



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

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Box  
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Folder  
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A visit to Soviet Russia, 1935.

1- Visited Sumner 1927- Again

Expert-

Interested observer- to see- "feel"

Here was -

2. Question - Yes & No.

Quite Naturally-

In the eyes of a diet- tourists-

Tenique-

Amazing-

State secrets- Stalin- Jap. Emperor- Karel-

But one need not -

§.

3- One visits shops - / Stores

Homes

Schools - text-books

Churches

Theaters

Walks streets.

Chance upon -



First  
1. Visited S.R. summer of 1927 - 8 yrs. ago. - Against visited it this summer.  
Not as expert or student of R. affairs, or to study carefully conditions in country - years and past works are required - and a much more complete equipment than I possessed.

Went this summer, as in '27 as an interested observer to see only on the surface, what progress had been made during these 8 yrs, to get the feel of the country again, its pulse, its temperature, to learn how much closer the regime had gotten to the fulfillment of its vision of a classless, socialist society.

Here was the greatest single event in modern times - the most significant world upheaval since the Fr. Revol. - Here a new social order was unfolding which in so many ways contradicted and challenged the existing social order elsewhere - Here was a reversal or a transvaluation of nearly all the customary, ~~traditional~~ econ. pol. social & religious values of the Western world - I wanted to see it again in operation after ~~8 yrs~~ <sup>an</sup> absence of 8 yrs -

2. Question frequently asked of me - Can you really see things in S.R.? Are you free to go around and investigate? What you constantly spied upon? What you seeing only the things which they want you to see?  
The answer is both yes and no. Intuitively the govt. wants the tourist to see those things which are creditable to it. Intuitively it does not wish to expose to foreign, in particular and often unfriendly eyes, its weaker sides. In the eyes of a dictatorship, which is always in trial, tourists serve only 2 purposes, to bring "valuta" i.e. foreign exchange into the country and - propaganda. The technique of propaganda is, as you know, not the technique of free review or objective education. It is deliberately partisan and one-sided. It would be truly amazing if the official guides - and there are no others - took you to see the failures of the Soviet regime... You are tourists generally shown the State secrets or the confidential archives, the gates the Kremlin thrown open to them, nor are they ushered into the presence of Stalin for an informal, friendly chat. Stalin and the important commissars & staff officials are far less accessible



to foreigners as to Russians than the Emperor & Japan - for the  
simple reason that they are more scared. Ever since the assassination  
of Nikolai, in 1901, the key men, the Gum. Party and loss of Leningrad, the  
rulers of Russia have been very nervous & jittery. Therefore they  
start their dictators. They all proclaim that they have their people  
secretly behind them. But they would rather have them in front - where  
they could watch them, with perhaps a bullet-proof, shatter-  
glass case between the people and themselves...

But one need not take an official guide. One can go alone and by  
himself and if one has brains what to look for, and has his is a  
trained observer, and keeps his eyes and ears open, and his mouth,  
as far as possible, shut, one can see enough and learn a great deal.  
One visits shops, factories, factories collectors factories: one sees conditions under which  
one works & learns something about internal org. management, wages, hours,  
work etc. One visits homes in the city & country & sees how people live.  
One goes to stores and sees how well stocked they are, what people buy and  
what the prices are. One goes to schools, kindergarten, nurseries, play-  
grounds & sees how children are trained, and by acquiring sense, the  
what is being taught. One visits clinics, hospitals & health  
institutions - see rest sanatoria - health & people. One goes to  
theaters, movies, concerts, opera, amusement centres - how people are being  
amused - and quality of culture disseminated. One walks the  
streets & sees how people are dressed, and the appearance of  
the buildings for evidence of construction & decay. And if  
one is fortunate to chance upon a few people, either Russians or  
foreigners who have lived in Russia for a long time, who are  
willing to talk - one can learn a great deal.



3. Last time - before Five Year Plan was launched, S.R. had not yet realized after its three-year program of collectivizing agriculture and of dignifying the peasant class. The semi-capitalist system, which the Stef, which lives under free & capitalist conditions, had introduced, had not yet been abandoned. The cellular industrial expansion had not yet got under way.

The huge Dnieprostroi hydro-electric power plant - the largest in world had not yet been built.

Not the huge Magnitogorsk iron and steel plant - capable of producing 2 1/2 m. tons of steel annually & more than that of any iron

Not the large Heavy machine-building plant, at Sverdlovsk

Not the Tractor factories at Stalingrad and Kharkov, 100,000 each

" " Automobile works at Gorky (Nizhni Novgorod)

" " Large Agricultural Machinery Works - Rostov-on-the-Don

Not thousands of other large & small ind, elect. & chemical enterprises

Not the canal linking up Baltic with White Sea,

- the first having opened in 1930 to Stalin

4. By 1935 - S.R. was 1/2 way in its Second 5 yr. Plan. So that, after 8 yrs. one could not fail to see evidences of great material dev't. Progress all about him.

(1) Giant strides are continually being made in the heavy industries, in production of machinery, in mining, in building output of steel, copper, oil, gold, in bulking. There has been no slackening in tempo.

(2) One is impressed with boundless energy, initiative and pioneering zeal of the Russians - No plan, no ambitions. No hills, no difficulties. When one recalls word of resignation, indifference & drifting - associated with Slavic temperament in pre-Rev. days - amazed - psychic transformations -



(c) Increase in light industries - consumer goods. Not as great - Propan & industrialization and Fear, War -  
✓ People suffered great deprivations during first 5 yr. Plan.

In many ways they still do.

- (a) Food - not plentiful - ~~an~~ average meal - Bread lacks
- (b) Clothing - shabby - expensive.
- (c) Housing - very bad.

Govt. doing all it can to build more houses. Problem great esp. in face of <sup>fact</sup> increasing that pop. is increasing at rate of 2%.

In the villages - rural sections, except for govt. buildings and new stables, barns, erected for collections, peasants live in same miserable huts of Czarist days. It will take generations to rebuild rural Russia.

5. Moscow enjoying building boom. 10 yr. plan Semi-Asiatic city transformed.  
Five new office buildings, apartment houses, hotels spring up.  
New streets & boulevards laid out.

Moscow subway - show place - expensive prices of propaganda to glorify of Com. + resp. Statues, where statues adorn the entrance, & where free, in paint, stone, & in an 100 diff forms one never sees anywhere in S. Union, Statues certainly do advertise!...

— It used to be Karl Marx etc

Leningrad too, is being dressed up. Highest & decay are disappearing - scaffolding for reconstructing & painting everywhere in evidence.



6. Much has been said and written about health - work & recreation.  
Are doing remarkable piece, work. Exhausting situation  
Schools for young + adults built rapidly.

Amusement crowded.

There is a dearth of engineers, technicians, medical men in Union.

Young men + women, attracted to their professions.

Fear + distrust of Intelligence, New aristocracy

new heroes - Training, skill, knowledge - reputation

7. Recreation - Compensates for scantiness.

"Parks for Rest & Culture" - High class amusements, <sup>convents, sports</sup> clean fun. No commercialized entertainments. No vulgarity. There is no pandering to lowest tastes for profit sake.

Generally, Russian cities are amusing "clean" in walk. No commercialized vice. Sex is not planted in art, literature, in dress, or on the stage or in movies.

Russian theatre, opera + ballet among finest in world, and people crowd them.

Russian museums, great art treasure, conserved by Bol-  
sheviki with workers, peasants, Guides - explain art, and also  
work in considerable num. propog. as they go along -  
Esp. when they take their people thru the palaces, the galleries and  
the mansions of nobility. See how the exploiters lived at the  
expense, their fun + relaxed subjects.

↳ Trotsky Picture Gallery - Moscow - Child.

Russian Art - painting, sculpture, literature, not yet emerged  
from its Rev. stage - They still abound in Rev. themes,  
still - propaganda - Most common symbols - are machines -  
blast - furnaces - creene - Machine Pantheism -  
still with -



One huge statue in plaster which holds prominent place in one gallery - Woman with ladle pouring molten steel into a mold -

The ~~sculpture~~ <sup>sculpture</sup> for labor - unique in Western World - has put woman into industrial life and created the principle, that being the equal, man, she should do the same kind, work as man - Hardest & most punishing kind, physical labor. Mines, hot-cinders, steel-molten. A Westerner in 1918 shocked at it. The econ. ~~importance~~ equality ~~for this~~ woman does not lie necessarily in doing the same kind of work - but in doing work of equal importance.

#### 8. Religion - decline

- ✓ Govt. hostile - education, atheistic. Moscow - St. Isaac Cathedral
- ✓ Rel. Workshops - not prohibited, many churches ab. converted. Rel. Ed. prohibited
- ✓ To be identified with church - serious handicap - govt. pol.
- ✓ Churches - Mikhail Gershena - twilight about 50 - mostly women in kindergartens - a few old men - 3-4 children. Beautiful work - devout worshippers - Tremendously moving - like persecuted churches under persecution
- ✓ Synagogues - Moscow, Leningrad - Older generation. Holidays well-attended -
- ✓ No org. Jewish life in S.R. - Clubs etc. Zionism outlawed  
Yiddish culture - His-Bridjan.
- ✓ No Anti-Semitism - count. Revol. Equality - Test to come  
when one turns eyes - Westward - Germany -

9. There is no vestige of communism left in S.R. A colossal State Cap. has been built up with a vast and



increasing bureaucracy, which is entrenching itself on power and privilege and which will not abdicate without terrific resistance.

Classes are reappearing in what was to be a classless soc. - There are already definite and sharp gradations in the income, wage balance, people. A new econ. hierarchy is developing. At the ~~bottom~~ top is the ~~exec~~ admin. + military officials, below them the managers, experts, technicians and the professional classes, still further down, the skilled workers and at the bottom, the so-called peasant and the unskilled worker. - There in the higher classes better wages incomes, can obtain better living quarters - + better food and clothing - the marks which always distinguished one class from another. The process has not yet gone very far. - There are not the glaring peaks & valleys in cap. countries. But the trend is clear - & seemingly inevitable. Private property is allowed. Only private cap. is prohibited. Savings are secured. ~~Capital is not allowed to go to the government.~~ Capital is not allowed to go to the government.

10. People of S.U. - I found, were hopeful & confident of success - Conf. that things will keep on getting better - Fear a war Japan - Germany

Preparing largest standing army in Europe - Military aviation - air-minded - parachutes - Jefferies - Militarized - Even a socialist state cannot be pacifist in modern world

11. S.K. is making a go of it - as an Econ. enterprise. It is on way of solving problem of production for use and not for profit - It is giving technology - the machine - the freest and fullest play. The private profit motive is not allowed to interfere and ~~endanger~~ its smooth operation. The machine is made to produce its maximum, and every worker is employed.



It has not solved the problem of a free society in a machine age. It has sacrificed all human freedom to the econ. productivity. Dictatorship, whether, there, appears is the price paid - Man is regarded essentially as an agent in econ. production, and the increasing of a rapidly controlled econ. system has been imposed upon his pol. moral and intel. life.

Whether the pluses will cancel the minuses, whether the material gains which <sup>which these gains will really be as substantial as they appear</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> offset the sp. intell. & cultural losses, whether men will be happier under the new dispensation, only the future can tell. It is too early to declare the Soviet experiment a success. It is premature to say that the sov. dictatorship / the proletarian is the only way of improving the econ. position of the masses, or of making our machine age conform to the higher conceptions of human destiny —



438

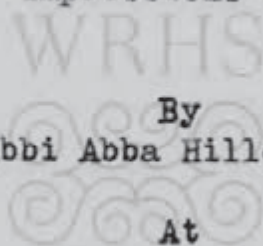
A VISIT TO SOVIET RUSSIA

The Second of a series of two lectures on Rabbi Silver's  
Impressions of Europe.

By  
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At  
The Temple

On  
Sunday Morning, November 17<sup>0</sup>, 1935



I visited Russia in the summer of 1927, eight years ago, and I revisited it this last summer. I did not go to ~~Russia~~, the Soviet Union, as an expert or as a close scientific student, for one requires much more time than I was able to give to my visit, certainly a much larger equipment than I possess. I went this summer, as I went eight years ago, as an interested observer to get the feel of that country, ~~as it were~~, to see what progress had been made during these last eight years, to get the pulse, temperature, <sup>and</sup> the mood of the people, to see how much nearer the regime has approached <sup>to</sup> its ideal of a classless socialist society. Here was the greatest single event in modern times, the most momentous upheaval since the French Revolution. Here was a social order unfolding which in so many ways contradicted and challenged existent social orders elsewhere. Here was a recasting or a transvaluation of all the customary political, economic and religious values to which we <sup>we</sup> are accustomed in our part of the world. And I wanted to see it operating after an absence of eight years.

A question which is frequently put to me is this: Can you really see things in the Soviet Union? Are you free to go about and investigate or are you constantly spied upon, seeing only those things which the government wants you to see? The answer is simply - yes and no. Quite naturally, the government is interested in showing tourists those things which are most creditable to it. Quite naturally, the government does not want to expose to the eye of inquisitive, oft-times unfriendly folk, evidences of its weaknesses and failures. In the eyes of a dictator, a tourist serves only two purposes: First to bring foreign exchange into the country; second, ~~for the purpose of~~ propaganda. As you know, the



technique of propaganda is not that of abstract scientific investigation or objective education. It is deliberately partisan, one-sided. It would have been amazing if the official guides of Russia took the tourist to see the failures of that country. And the tourist, quite naturally, is not shown state secrets, or the confidential archives ~~of the records~~ of the Party, nor are the gates of the Kremlin opened, nor is he allowed to enter the private <sup>office</sup> ~~chamber~~ of Stalin for an informal, friendly chat. It is more difficult to get to Stalin than to the Emperor of Japan for the simple reason that Stalin is more scared than the Emperor of Japan. Ever since the assassination of Kiroff, one of the key men of the Communist Party and boss of Leningrad, the gates of the Kremlin have been locked and bolted to foreign tourists and to Russian ~~students~~ as well. It is a strange thing about dictators - they all proclaim to the world that they have their people solidly behind them, yet in their heart of hearts, they would rather have their people right in front of them, where they can watch them.

But one need not ~~have or~~ take an official guide in Russia. One can go alone, by himself. One is not spied upon, at least not to his knowing, and if one has his eyes open and his ears open and knows what to look for, if one is a trained observer, one can learn a great deal. One visits shops, factories, collective farms. One sees the condition under which the Russian worker works today. One inquires of the management about wages. One visits the stores. One sees how well-stocked they are or how poorly-stocked, <sup>also</sup> ~~they are~~, the prices of merchandise, <sup>and</sup> ~~what~~ people eat. One visits the kindergartens, schools, nurseries, playgrounds and sees how children are trained, ~~and~~ <sup>by</sup> acquiring some of the text-books



and by getting some one to help you read them, one gets an idea of what is being taught. One visits clinics, hospitals and health institutions, rest sanatoria - one gets an idea of <sup>how</sup> the health of the people. <sup>is looked after</sup> One goes to theatres, movies, opera, parks of recreation. One walks the streets, Perhaps this is one of the best ways of learning at first hand about the life of the people, how they dress, the appearance of the buildings, whether they are dilapidated and decayed, whether new buildings are being constructed. One visits a few homes of people and one finds out how people live. And, if along with all this first hand information, one is fortunate enough to chance on a few people, either Russians, or foreigners who have lived in Russia for a long time and who will talk - one can get a fair idea of what is going on in Russia.

The last time I was in the Soviet Union, 1927, the Five Year Plan had not as yet been launched. The Soviet Union had not yet embarked upon its thorough-going program of collectivizing farms and of liquidating the Kulak class. Nor had the government finally abandoned the semi-capitalistic regime, nor had the government ~~yet~~ undertaken ~~on-carried~~ ~~through~~ those colossal industrial enterprises and expansion programs which have since taken place. The huge Magnitogorsk iron and steel plant, one of the largest in the world, capable of producing two and a half million tons of steel annually, and more than that of pig iron, had not been built. Nor had the huge Dnieprostroi hydro-electric power plant, the largest electrical power producing plant in the world, ~~been~~ ~~built~~. The large heavy-machine building plant at Sverdlovsk had not yet been built. The great tractor factories at Stalingrad and ~~Kherkov~~ <sup>Charkov</sup> had not yet been built, nor the automobile works at Gorky, nor the large



agricultural machinery works at Rostov-on-the-don, nor the thousands of other large and small industrial, electrical, chemical and mining enterprises, nor had the great canal linking up the Baltic with the White Sea been constructed.

In eight short years, these things had come to be. In 1935, the Soviet Union was half way in the second Five Year Plan. So that it was quite evident on all sides ~~for a visitor to see~~ that Russia was making huge progress. Giant strides were being made, particularly in the heavy industries, in the production of machinery, in mining, in the output of steel, iron, oil, gold and in building. There has been no slackening in the tempo of this <sup>amazing</sup> ~~marvelous~~ industrial <sup>development</sup> ~~nation~~, in this country which was the least industrialised/a few years ago on the continent of Europe.

I was tremendously impressed with the boundless energy manifested on all sides, this amazing pioneering zeal of the Russians. No plan was too ambitious. No <sup>task was</sup> ~~plan~~ too difficult. When one recalls the <sup>peculiar</sup> ~~psychology~~, the temperament, <sup>indifference and</sup> ~~the apathy~~, the ~~indifferences~~, the mood of resignation which <sup>was</sup> ~~once~~ associated with the Russians, one realizes that the Revolution has performed an amazing <sup>psychic</sup> ~~scientific~~ transformation in this people of 140 million ~~Soviet~~ <sup>souls</sup>.

There has also been considerable increase in the light industries, in the consumers' goods. It is not as great as in the heavy industries. The program for industrializing Russia and also the fear of war inspired the leaders of Russia to lay the greatest emphasis on heavy industries, upon making Russia self-sufficient as far as the production of machinery is concerned. The consumers had to suffer. The people suffered many deprivations and are still suffering deprivations today. Food is not yet



plentiful in the Soviet Union. What there is of it, is of the <sup>most</sup> rudimentary kind. While bread cards have been abandoned, there is not a sufficiency <sup>of staple articles of food,</sup> of staple articles of food. The average meal of the Russian consists of black bread, soup. <sup>tea</sup> Occasionally <sup>then is salted</sup> they ~~tear~~ a herring and once in two weeks <sup>or so</sup> they get a pound of meat, but that is a rare delicacy. The clothing ~~you see~~ people wear <sup>even</sup> in the theaters and in the parks are very shabby. Many of them are threadbare. Clothing is expensive in Russia.

~~And the~~ housing conditions are still very very bad. There are not enough houses for the people. The government is doing its utmost to build new homes and yet the great crowding into the large cities which <sup>has been</sup> is taking place since the Revolution has made housing a difficult problem, <sup>as well as</sup> and the tremendous annual increase of the Russian population which is almost two million, ~~makes the housing problem a very pressing and severe one.~~ The norm is for <sup>whole</sup> families to live in a single room.

In the villages, ~~the rural sections,~~ with the exception of <sup>the</sup> government buildings, stables and <sup>barus</sup> ~~stables~~, many of them very fine and scientific, built for <sup>the</sup> collectives -- ~~in the villages and on the farms,~~ <sup>the</sup> peasants live today exactly as in the days of the Czar. It will take generations to rebuild rural Russia.

<sup>in the large cities especially Moscow, Leningrad -</sup>  
But you do see all about you evidence of building and construction.

~~The government has not resigned itself to any condition of satisfaction.~~ Moscow is enjoying what we <sup>would</sup> call a building boom. This semi-Asiatic city is being transformed. I saw the plans for Moscow for the next ten years. If carried through, Moscow will be one of the most modern <sup>and</sup> beautiful cities in the world. Everywhere, ~~today~~, you see new apartment houses, new



hotels, new office buildings springing up. New streets and boulevards are being laid out. ~~You can't help seeing it because they don't give you a chance to miss it.~~ The subway, one of the show places of Moscow, is to the mind of <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ practical American, a needless waste of money. It is a gorgeous subway built out of marble, <sup>and costly</sup> electrical fixtures, ~~etc., on~~ a ~~smaller scale than the Grand Central of New York.~~ It <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ built <sup>that way</sup> of course, <sup>for propaganda purposes</sup> ~~at the expensive price of propaganda,~~ to show what the new regime has achieved, to the glory of Stalin whose statue adorns <sup>every</sup> ~~the~~ entrance. These dictators do love to advertise. Every street corner has a figure of Stalin in stone or a painting of Stalin in a hundred different poses. Fifty years ago it was Karl Marx in Russia. Then it was Karl Marx and Lenin. Then it was Lenin. Then it was Lenin and Stalin. Now it is Stalin. Lenin is a shadow in the background.

Evidences of neglect and decay are fast disappearing in the principal streets of Leningrad, ~~too~~. Here you see people renovating their homes and giving them fresh coats of paint.

Much has been said and written about education in Russia and the health work. I will therefore not dwell long upon that. The Soviet regime has done a remarkable piece of work in <sup>education</sup> ~~Russia.~~ <sup>During</sup> ~~the past years they~~ <sup>Schools</sup> built schools for children and adults at a remarkable pace. The universities of the Soviet Union are crowded to overflowing. Russia is experiencing a dearth of trained people, of technicians, of engineers, of experts, of <sup>doctors</sup> ~~medical people~~, and the youth of Russia who see the promise of improving their <sup>position</sup> ~~country~~ by going into these higher classes, are now crowding into the universities. An interesting change has taken



*attributed to the Bolsheviks*  
place in the ~~Russian people~~ toward the intelligentsia. During the Revolution, the intellectual classes were ~~suspicious people~~ *suspect classes*. Every professional man, expert, engineer, was watched by the ~~representative~~ Party. *spy* The heroes of the Russian Revolution were the workers, skilled or unskilled. The worker was the one who was built up as ~~a~~ *the national* hero. That *has* ~~was~~ in a very subtle, ~~round about~~ way changed in Russia. The man of expert training *of intellectual attainments* is again being pushed into the position of ~~solicitude~~ *true leadership and*, of importance in the Soviet Union as he must be in any ~~other~~ part of the world *where progress is sought*.

While the conditions of living are still very severe in Russia, *and* the comforts of life very few and scanty, the government is doing a great deal for the recreation of the people, for their entertainment, *and* ~~for their amusement, just as they are doing for their education and health protection.~~ There are parks for rest and culture all over Russia. These parks are centers of ~~high class~~ sports, amusements and clean fun. There are no commercialized entertainments in Russia. Therefore, there is no pandering to the lowest tastes of people, and there is no vulgarity. Generally speaking, Russian cities are morally the cleanest cities in the world. There is no commercialized vice in Russia and sex is not flaunted in literature, in art, dress, on the stage or in the movies as it is in the Western world. The Russian theaters, opera and *ballet* are among the finest in the world and people crowd to see them day after day.

The Russian museums which are among the most famous in the world are being conserved by the Bolshevik regime. The government is very anxious to acquaint people with art treasures, and every day of the week you see great groups of people, young and old, being taken



through the art galleries by trained guides, shown paintings and works of art, explaining everything pertaining to the art. Along with art goes a certain amount of Bolshevik propaganda. Quite naturally, everything is made to serve propaganda purposes of the country, so that if, for example, a picture portrays the living conditions of the rich in the days before the Revolution, this is held up as an object lesson to the workers as evidence of how they pampered themselves and lived in luxury at the expense of the poor people. Particularly, when groups are taken through the palaces of the Czars which are left exactly as they were in the days when the Revolution broke, they are shown how these people lived at the expense of their poor and enslaved subjects.

Russian art - painting, sculpturing - are still revolutionary. There is hardly a painting of Russia that hasn't in it a steel plant, a blast furnace, a machine of some sort. The machine is idealized in the art of the nation, in the literature of the people. Through the machine the Russian sees the promise of the creation of wealth which will be shared by all the masses, the promise of the realization of a socialized society. At the entrance to a large gallery, I saw a huge plaster figure of a woman with a ladle in her hand pouring molten steel into a mold. The scarcity of labor in Russia is almost unique in the world today. Russia has brought woman into industrial life and created the principle that inasmuch as woman is equal to man, therefore she should do the same kind of work as man. So that you find women doing the hardest, most gruelling kind of physical labor as a steel-worker, a miner, a hod-carrier. A Westerner, when he sees that, is somewhat shocked at it because in our conception, the equality of man and woman does not necessarily mean that she must do the same kind of work as



man but in doing work of equal importance. In time, I think that Russia will come to realize that woman cannot do that kind of work without breaking herself physically.

Religion, organized religion, is definitely on the decline in Russia. The government is hostile to it. Children are educated systematically ~~in the schools~~, in atheistic and in anti-religious sentiment. In Moscow and Leningrad I saw some of churches which ~~have~~ <sup>had</sup> been converted into anti-religious museums. ~~In Leningrad, I saw the St. Isaacs Cathedral which has been converted.~~ Strangely enough, ~~these museums are not quite as crowded as I thought they would be.~~

Religious worship is not prohibited in Russia. <sup>Churches and</sup> Synagogues are open for public worship although many have been closed. But the teaching of religion, the religious education of the youth of Russia, is prohibited. To identify one's self with the church is to definitely handicap oneself economically. To be identified with the church is not ever a letter of recommendation in Russia today. Nevertheless, some churches are open. There are faithful men and women who attend them. <sup>Ulichia Gershena.</sup> I recall one day in Moscow, I went to the Greek Catholic church. It was late afternoon, during the twilight hour. There were about fifty people present, mostly women in kerchiefs, a few old men and three or four children. The music was beautiful as is all the music of the Greek Catholic Church. The worshipers seemed very devout. It was a very moving and impressive worship and it brought to mind what must have been the worship of the ancestors of these people.

I visited synagogues in Moscow and Leningrad. They, too, are attended largely by middle-aged and elderly people. I was told that



during the holidays they are very well filled. But there is no active religious life among the Jewish youth in Russia. There is no organized Jewish life, generally speaking, as we have it in this country and as is known in the rest of the western world. The idea of groups, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, Jewish philanthropic organizations are altogether unknown in Russia. Zionism is outlawed. Zionists are sent to Siberia.

There is, however, growing up a certain Yiddish culture in those parts of Russia where there are Jews in large numbers as, for example, in Biro Bidjan. There the Jews have their own schools, their own language, their own newspapers, their own culture.

In Moscow, however, where there are one quarter million Jews, you cannot find a trace of organized Jewish life. But there is no anti-Semitism in Russia. Anti-Semitism is regarded as counter-revolutionary. The Jews enjoy in the Soviet Union absolute equality with all other nationality groups. There is no discrimination. It is the only country in the world that is free from anti-Semitism. It is the only country in the world where the government has made a consistent effort to eradicate anti-Semitism or to educate its people out of its course of intolerance.

And, when one is in Russia and when one thinks of what is going on not far away, in Hitler's Germany, where a government, far from attempting to eradicate anti-Semitism, is with its vast machinery of propaganda out to poison the minds of children. When one thinks of what was in Russia before 1918, one can't help but be profoundly grateful as every civilized one can't but help feel grateful for this supreme achievement of civilization which the Bolshevik government is making.



There are very few <sup>traces</sup> ~~vestiges~~ of communism left in the Soviet Union. There has grown up in Russia a colossal state capitalism with a vast and increased <sup>big</sup> bureaucracy which is steadily entrenching itself <sup>in</sup> ~~on~~ power and privilege, and which will not abdicate in the days to come without terrific struggle and resistance. Class is definitely developing in this classless society. Gradation is definite. Sharp gradation in incomes have already been established throughout the Soviet Union and a new economic hierarchy is developing. At the top is the officialdom, the administrative and military officialdom. Below them are the professional classes, the experts - technicians, engineers, managers. Below them are the skilled workers. At the bottom, where they usually are, are the unskilled workers and peasants. The income of these classes differ. That means that a difference in the standard of living ~~has developed~~. Those who earn more money can live in better quarters, eat better food. These are the marks which always distinguish one class from another.

You understand, ~~my friends~~, that this <sup>differentiation has not reached the</sup> ~~progress has got to a~~ point <sup>which it has reached</sup> ~~in no way parallel to that~~ in the western world. There are not the glaring peaks and valleys that you find in capitalistic countries. Not at all! Nevertheless, the trend is clearly and seemingly inevitable. Private property is allowed. Only private capital is prohibited. Savings are secured. ~~When you deposit money in the Russian bank, it~~ <sup>will be secure.</sup> The government is encouraging people to lend money at interest to buy government bonds which bring seven percent <sup>or more</sup>.

~~The~~ People in Russia impressed me as being ~~by~~ far more hopeful than <sup>they were</sup> in 1917. They are confident of success. They feel that they are moving forward definitely, day by day, that every move forward will be to the benefit of all.



They are afraid of only one thing and that is war. They fear war - Japan in the east and Germany in the west. <sup>war</sup> ~~That~~ hangs like a pall over their deliberations, ~~the program~~ of the leaders of Russia and over <sup>the lives of</sup> the masses ~~as well~~. They know that sooner or later the capitalists <sup>countries</sup> ~~in the~~ eastern world will ally, ~~that Japan~~ will not allow Russia to become successful. ~~They will not allow a socialist regime to become strong and successful.~~ They will attempt to destroy it by war. ~~And of course~~, Hitler <sup>course</sup> has made no secret of it.

So that Russia is preparing for the day of Decision. The Soviet Union today has the largest standing army in the world. Over 900,000 ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup> are ~~armed~~. ~~It has built up one of the largest military organizations in the world.~~ It is a pity. It is a tragic pity that this people, whose philosophy is one of peace as far as aggression <sup>of</sup> other people <sup>is</sup> concerned, ~~that this nation~~ is compelled by force of circumstances to do what every capitalist country is forced to do ~~today~~ - militarize itself up to the hilt.

I brought with me out of Russia no final conclusion<sup>s</sup>. Should you ask me to summarize my impressions of Russia, I would have the greatest difficulty. You cannot summarize things which are continually in flux. I brought out with me a <sup>strong</sup> ~~confirmed~~ impression as far as the economic development of Russia is concerned. Russia is making a go of it, ~~emphatically~~. They seem to be on the way <sup>to</sup> solving the problem of production for use and not for profit. They are giving Technology - that is, ~~the use of~~ the machine - the largest, freest play. The private profit motif is not allowed to interfere <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ endanger the smooth operations of the machine.

Unlike what we are forced to do in our country, they are determined.



*driving*  
to ~~drive~~ the machine to a maximum of production and they are employing every man and woman in Russia. <sup>It</sup> They have not solved the cost of production, to ~~my mind~~. They have ~~definitely~~ <sup>much</sup> sacrificed, most of all, human freedom, to economic productivity. Dictatorship, ruthless, thorough-going, oppressive, has been the price paid and is the price <sup>paid</sup> today. Man is regarded essentially as an agent in economic production and the iron discipline which must prevail in a rigidly controlled economic organization is carried over into the social ~~life~~, the intellectual ~~life~~, <sup>and</sup> the spiritual life. *as well.*

Whether the condition is permanent or not, ~~once it achieves hopeful-~~  
~~ness, it will give way to a free society.~~ Whether dictatorship can liquidate itself, whether the pluses will cancel the minuses, whether the national gains which <sup>will</sup> accrue will offset the spiritual, intellectual and cultural losses, whether the material gains will be as substantial as prophesied -- in other words, whether the people in Russia in the days to come will be happier in the <sup>fullest</sup> ~~richest~~ sense of the word than people in capitalistic countries -- only the future can tell.

It is too early to declare the Soviet experiment either a success or a failure. It is premature to say that revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is the only way of improving the condition of the masses of the world. *The problem of the age is this:*  
How are we to make the machine age conform to the highest conception of human destiny? Russia is attempting <sup>to solve</sup> it in one way, through a logical, consistent, ~~thorough, consistently followed, rigorously prosecuted~~ method. America and other countries of the Western world are trying to solve the self-same problem in another way, less revolutionary, ~~through logical~~ <sup>less</sup> consistent and less vigorously prosecuted ~~method~~ <sup>the</sup>, a way of trial and error, ~~a~~ <sup>the</sup> way of groping.



*That, too, is*  
~~It is also~~ a way. Up to now it has been the way of human progress. Which  
of these two ways will solve the problem? Perhaps both will solve the  
problem partially. Perhaps each will <sup>*supplement*</sup> ~~teach~~ the other. All these ways belong  
~~to the future~~ and no one can prophecy which way will be the best way. But  
clearly, in the Soviet Union, a <sup>*great, new*</sup> ~~marvelous~~ experiment <sup>*in organization and*</sup> ~~for~~ human welfare is  
going on, and thoughtful people cannot help but follow that experiment with the  
greatest of eagerness, with the greatest of interest.





A VISIT TO SOVIET RUSSIA  
The Second of a series of two lectures on Rabbi Silver's  
Impressions of Europe.

By  
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At  
The Temple

On  
Sunday Morning, November 17, 1935



I visited Russia in the summer of 1927, eight years ago, and I revisited it this last summer. I did not go to Russia, the Soviet Union, as an expert or as a close scientific student, for one requires much more time than I was able to give to my visit, certainly a much larger equipment than I possess. I went this summer, as I went eight years ago, as an interested observer to get the feel of that country, as it were, to see what progress had been made during these last eight years, to get the pulse, temperature, the mood of the people, to see how much nearer the regime has approached its ideal of a classless socialist society. Here was the greatest single event in modern times, the most momentous upheaval since the French Revolution. Here was a social order unfolding which in so many ways contradicted and challenged existent social orders elsewhere. Here was a recasting or a transvaluation of all the customary political, economic and religious values to which we are accustomed in our part of the world. And I wanted to see it operating after an absence of eight years.

A question which is frequently put to me is this: Can you really see things in the Soviet Union? Are you free to go about and investigate or are you constantly spied upon, seeing only those things which the government wants you to see? The answer is simply - yes and no. Quite naturally, the government is interested in showing tourists those things which are most creditable to it. Quite naturally, the government does not want to expose to the eye of inquisitive, oft-times unfriendly folk, evidences of its weaknesses and failures. In the eyes of a dictator, a tourist serves only two purposes: First to bring foreign exchange into the country; second, for the purpose of propaganda. As you know, the



technique of propaganda is not that of abstract scientific investigation or objective education. It is deliberately partisan, one-sided. It would have been amazing if the official guides of Russia took the tourist to see the failures of that country. And the tourist, quite naturally, is not shown state secrets, or the confidential archives of the records of the Party, nor are the gates of the Kremlin opened, nor is he allowed to enter the private chamber of Stalin for an informal, friendly chat. It is more difficult to get to Stalin than to the Emperor of Japan for the simple reason that Stalin is more scared than the Emperor of Japan. Ever since the assassination of Kiroff, one of the key men of the Communist Party and boss of Leningrad, the gates of the Kremlin have been locked and bolted to foreign tourists and to Russian students as well. It is a strange thing about dictators - they all proclaim to the world that they have their people solidly behind them, yet in their heart of hearts, they would rather have their people right in front of them, where they can watch them.

But one need not have or take an official guide in Russia. One can go alone, by himself. One is not spied upon, at least not to his knowing, and if one has his eyes open and his ears open and knows what to look for, if one is a trained observer, one can learn a great deal. One visits shops, factories, collective farms. One sees the condition under which the Russian worker works today. One inquires of the management about wages. One visits the stores. One sees how well stocked they are or how poorly stocked they are, the prices of merchandise, what people eat. One visits the kindergartens, schools, nurseries, playgrounds and sees how children are trained, and by acquiring some of the text-books



and by getting some one to help you read them, one gets an idea of what is being taught. One visits clinics, hospitals and health institutions, rest sanatoria - one gets an idea of the health of the people. One goes to theatres, movies, opera, parks of recreation. One walks the streets, Perhaps this is one of the best ways of learning at first hand about the life of the people, how they dress, the appearance of the buildings, whether they are dilapidated and decayed, whether new buildings are being constructed. One visits a few homes of people and one finds out how people live. And, if along with all this first hand information, one is fortunate enough to chance on a few people, either Russians or foreigners who have lived in Russia for a long time and who will talk - one can get a fair idea of what is going on in Russia.

The last time I was in the Soviet Union, 1927, the Five Year Plan had not as yet been launched. The Soviet Union had not yet embarked upon its thorough-going program of collectivizing farms and of liquidating the Kulak class. Nor had the government finally abandoned the semi-capitalistic regime, nor had the government yet undertaken or carried through those colossal industrial enterprises and expansion programs which have since taken place. The huge Magnitogorsk iron and steel plant, one of the largest in the world, capable of producing two and a half million tons of steel annually, and more than that of pig iron, had not been built. Nor had the huge Dnieprostroi hydro-electric power plant, the largest electrical power producing plant in the world, been built. The large heavy machine building plant at Sverdlovsk had not yet been built. The great tractor factories at Stalingrad and Kherkov had not yet been built, nor the automobile works at Gorky, nor the large



agricultural machinery works at Rostov-on-the-don, nor the thousands of other large and small industrial, electrical, chemical and mining enterprises, nor had the great canal linking up the Baltic with the White Sea been constructed.

In eight short years, these things had come to be. In 1935, the Soviet Union was half way in the second Five Year Plan. So that it was quite evident on all sides for a visitor to see that Russia was making huge progress. Giant strides were being made, particularly in the heavy industries, in the production of machinery, in mining, in the output of steel, iron, oil, gold and in building. There has been no slackening in the tempo of this marvelous industrial nation, in this country which was the least industrialised/a few years ago on the continent of Europe.

I was tremendously impressed with the boundless energy manifested on all sides, this amazing pioneering zeal of the Russians. No plan was too ambitious. No plan is too difficult. When one recalls the psychology, the temperament, the slogans, the indifferences, the mood of resignation associated with the Russians, one realizes that the Revolution has performed an amazing scientific transformation in this people of 140 million Soviets.

There has also been considerable increase in the light industries, in the consumers' goods. It is not as great as in the heavy industries. The program for industrializing Russia and also the fear of war inspired the leaders of Russia to lay the greatest emphasis on heavy industries, upon making Russia self-sufficient as far as the production of machinery is concerned. The consumers had to suffer. The people suffered many deprivations and are still suffering deprivations today. Food is not yet



plentiful in the Soviet Union. What there is of it is of the rudimentary kind. While bread cards have been abandoned, there is not a sufficiency. The average meal of the Russian consists of black bread, soup. Occasionally they tear a herring and once in two weeks they get a pound of meat, but that is a rare delicacy. The clothing you see people wear in the theaters and in the parks are very shabby. Many of them are threadbare. Clothing is expensive in Russia.

And the housing conditions are still very very bad. There are not enough houses for the people. The government is doing its utmost to build new homes and yet the great crowding into the large cities which is taking place since the Revolution has made housing a difficult problem and the tremendous annual increase of the Russian population which is almost two million, makes the housing problem a very pressing and severe one. The norm is for families to live in a single room.

In the villages, the rural sections, with the exception of government buildings stables and farms, many of them very fine and scientific, built for collectives -- in the villages and on the farms, peasants live today exactly as in the days of the Czar. It will take generations to rebuild rural Russia.

But you do see all about you evidence of building and construction. The government has not resigned itself to any condition of satisfaction. Moscow is enjoying what we could call a building boom. This semi-Asiatic city is being transformed. I saw the plans for Moscow for the next ten years. If carried through, Moscow will be one of the most modern beautiful cities in the world. Everywhere, today, you see new apartment houses, new



hotels, new office buildings springing up. New streets and boulevards are being laid out. You can't help seeing it because they don't give you a chance to miss it. The subway, one of the show places of Moscow, is to the mind of the practical American, a needless waste of money. It is a gorgeous subway built out of marble, electrical fixtures, etc., on a smaller scale than the Grand Central of New York. It is built, of course, at the expensive price of propaganda, to show what the new regime has achieved, to the glory of Stalin whose statue adorns the entrance. These dictators do love to advertise. Every street corner has a figure of Stalin in stone or a painting of Stalin in a hundred different poses. Fifty years ago it was Karl Marx in Russia. Then it was Karl Marx and Lenin. Then it was Lenin. Then it was Lenin and Stalin. Now it is Stalin. Lenin is a shadow in the background.

Evidences of neglect and decay are fast disappearing in the principal streets of Leningrad, too. Here you see people renovating their homes and giving them fresh coats of paint.

Much has been said and written about education in Russia and the health work. I will therefore not dwell long upon that. The Soviet regime has done a remarkable piece of work in Russia. During the past years they built schools for children and adults at a remarkable pace. The universities of the Soviet Union are crowded to overflowing. Russia is experiencing a dearth of trained people, of technicians, of engineers, of experts, of medical people, and the youth of Russia who see the promise of improving their country by going into these higher classes, are now crowding into the universities. An interesting change has taken



place in the Russian people toward the intelligentsia. During the Revolution, the intellectual classes were suspicious people. Every professional man, expert, engineer, was watched by the representative Party. The heroes of the Russian Revolution were the workers, skilled or unskilled. The worker was the one who was built up as a hero. That was in a very subtle, round about way changed in Russia. The man of expert training is again being pushed into the position of solicitude, of importance in the Soviet Union as he must be in any other part of the world.

While the conditions of living are still very severe in Russia, the comforts of life very few and scanty, the government is doing a great deal for the recreation of the people, for their entertainment, for their amusement, just as they are doing for their education and health protection. There are parks for rest and culture all over Russia. These parks are centers of high class sports, amusements and clean fun. There are no commercialized entertainments in Russia. Therefore, there is no pandering to the lowest tastes of people, and there is no vulgarity. Generally speaking, Russian cities are morally the cleanest cities in the world. There is no commercialized vice in Russia and sex is not flaunted in literature, in art, dress, on the stage or in the movies as it is in the Western world. The Russian theaters, opera and ballet are among the finest in the world and people crowd to see them day after day.

The Russian museums which are among the most famous in the world are being conserved by the Bolshevik regime. The government is very anxious to acquaint people with art treasures, and every day of the week you see great groups of people, young and old, being taken



through the art galleries by trained guides, shown paintings and works of art, explaining everything pertaining to the art. Along with art goes a certain amount of Bolshevik propaganda. Quite naturally, everything is made to serve propaganda purposes of the country, so that if, for example, a picture portrays the living conditions of the rich in the days before the Revolution, this is held up as an object lesson to the workers as evidence of how they pampered themselves and lived in luxury at the expense of the poor people. Particularly, when groups are taken through the palaces of the Czars which are left exactly as they were in the days when the Revolution broke, they are shown how these people lived at the expense of their poor and enslaved subjects.

Russian art - painting, sculpturing - are still revolutionary. There is hardly a painting of Russia that hasn't in it a steel plant, a blast furnace, a machine of some sort. The machine is idealized in the art of the nation, in the literature of the people. Through the machine the Russian sees the promise of the creation of wealth which will be shared by all the masses, the promise of the realization of a socialized society. At the entrance to a large gallery, I saw a huge plaster figure of a woman with a ladle in her hand pouring molten steel into a mold. The scarcity of labor in Russia is almost unique in the world today. Russia has brought woman into industrial life and created the principle that inasmuch as woman is equal to man, therefore she should do the same kind of work as man. So that you find women doing the hardest, most gruelling kind of physical labor as a steel-worker, a miner, a hod-carrier. A Westerner, when he sees that, is somewhat shocked at it because in our conception, the equality of man and woman does not necessarily mean that she must do the same kind of work as



man but in doing work of equal importance. In time, I think that Russia will come to realize that woman cannot do that kind of work without breaking herself physically.

Religion, organized religion, is definitely on the decline in Russia. The government is hostile to it. Children are educated systematically in the schools, in atheistic and in anti-religious sentiment. In Moscow and Leningrad I saw some of churches which have been converted into anti-religious museums. In Leningrad, I saw the St. Isaacs Cathedral which has been converted. Strangely enough, these museums are not quite as crowded as I thought they would be.

Religious worship is not prohibited in Russia. Synagogues are open for public worship although many have been closed. But the teaching of religion, the religious education of the youth of Russia, is prohibited. To identify one's self with the church is to definitely handicap oneself economically. To be identified with the church is not ever a letter of recommendation in Russia today. Nevertheless, some churches are open. There are faithful men and women who attend them. I recall one day in Moscow, I went to the Greek Catholic church, Ulichka Gershena. It was late afternoon, during the twilight hour. There were about fifty people present, mostly women in kerchiefs, a few old men and three or four children. The music was beautiful as is all the music of the Greek Catholic Church. The worshipers seemed very devout. It was a very moving and impressive worship and it brought to mind what must have been the worship of the ancestors of these people.

I visited synagogues in Moscow and Leningrad. They, too, are attended largely by middle-aged and elderly people. I was told that



during the holidays they are very well filled. But there is no active religious life among the Jewish youth in Russia. There is no organized Jewish life, generally speaking, as we have it in this country and as is known in the rest of the western world. The idea of groups, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, Jewish philanthropic organizations are altogether unknown in Russia. Zionism is outlawed. Zionists are sent to Siberia.

There is, however, growing up a certain Yiddish culture in those parts of Russia where there are Jews in large numbers as, for example, in Biro Bidjan. There the Jews have their own schools, their own language, their own newspapers, their own culture.

In Moscow, however, where there are one quarter million Jews, you cannot find a trace of organized Jewish life. But there is no anti-Semitism in Russia. Anti-Semitism is regarded as counter-revolutionary. The Jews enjoy in the Soviet Union absolute equality with all other nationality groups. There is no discrimination. It is the only country in the world that is free from anti-Semitism. It is the only country in the world where the government has made a consistent effort to eradicate anti-Semitism or to educate its people out of its course of intolerance.

And, when one is in Russia and when one thinks of what is going on not far away, in Hitler's Germany, where a government, far from attempting to eradicate anti-Semitism, is with its vast machinery of propaganda out to poison the minds of children. When one thinks of what was in Russia before 1918, one can't help but be profoundly grateful as every civilized one can't but help feel grateful for this supreme achievement of civilization which the Bolshevik government is making.



There are very few vestiges of communism left in the Soviet Union. There has grown up in Russia a colossal state capitalism with a vast and increased bureaucracy which is steadily entrenching itself on power and privilege, and which will not abdicate in the days to come without terrific struggle and resistance. Class is definitely developing in this classless society. Gradation is definite. Sharp gradation in incomes have already been established throughout the Soviet Union and a new economic hierarchy is developing. At the top is the officialdom, the administrative and military officialdom. Below them are the professional classes, the experts - technicians, engineers, managers. Below them are the skilled workers. At the bottom where they usually are, are the unskilled workers and peasants. The income of these classes differ. That means that a difference in the standard of living has developed. Those who earn more money can live in better quarters, eat better food. These are the marks which always distinguish one class from another.

You understand, my friends, that this progress has got to a point in no way parallel to that in the western world. There are not the glaring peaks and valleys that you find in capitalistic countries. Not at all. Nevertheless, the trend is clearly and seemingly inevitable. Private property is allowed. Only private capital is prohibited. Savings are secured. When you deposit money in the Russian bank, it will be secure. The government is encouraging people to lend money at interest to buy government bonds which bring sevenpercent.

People in Russia impressed me as being by far more hopeful than in 1917. They are confident of success. They feel that they are moving forward definitely, day be day, that every move forward will be to the benefit of all.



Nov 10, 1935

They are afraid of only one thing and that is war. They fear war - Japan in the east and Germany in the west. That hangs like a pall over their deliberations, the program of the leaders of Russia and over the masses as well. They know that sooner or later the capitalists in the eastern world will ally, that Japan will not allow Russia to become successful. They will not allow a socialist regime to become strong and successful. They will attempt to destroy it by war. And of course, Hitler has made no secret of it.

So that Russia is preparing for the day of Decision. The Soviet Union today has the largest standing army in the world. Over 900,000 are armed. It has built up one of the largest military organizations in the world. It is a pity. It is a tragic pity that this people whose philosophy is one of peace as far as aggression of other people is concerned, that this nation is compelled by force of circumstances to do what every capitalist country is forced to do today - militarize itself up to the hilt.

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to drive the machine to a maximum of production and they are employing every man and woman in Russia. They have not solved the cost of production, to my mind. They have definitely sacrificed, most of all, human freedom, to economic productivity. Dictatorship, ruthless, thorough-going, oppressive, has been the price paid and is the price today. Man is regarded essentially as an agent in economic production and the iron discipline which must prevail in a rigidly controlled economic organization is carried over into the social life, the intellectual life, the spiritual life.

Whether the condition is permanent or not, once it achieves hopefulness, it will give way to a free society. Whether dictatorship can liquidate itself, whether the pluses will cancel the minuses, whether the national gains which accrue will offset the spiritual, intellectual and cultural losses, whether the material gains will be as substantial as prophesied -- in other words, whether the people in Russia in the days to come will be happier in the richest sense of the word than people in capitalistic countries -- only the future can tell.

It is too early to declare the Soviet experiment either a success or a failure. It is premature to say that revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is the only way of improving the condition of the masses of the world. How are we to make the machine age conform to the highest conception of human destiny? Russia is attempting it in one way through a logical, consistent, thorough, consistently followed, rigorously prosecuted method. America and other countries of the Western world are trying to solve the self-same problem in another way less revolutionary, through <sup>a</sup>logical, consistent and less vigorously prosecuted method, a way of trial and error, a way of groping.



It is also a way. Up to now it has been the way of human progress. Which of these two ways will solve the problem? Perhaps both will solve the problem partially. Perhaps each will teach the other. / All these ways belong to the future and no one can prophecy which way will be the best way. But clearly, in the Soviet Union, a marvelous experiment for human welfare is going on and thoughtful people cannot help but follow that experiment with the greatest of eagerness, with the greatest of interest.





ly interpreted as a Nazi attempt to censor the British press.

Churchill's article was entitled "The Truth About Hitler." Referring in it to the Jews of Germany, he writes that "a community numbered by the hundreds of thousand has been declared a foul and odious race."

"The twentieth century," he continues, "witnessed with surprise not merely the promulgation of these ferocious doctrines but their enforcement with brutal vigor by the Government. Past services, proved patriotism, even the wounds sustained in war do not procure immunity for persons whose only crime is that their parents brought them into the world. Every kind of persecution, grave or petty, upon world-famous scientists, writers and composers, at the top, to wretched little Jewish children in the nation's schools, was practiced, was glorified and still is being practiced and glorified."

Churchill expresses astonishment that German people did not resent the "horrible bloodbath" of June 30 last year, but even endorsed and acclaimed its author with honors as though he were a god.

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**6,178 Enter Palestine**