in which German nazism and Italian fascism now find themselves is that either of them may be driven to cast aside the prudence which has hitherto restrained them from facing the risks of war. Circumstances may deprive them of the power of choice. A desperate venture may offer them the only chance of escape from impending internal disaster.

Both Italy and Germany have been compelled to uphold their policies of demagoguery by utter economic recklessness. The effects of that recklessness, as well as the intrinsically unsubstantial and unreal character of their policies, have resulted in a situation well-nigh desperate. The unmistakable signs of the

anxiety which that situation is causing Hitler were seen in the massacre of June 30. The signs are no less marked in Italy.

Economic distress is everywhere at the present time the rule, not the exception. Mussolini has not failed to avail himself of the excuse that the financial difficulties of Italy are in some degree common to all capitalist countries. The plea is legitimate, although it stands in contradiction to the fascist claims that their controlled economics transcend the ordinary ills of capitalism. As regards Italy, it is to be noted that the economic crisis began to manifest itself in that country two years before it was apparent to the rest of the world. While other capitalist countries continued until 1929 to congratulate themselves on conditions of "prosperity," fascist Italy, which had begun before the "March on Rome" to recover economic stability, came on critical times in 1927. This was very clearly brought out by the Institute of Statistics of the University of Rome, an institution which was accordingly suppressed by the fascists.

The latest trade figures for Germany and Italy are revealing. Germany's foreign-trade report for June showed a deficit of 38,000,000 marks. The total deficit for the first half of 1934 was 216,000,000, which compares with a surplus of 291,000,000 for the same period of 1933. Otto D. Tolischus, correspondent of the *New York Times* in Germany, wrote:

Chancellor Hitler has admitted German exports have slumped and imports risen more than those of any other country. Italy is a close second in both respects.

The optimistic talk heard, in those European countries which still remain nominally democratic, about the power of organized democratic resistance to fascism is not justified by the facts of experience. "Other things equal," the continued extension of the fascist régime in Europe appears inevitable. But it is more than doubtful that the balance in the meantime will remain steady. It appears more probable that before it has spread to the whole continent, the fascist phase in Europe will suffer an interruption by the complete internal collapse of fascist Italy or nazi Germany or by the outbreak of a war which will be a direct result of the imminence of that collapse.



who has followed the highly propagandist and spectacular character of the few open political trials which have taken place in Russia would be likely to answer this question with an unqualified affirmative.

There was almost a compelling psychological necessity to make out of Kirov's death a symbol of the supposed implacable hatred of domestic counter-revolutionists and foreign enemies for the Soviet order, to exploit it as an excuse for tightening the repressive measures against dissatisfied critics within and without the Communist party.

### Drive Within the Party.

There is a cloud, which may never be fully cleared up, about the motivation of Kirov's assassination. Much clearer are the political and psychological considerations which have led the Soviet authorities to take Kirov's death as a starting point for a fierce drive against dissident elements within the party; against the secret followers of Trotsky, who has been sent into perpetual banishment, and of Zinovieff, who, with his associate, Kameneff, has been placed under arrest and is apparently destined for banishment.

During the last year Russia has been undergoing substantial economic and social changes. The general supply of the country with food and manufactured goods has improved to some degree, by comparison with the extremely bleak years of the first Five-Year Plan. Rationing is being abandoned in favor of a system under which goods and foodstuffs will be bought and paid for in money, without restrictions except those imposed by the pocket-book of the purchaser.

### Benefits to Classes.

But this improvement has not been evenly spread out among all classes. The people who may be regarded as constituting the economic upper class under the Soviet system—high political and economic executives, successful authors and playwrights, distinguished specialists—have been getting a visibly larger share of the still limited and meager supply of the good things of life.

Inequality is actually being preached as a State economic dogma and is regarded not as something temporary and transitional, but as something which will persist even when the Soviet régime has reached its millennial stage of perfection, the stage of communism. On this point there is the interesting and emphatic testimony of Stalin himself, delivered in the course of his long speech at the last Congress of the All-Union Communist party, early in 1934.

"Equalization in the sphere of consumption and personal life is reactionary petty-bourgeois nonsense, worthy of some primitive sect of ascetics but not of a Socialist society," Stalin declared on this

occasion. "Marxism proceeds from the assumption that tastes and needs are not and cannot be the same as regards quality or quantity, either in the period of socialism or in the period of communism."

This emphatic stress on the virtues and necessity of inequality has found expression in many trends of recent Soviet social and economic policy. Lenin's demand that a Soviet Commissar should receive only the wages of a skilled worker has long been cast into the realm of forgotten things. A mathematically-minded foreign correspondent who attended the recent State ball in the Kremlin on the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution reckoned that the costumes worn by some of the wives of high government officials cost four times the average monthly wage of an unskilled worker.

### "Increasing Inequality."

The spread between the earnings of the skilled and the unskilled manual workers, between the earnings of the skilled worker and of the engineer or of the high State official, is constantly growing. As the country emerges from the extreme raw bleakness of 1930, 1931 and 1932, when there was at least the surface impression of equality of general deprivation, differences in standards of living as between different classes in the new Soviet social order become more marked.

Now, this increasing material inequality goes against the grain of many rank-and-file Communists. I recall a former Red partisan whom I once met on a collective farm in Southeastern Russia. To him communism meant something like complete leveling and equality in living standards, and he welcomed the

ruthless "liquidation of the kulaks" which was proceeding at the time on the ground that it was eliminating those peasants who had raised themselves too much above the level of their fellows. This Red partisan was naïvely convinced that what had happened in the villages would soon follow in the towns, and that all Soviet employes, from Stalin down, would soon be placed on the same basis as far as wages and rations were concerned.

This growing inequality is not the only blow which Stalin has recently dealt to the sensibilities of some Communist party members. A vigorous campaign is under way to make the directors of factories and State institutions completely independent of those traces of workers' control which had survived from the early years of the revolution. The official who is in charge of an institution, the "Red director" who manages a factory, is given more and more of the attributes of a full-fledged boss. This insistence on one-man management doubtless makes for efficiency, but is sometimes unpopular with those Communists who are rank-and-file workers.

In the international field, also, there have been shifts in Soviet policy which arouse doubts and questionings among Communists who retain some capacity for independent thinking. The distinct soft-pedaling of propaganda for world revolution, the increasingly visible tendency to play the diplomatic game in pre-war style instead of remaining aloof from all combinations of "capitalist powers"—all such trends arouse natural heart-searchings among Communists.

Continued on Page Ten.



The Younger Generation—Pivot of the Soviet Order.

© Sovfoto.

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W. H. Chamberlin - R's "Eros Age"



## JOHNSON SAYS NRA IS BEING LEFT TO DIE

He Warns That Scrapping of Program Will Destroy What Has Been Gained.

HINTS HE IS SORRY HE QUIT

General Says Whole Depression Is a Blow at 'What We Call Our Common Sense.'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 14.—General Hugh S. Johnson, former NRA head, warns in the second article of his series in The Saturday Evening Post that if the NRA is scrapped it will be "just like releasing a room full of school children a flock of mechanical man-eating Frankenstein monsters, irresistible and ravenous."

He says that an attempt, nevertheless, is being made to disregard the principles on which the NRA was based and to substitute different methods of recovery. He did not realize this, he writes, at the time he resigned from the recovery movement.

Expressing the view that "NRA has been put to sleep, that the codes are being allowed to languish, that the Blue Eagle, without which it cannot live, is dying, that the principles on which the whole plan proceeded, are being ignored," General Johnson emphasized that nowhere in his articles can any criticism of President Roosevelt, either expressed, or implied, be found.

"It will not be found because it is not there, either in this writing or tucked away in some obscure corner of my heart or mind," he explains. "It is necessary for me to say this because I know that there will be attempts to impute it from some of the circumstances related."

Some Benefits Are Cited.

"Whatever may properly be criticized about NRA, it created 2,785,000 jobs at a desperate time and added about \$3,000,000,000 to the annual purchasing power of working people."

"NRA did much more than this. It abolished child labor. It ran out the sweatshops. It established the principle of regulated hours, wages and working conditions. It went far toward removing wages from the area of predatory competition. It added to the rights and the freedom of human labor."

The "whole difference of opinion" according to General Johnson, was that he believed that "what NRA required was adherence to its principles and reorganization only for the purpose of passing from the phase of code making to the phase of code administration," adding that he did not want to stay long enough to see that change complete.

"The idea that prevailed," the article continues, "was not a change from phase to phase but a paralysis of NRA with an apparent attempt to make a new one."

"I did not realize all this when I

laid down my charge. I thought the reorganization was to proceed on developed principles. I was even a little enthusiastic about it. It has only recently become clear that such is not the case."

Asserting that there was "something about this depression that doesn't speak well for what we call our common sense," he goes on:

"If we saw a squirrel starving to death in a knothole in his nut-filled hollow tree, we wouldn't believe it. And yet here are 125,000,000 people, granaries full, factories shut, but with millions of workers idle and hungry and shabby and afraid of the future and of everything and everybody about them, and money galore in banks and depositories. It just doesn't make sense."

"We have mechanized our industries and specialized our people. Families are no longer self-contained, economic units that can be put on wheels and trundled into a new environment to start things over again."

Says Utopia Cannot Be Reached.

"If we could have perfect balance among all producing segments—agriculture, capital, industry, workers in industry, the services, and the segment engaged in transportation and distribution—there would be almost no limit to our consuming capacity. Of course, that is utopia and can never be attained. My only point is that all law, all administration and all popular effort should be directed toward that goal instead of away from that goal."

"When the President's recovery program finally got under way employment and wages in this country were at a low point. Savage and wolfish competition and disproportions among great segments of consuming power were starving us in plenty, freezing us in warmth and destroying us behind bulwarks of financial strength."

"The most obvious, immediate way to erase the effect of the depression on wages and hours was the NRA project to decrease hours, to speed work and to increase wages to maintain purchasing power."

"There is no more vital and fundamental issue before the country than whether we are going to control modern scientific and industrial development to our use or suffer it to our destruction."

"The only force that can control it is industrial self-government under Federal supervision, and the only plan that was ever presented through which that control can be applied is NRA. If we scrap NRA it will be just like releasing on a roomful of school children a flock of mechanical man-eating Frankenstein monsters, irresistible and ravenous. If we follow and develop and perfect NRA it will be like harnessing them, putting brains into their brazen skulls and driving them in a powerful team to pull us out of the mud of this morass."

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## JERSEY GIVES REINS TO HOFFMAN TODAY

Republican Governor to Take Office After Three-Year Rule of Democrats.

### STATE'S YOUNGEST HEAD

50,000 Are Expected to Attend Open-Air Ceremonies and Witness Trenton Parade.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TRENTON, N. J., Jan. 14.—National attention will be focused here tomorrow when New Jersey inaugurates Harold G. Hoffman as its youngest Governor. The former Motor Vehicle Commissioner, who has had a meteoric political rise, climaxed by last November's Democratic upset, is to be launched into a three-year term, for which his Republican constituents have great hopes.

It is expected that his inauguration will be held in the open in front of the War Memorial Building, despite the threatening low temperatures. All plans have been completed for this, but a last minute change to the auditorium of the Memorial Building is possible. George B. McClelland and Edward I. Edwards were the only Governors inaugurated without a roof over their heads.

Colonel J. Fred Margerum, who will be the Governor's aide, and who also will be grand marshal of the inaugural parade, estimated today that there will be more than 50,000 persons from all parts of the State participating in the ceremonies.

#### Republicans to Celebrate.

Three years ago the Democrats "put on the show" when A. Harry Moore, now United States Senator, became Governor for the second time. Tomorrow the Republicans will celebrate.

Henry P. Fletcher, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has planned to be on hand. Also expected is Senator W. Warren Barbour.

Moving promptly at 1 o'clock, the parade will be reviewed by Mr. Hoffman from a stand in front of the State House. It will be a procession of military units and civilian delegations from all parts of the State. Scores of bands will be in line.

The Governor-elect, accompanied by his family and a party of friends, will begin the day by attending a special service of devotion and intercessional at St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church. Bishop Al-

bion W. Knight will take part in the service, which will be conducted by the Rev. Samuel Steinmetz, beginning at 9:30 o'clock.

At the conclusion of the services the Governor-elect will return to the State House and at 11:30 o'clock will meet with members of the Legislature, the judiciary and the New Jersey delegation in Congress in the Executive suite. A procession will form and march with the 102d Cavalry to the War Memorial Building. There the oath of office will be administered and the new Governor will deliver his inaugural message.

#### Air Demonstration Planned.

While the ceremony is in progress and during the parade the Forty-fourth Division Aviation Corps under command of Major Robert L. Copsey will stage an aerial demonstration. A salute of nineteen guns will boom as the oath is completed by Chief Justice Thomas J. Brogan.

The invocation will be asked by the Rev. L. Lawrence Pitt, rector of the Greenwood Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, and benediction will be pronounced by the Rev. Father Michael J. Corr, pastor of Our Lady of the Most Blessed Sacrament Church, East Orange. The 114th Infantry band will play.

Governor Hoffman will then go to the stand in front of the State House to review the parade.

A reception in the Executive suite will follow the parade. Senator and Mrs. Barbour will be with Governor and Mrs. Hoffman in the receiving line.

Governor Hoffman will attend two veteran association dinners at night.

### WIDOW, 50, LEAPS INTO BAY

Mother of 7 Children Pulled Out by Crew of Passing Tug.

A widowed mother of seven children startled crowds along West Street at the Battery yesterday afternoon by leaping into the icy waters in an attempt to die. She was rescued and revived by three members of the crew of a passing tugboat.

She is Mrs. Bessie Sanft, 50 years old, and lives with her children at 1,497 President Street, Brooklyn. After being revived on Pier 1 she told the police of the Marine Division that she had been despondent since the death of her husband.

The rescuers were Engineer Edward Wicksher, Fireman Earl Erickson and Deckhand John Husby, all of whom shed their mackinaws and dived after her. The tug is owned by the Dalzell Towing Company.

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came into power to about 2,000,000 now.

This has also been the Government's refusal to repay its foreign loans in full or to allow its nationals to make repayments to foreigners on their own debt. In the whole past decade, indeed, foreign loans and repayments have overshadowed any other single influence on Germany's foreign trade, a fact which becomes evident enough when we tabulate the figures:

(In millions of marks.)

	Exports.	Imports.	Export Balance.
1934.....	4,167	4,450	-283
1933.....	4,871	4,204	+667
1932.....	5,739	4,666	+1,073
1931.....	9,206	6,727	+2,479
1930.....	11,328	10,393	+935
1929.....	14,456	13,986	+470
1924-8 (av.)	7,827	10,355	-2,528

In the five years from 1924 to 1928 Germany, though making reparation payments, was receiving huge loans from foreigners, chiefly Americans, and was able with this help to buy an import surplus averaging 2,528,000,000 marks a year. As soon as this situation was reversed the trade balance was reversed. When, in 1931 and 1932, foreign creditors were engaged in a panicky withdrawal of their funds, Germany had to make huge repayments,

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"I KNOW NO SAFE DEPOSITORY OF THE ULTIMATE POWERS  
OF SOCIETY BUT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES; AND IF WE  
THINK THEM NOT ENLIGHTENED ENOUGH TO EXERCISE THEIR  
CONTROL WITH A WHOLESOME DISCRETION, THE REMEDY IS NOT  
TO TAKE IT FROM THEM, BUT TO INFORM THEIR DISCRETION  
BY EDUCATION."

THOMAS JEFFERSON 1820





1/ 3 Names - are to-day symbols.

Stalin - "Iron & Steel" - hardened Rev - Soldier  
Muss - The V. Patriotic - ex Soc. journalist -  
Rus - the friendly - cheerful - human - with  
infirm capacity for action -

Do not mention Hitler - ~~at all~~ Nordic version - Nothing new -

Rec. of national defeat - violent - vindictive - Nothing original

prond Anyan -

Lenin taught - and he did not have to invent - Gas

2/ Each of these 3 has cure - ill

All 3 acknowledge - too self-evident

Stalin's cure <sup>from</sup> the source - cure - method -

Muss " " " " " "

Roosevelt " " " " " "

3/ Of these 3 programs of Reem. - New deal is youngest - 2 yrs  
It is perhaps too early - at this -  
The spokesmen - themselves ask to be judged - proud

4/ Russian Reem. - most thorough - affecting -

"Reem. of destruction" - uprooted a whole world - Telling - turning <sup>kill</sup>

At the end of 16 years - has much to show by way of construction

① Carried through its socialist prog. to extent - collectivizing

② " " " " amazing projects of indust. expansion

"overtaking and outstripping America"

Dotted Russia with ships - plants - factories - power stations  
new indust. towns + cities.

Increased output

③ Cultural field -

Health work -

Encouraged art -



5/ And yet - no one who visits R. millenium even approached  
Poverty is normal <sup>meats - fats - rare luxuries</sup> standard - food - is poorer & <sup>clothing - ragged</sup> housing  
conditions - life - terribly hard & full of deprivations.  
wages low - cost of living doubtless high.  
The absence of cap. exploitation has not improved their  
standard of living.

6/ Friends prophesy - that this is all press-work - with  
fulfilment -

then deprivations may be justified on assumption that  
a class-less - absolute equality - coming to be  
But this is not the case - The older the Soviet system -  
(Dust) - <sup>no communal living -</sup> (1) High officials (2) Engineers & technicians  
State as employer & pay master (3) skilled labor (4) ordinary labor. Castle  
- anecdote -

7/ Misrepresentation - Page 117 - Kiroff - Young Communists -  
This is a law of Revolution - For all the - the most zealous  
French Revol - Hitler - Stalin - Trotsky -

8/ After 16 years of Comm. Regime - with <sup>low standard of living</sup> ~~growing~~ eco. inequalities  
military alliances - standing armies -  
Was the price cost in human tragedies - human sac -  
in terms of - expropriation - suppression of all liberty  
justified?  
Could not the <sup>acknowledged</sup> gains in education - health - industrialization  
have been achieved -  
Or shall we say that the problematic future, of future future  
is sufficient compensation for all sac. & dep. & port threat.

9/ Italy - has run as true - no beggars. (Dust)



10/ On basis of Economics neither Com. Russ. nor Fascist Italy  
nor, for that matter, Nazi Germany

Germany - labor-creation program - armament preparations  
stimulated - unemployment - labor camps - 25 - women -  
wages - living standards  
defuncted

Foreign Trade. (Quote)

11/ What does a dictatorship give its people - liberties denied -  
lower standard - prison house - spy system -  
And people are gullible!

12/ No! The achievements of Com. or of Fascism have not so far  
indicated them, nor do they warrant a refutation  
of democracy.

They may get proof - that democ. is only the way

✓ Heart & Courage - Criticism of Roosevelt -

Sen. Johnson (Quote)

✓ Unemployment Insurance - Retail merchants - Temple -

✓ A moral passion nothing thus dem. instrumental

13/ Thomas Jefferson -

"D. is a raft.... It is a wet place - but it is a  
pretty safe one"



ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE,  
ANSEL ROAD AND E. 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 3, 1935.

STALIN -- MUSSOLINI -- ROOSEVELT

On the basis of their economic achievements, neither Communist Russia nor Fascist Italy nor Nazi Germany has vindicated its program or justified its methods. At the end of sixteen years Soviet Russia has carried through amazing projects of industrial expansion. It has established many new shops, plants and factories. It has increased its industrial output. It has made gigantic efforts to overtake and outstrip America. In the fields of education and health work it has made remarkable progress. Nevertheless poverty is still the norm of Russia. The standard of living of the masses is low. Food is poor. Housing conditions are primitive. Wages are not ~~xx~~ keeping pace with the cost of living which has doubled and trebled in the past few years. Life is terribly hard and full of deprivation.

These deprivations might have been justified on the assumption that a truly classless society would ultimately be established. This is no longer the case in Soviet Russia. Classes are arising, sharply differentiated from one another by economic income and by the privileges which they enjoy. The leaders of Soviet Russia today are actually preaching inequality and justifying it. Stalin declared, in 1934, at the last Congress of the All Union Communist Party: "Equalization in the sphere of consumption and personal life is reactionary petty-bourgeois nonsense, worthy of some primitive sect of ascetics but not of a Socialist society. Marxism proceeds from the assumption that tastes and needs are not and cannot be the same as regards quality or quantity, either in the period of socialism or in the period of communism."

In view of the continuing low standard of living of the great masses of Russia, the increasing economic inequalities, the recreation of class distinction as well as many features of old-time capitalistic society, such as military



alliances with imperialistic countries and huge standing armies, one is justified in asking whether the terrific cost paid for the revolution in terms of economic tragedy and sacrifice, in terrorism, expropriation and the suppression of all human liberties was warranted. Could not the acknowledged gains in education, health and industrialization have been achieved in other ways, or must we assume that the golden but problematic future is ample compensation for all that has transpired in the last sixteen years?

Italy's twelve years of dictatorship has resulted in mounting unemployment figures, in drastic reduction of wages and nation-wide economic distress. Trains are running on time in Italy but bread riots are increasing.

Germany's experience under its dictatorship has been no better. Unemployment has been somewhat reduced through a labor creation program, armament preparation, conscript labor camps, the elimination of women from industry and all men under twenty-five. Wages have fallen. The cost of living has risen. The nation has defaulted on its private as well as its public debts and its balance of trade has suffered by more than a billion dollars in 1934.

It is clear that the economic achievements of dictatorships are no convincing argument against democratic society. The economic failures of dictatorship may yet establish that democracy is the only way to national economic redemption. But democracy needs courage -- the courage to experiment and to try new ways. It needs a \_\_\_\_\_ which will utilize its agencies and instrumentalities to ~~xxxx~~ achieve the fullest measure of social justice possible.

The philosophy of the New Deal is sound. It is the democratic way of achieving a better society. But its advocates must not retreat as they have in recent months into relief and ~~xxx~~ palliative measures, forgetting that the New Deal was a method of reconstruction and reform, not a stop-gap or an emergency measure for a temporary depression.