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Man against society - society against man, 1941.

573
MAN AGAINST SOCIETY -- SOCIETY AGAINST MAN

The Meaning of the Great Revolution Now Going On



By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, March 2, 1941

Perhaps the oldest problem of mankind is now to make man happy in an organized society, how to insure the fullest expression for the individual within social responsibility, how to coordinate personal freedom, how to save man from tyranny.

Basically, of course there is no irreconcilable dualism between man and science. They are not two separate independent entities. Society consists of individuals. Society is determined by the need to strive -- the individual components of all individual lives and achievements. In other words, society is a living revolving organism made up of a series of individual lives, urgencies, needs which mold and determine.

And in the same way the individual man does not exist in isolation. Man is born in a society. He grows up in a society. He is equipped by society. His life expands within a social sphere. The achievements of society become the heritage of every newly born man, and the social environment molds the individual to a large extent. Whatever significance a man possesses, he possesses in relation to society.

Therefore it is true what Professor Baldwin declared: "Society and the individual are not two enemies making forced and grudging concessions to each other; on the contrary, they are the two sides of a growing organic whole in which the welfare and advance of the one ministers to the welfare and progress of the other."

Theoretically that is true, and in practise that is largely true. But unfortunately it is not always true. This desirable interplay, this neutrality, this balance between the individual and society did not always exist. The laws and the constitutions of the government and the economic arrangement of a social era is frequently decidedly detrimental to the well being of the individual. And conversely, the ambitious desires and subversiveness of individuals, groups of individuals frequently are

detrimental to the total well being of the social group. In other words, there is social tyranny; there is individual anarchy. It is society against man, and oft-times man against society.

Sometimes institutions which for a long time served the interest of the individual sometimes sooner or later become oppressive to the individual. Forms of government which may have served the best interests of the individual may become despotic, hostile to the interests of the individual. Even religious beliefs and customs which may have been part of the social heritage of the individual, and which for long periods of time may have come to be regarded, in the course of time, as harmful, superstitious, as decidedly in the way of man's intellectual and spiritual progress. In the same way economic systems may for centuries have been useful to the individual because they served his needs at that time. But sooner or later they come to be constricting. They come to be obstacles in the way of satisfying the economic needs of the individual man. And so sooner or later the individual begins to rebel against these restrictions, limitations upon himself and life's needs. He begins to set himself against these encumbrances, impedimenta of life, dikes as it were, which thwart free life. He becomes a revolutionist and if he wins why then he is a hero, the emancipator, liberator. If he loses he goes down in history as the enemy of society, the man who sets himself up against society.

Yet, in the same way, just as society sometimes is against the individual, so there are men who are against Society, individuals who seek to tyrannize and dominate society, individuals who reach out for power, either economic power or political; there are individuals who are intolerant of just social laws and who set about to remove these ancient landmarks/^{not} because they are bad, but because they are bad to

them. They are in their way. And among such men who set themselves up against society are of course these ruthless monopolists, financial manipulators, the predatory exploiters of labor and society. They are the corruptionists and grafters in government, the fomentors of hate in social life. They are the conspirators in national life. They are the "hunting men", the men whose whole approach to life is that of the hunter to the quarry. They are anti-social men, criminal men, criminal in one form or another.

In our own day great revolutions have taken place in many parts of the world in an effort to rectify economic wrongs or national wrongs, or to wipe out national humiliations and defeat, or to salvage threatened property rights and privilege. And as a ~~result~~ result of these revolutions which still rage in the world forms of relentless control have been riveted upon the individual in the last twenty odd years such as mankind has never known before.

Society, or to be more exact, that organization which today acts for society -- the state -- (the two are not synonymous, but unfortunately have become synonymous in many parts of the world) the state has completely subjugated, coordinated and extinguished the individual. Whether it be Communism, Fascism or Nazism, each in its own characteristic manner has liquidated the individual. There isn't a single city of refuge left in those parts of the world where these new forms of state control have not been established. There is not a single sanctuary left for the individual. He is not a free agent in the economic sense. He has no political guarantees. Freedom of thought and expression are denied to him. He dare not question or ~~ex~~ criticize. He can only obey. His education, his books, his art are prescribed for him. His home can be invaded at will. His property can be confiscated at the whim of anyone

anyone who belongs to the ruling clique or class. He himself can be exiled and he has no recourse. Never in any period in human history was society or the state so solidly and so completely arrayed against man as today.

Now this total control over the life of individuals comes in the wake of revolution and war and are not always motivated by anti-democratic sentiments, although they frequently degenerate from totalitarian in practise into totalitarian in theory and conviction. What sets out to be only an emergency measure to meet a temporary situation, war, invasion or revolution, often ends in permanent power of tyranny and totalitarian control.

The first totalitarian conscription came in the wake of the French Revolution at the behest of democratic forces: "On the twenty-third day of August 1793, when the coalition of European monarchies was advancing upon the borders of the young, revolutionary republic of France, the Committee of Public Safety proclaimed: 'All France, and whatsoever it contains of men or resources, is put under requisition. The republic is one vast besieged city...The young men shall go to battle: it is their task to conquer; the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, provide subsistence; the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals; the children shall scrape old linen into surgeon's lint; the aged men shall have themselves carried into public places and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young, preach hatred to kings and unity to the republic.'"

Now the motives behind it are not anti-democratic. The emergency totalitarianism of the revolution lasted only for a relatively brief period of time when the totalitarian form of government was scrapped and France emerged as the greatest democracy of Europe and continued so practically until the last year.

In Russia Dictatorship was to be a temporary thing which would pave the way ultimately for real democracy, still has dictatorship. In Italy and Germany the thoroughgoing rejection of the Rights of Man has become central to their defined ideology.

In England today we have the manifestation of a democracy entirely subjecting itself because of the emergency to what amounts to total conscription of her wealth and man power. But at the same the Parliamentary system persists and the democratic spirit is preserved in the nation. Whether a country like England, if the war lasts a long time will be able to preserved, remains to be seen.

The totalitarian nations of Europe, the Fascists, Nazis, Communists, have not known, and do not know how to restore to their people their lost sense of security, which sense of security comes only from the possession of constitutional guarantees. The people in those countries feel stripped, helpless, defenseless against actual and potential acts of invasion upon their lives by the state. They are at the mercy of state, party, or at the mercy of men who are unrestrained by law. Under such a condition men wilt. The spiritual life of man languishes. The vitamins for vigorous living are missing. Men in totalitarian states may come to possess a fictitious sense of pride, a sort of synthetic ersatz because real inner dignity comes with the possession of freedom from which a great culture alone springs. And men in those countries will endure the indignities forced upon them by totalitarian states until they can work no longer, until the nations which forced these indignities upon them begin to crack and they they will break into revolution. Italy and Germany and Soviet Russia will be drenched in blood, not by invading armies, but by their own ~~armies~~ people when the dread hour of collapse and retribution comes. The men whom they suppressed will

be the men against the state and their rage will be vast and blind and not uncontrolled. Europe today, I am afraid is preparing itself/for a new but order,/for a new bloody revolution. A generation which has known nothing but chains, lived in prisons, regimentation, terrorization, will, when the opportunity comes, wreak vengeance upon those who brutalized them, and unfortunately upon themselves, who were brutalized. Europe is preparing itself, I am afraid, for a terrible era of man against society.

But even before the coming of dictatorships, the individual man was fretting under the restraints which the new corporate industrial age was placing upon him. The individual man saw himself become less and less important as an individual in the industrial scheme of things, and the machine far more important. He saw his economic independence steadily dwindle to a vanishing point, as well as his economic security. He saw himself become nothing more than a factory hand, an indistinguishable unit in a vast impersonal organization. He became an adjunct of a machine, which demanded standardization. Technological progress steadily replaced him. At forty he came to think of himself as no longer wanted, and useless. And so other groups of people besides labor began to fret. The small businessman, for example, the small entrepreneur saw his opportunities steadily dwindling in his age of huge capital organization. And even the big industrialists and large-scale capitalists began to fret because of the restraints which society had to put on vast corporate organizations in order to keep pace with the rapid development of corporate industry and capital. And so all these groups saw social control of one form or another invade what they regarded their premises of individual freedom, so that even in democracies, in a democracy like ours, the struggle is now going on - but fortunately in far less brutal form - between society and man, between man and organized society.

What is the answer to all this? The answer to all this of course is a religious answer, the answer of balance. Religion maintains and religion offers a program to society -- that human destiny has a two-fold goal, or that the life of the individual ought to move in the direction of balance, in the direction of freedom and in the direction of responsibility. And this responsibility, this sense of social obligation, social cooperativeness ought not to be forced upon individuals by violence, by dictatorship. It should be developed within the mind and the soul of the individual through education, systematic, persistent, untiring education in every field where education lies -- in the school, in the church, in the home -- education in social responsibility, education in what we turn altruism, those dispositions and tendencies which have others as their object.

Self-interest, real self-interest can not be separated from social interest, and the happiness of the individual can not, in the last analysis, be had and maintained except through happiness of others.

Therefore religion offers to society today as the two-fold program first, the reassertion in the midst of a world which has been deprived of the last vestige of individual rights, of the inalienable rights of the individual which can not be taken away by any party or state, or by any Duce, Feuhrer or Commissar. Religion always proclaimed that man's natural rights are over and above his rights as a citizen of a state and that no human organization has the right to deprive him of them. In other words religion proclaims in the world the rights of the human being. Incidentally it is the only agency which has the courage to do so.

Einstein who was never known as a religionist, made this significant statement after the Nazis came into power: "As soon as the Nazi revolution broke out, I expected to find the universities defenders of freedom. But not so; very quickly they took refuge in silence. I then turned to the

editors of powerful newspapers who but lately in flowing articles had championed liberty. These men were reduced to silence in a few weeks. I then addressed myself to authors individually, to those who had passed themselves off as the intellectual guides of Germany and had discussed freedom in modern life. They in turn were dumb.

"Only the Church opposed the fight which Hitler was waging against liberty. Till then I had no interest in the Church but now I feel a great admiration and am truly attracted to the church which has had the persistent courage to fight for spiritual truth and moral freedom. I feel obliged to recognize that I must admire what I used consider of little value."

And only when this religious passion is recreated in the world will men find the courage to proclaim anew the charter rights of the individual.

Religion maintains that the individual lives through and for society, and that the individual must find self-fulfillment within the life of society, social responsibility. Religion calls upon the individual to reconstruct society so as to make respond to the fullest and freest of human rights. Religion does not set itself out to denounce the machine. It does not set itself out to deprecate technology. The machine can be and has been a supreme blessing to man. The machine has in many instances lifted drudgery from the shoulders of man. The machine can produce all things man requires for his comfort and leisure. It is only that the machine has come into the hands of those who want to exploit it for their profit that it has become a malediction to society. The machine can be made to produce more of the social goods necessary for the comfort of man, and by properly distributing these social goods; by making possible more leisure, by creating more institutions of education which shall open the hearts and minds of man -- religion maintains that all this is possible. But it further maintains that all this should be achieved not through blood,

terror, dictatorship and concentration camps. All this should be achieved through the free cooperation of men and women inspired to seek the Kingdom of God upon this earth -- in other words, to achieve all this through democratic process.

Some day, after, perhaps, mankind has passed through more seas of blood, they will come to accept the whole visionary program of religion accomplished which will be/neither by man against society, nor society against, which will enable man to find the fullest expression of his life through whole-hearted cooperation, through full, eager participation in cooperative social activity. Some day man will set about to establish a society which will not embitter him, which will not drive him to revolution, but which will make of him a willing and eager co-worker in the welfare and well-being of that society.

Science has talked a lot about the "survival of the fit". That is the driving force of barbarism all over the world. The barbarians are fit -- they are, of course, the only ones who are fit. Religion has always tried to teach men to strive to make all men fit to survive -- help the sick, strengthen them -- help men to be fit to survive.

1-2
1) Oldest problem - happy in org. Soc. - Insure fullst-
co-ordinate personal freedom - Save man from Tyranny -
heritage and continuity.

Basically - irreconcilable dualism - 2 separate entities
Soc. consists - Is a living, growing organism - cells -
No Soc. in abstract.

And the Ind. - does not exist in isolation - Born -
Life expands - Achievements - Soc. currents molds
Whatever significance -

To quote Prof. Baldwin: "Soc. and the Ind. are not 2
enemies making fraud and judging concessions to
each other, on the contrary, they are the 2 sides of
a growing, organic whole in which the welfare and advance of
the one minister to the welfare & progress of the other"

Unfortunately - not always the case. This deplorable Balance -
The laws - decidedly detrimental - Conversely
There is Soc. Tyranny! Anarchy! ~~to~~ Soc. against Man - Man

Institutions - oppressive; Forces of Govt. - despotic - harsh
Rel. beliefs - retained sanctities - Econ. processes

And Man, sooner or later - rebels - sets himself - Soc.
encumbrances and impediments - Revolutionary - ~~the~~

Loss - Enemy, etc - Wars -

On the other hand - Inds. - seek to tyrannize - exploit -
want Power -

They are intolerant of just social laws and fair customs
They wish to remove the ancient laws - phy. &
sp. - not bec. they are bad but bec. they are in their
way! They are the ruthless manipulators ^{and manipulators} ~~as~~ ^{business} - the
predatory exploiter / labor - the corrupt in
govt - the formulas / hate in social life - the con-
spirators in international life. They are the men against
peace! - 3rd 1/2 - men of violence, Anti-Social, Criminal

→ In our day, great revolutions have taken place in many
parts of the world - in an effort to rectify econ. wrongs &
nat. wrongs, there has been a blind effort to salvage
threatened property rights and privilege. As a result, there
revs, still raging, ^{invited} ~~has~~ ^{been} ~~over~~ the world, the rule of which mankind has never expe-
rienced in the past. Society - as it has never existed - the State
has completely subjugated & condemned & extinguished the
ind - whether it be Comm. or Fascism or Nazism - such
in its turn, and in its charac. ^{totalitarian} manner - has liquidated
the ind - There is not a single City / Refuge left to the
ind - no place which is sanctuary. He is not a free
agent in econ. life. He has no pol. guarantees. His individual
Cent. safeguard & Freedom of thought & expression have been
denied him. He has no guarantee of existence. My obey!
His education - his body - his soul - all presented problems -
His home can be invaded at will. His property confis-
cated. Himself unfettered, tortured or exiled. There is no
recourse!

never was org. really more solidly arrayed ag. Man ⁽⁴⁾
than today!

Total control over men by soc. always comes in the
wake of revolutions & wars — They are not ^{all} necess.
anti-democ. ^{in principle} altho they frequently degenerate ~~into~~
from total. in practice into total. in theory and
connection. What sets out to be only an emergency
measure to meet a temporary situation — like a
invasion or revolution, often ends in permanent
power & tyranny + total. ~~democ.~~ control.

Fr. Revol. (1789), Total. corruption of the
whole country. But Fr. remained democ. —

Russia became then remained, a dictatorship —
So have Italy + Germany. In the 2 latter countries
the thorough rejection of man's the Right of Man has
become central to their defined ideology.

In England, on the other hand, the then has transferred
the almost total corruption, man power & wealth to
Nat. defense — the Parliamentary democ. just
still functions. There Soc. has not set itself up
against Man — altho Man has been asked to
make all ^{mass} sacrifices for the Victory. What is
not required by the War — effort has not been
repurchased by the State —

15
The total vigors have not known - do not know - how to
return to their people their lost sense of security - which comes
from possession of const. guarantees - They people feel stupid
helpless, defenceless against actual and potential acts of
invasion. They are the mercy of the State - party - men un-
restrained by law. Under such a condition man winks
his sp. life largeness. The vitalities of vigors have
an missing - man may come to possess false
sympathy ^{sympathy} for the sub. for the which is the offering
of a great culture alone things - man will endure the
injustice until he can endure no longer - until the
revenge which finds it upon them - begins to work -
Then he will break out! Germany, Italy & Russia
will be drenched in blood, not by invading armies,
but by their own people when the great hour of
collapse and reformation comes. The men whom the
State suppressed - will be the men against the State -
and their ray will be vast and bloody and uncontrolled.
Europe is preparing itself to-day not for a new order,
but for a new bloody revolution - a generation
which has known nothing but chains ^{lived in a prison} or imprisonment
immigration - & brute subjugation, will revenge the
france upon those who brutalized it - and upon
themselves who were brutalized.

Men against Society!

Long before the rise of Dictatorships - the Ind. has felt under
the restraints which the new corporate industrial age uses
placing upon him. He saw his econ. indep. - steadily
driv^{ing} to a rambling point, as well as his econ. security.
He was only a factory hand. an indistinguishable unit in a
vast ^{impersonal} ~~organ.~~ ^{machine} ~~He~~ ^{became} an adjusted gag machine.
Tech. progress frequently displaced him ^(at 40 he was too old to work) the efficiency
in the small enterprise ^(capitalist) in the corporate age was also diminishing.
Greater measures of social & pol. control were much
necessary by the rapid devel. of corporate industry & capital
and the big indust. caps. began to feel under the restraints
imposed upon them. Lawless free econ. was dead.
Ind. dualism - the planning of the 19c. - was steadily
attenuated, even in democracies. Society invaded
the domain ^{the econ.} man turns the life of the ind. -
So that even in the democ. the struggle is now
going on - the in much less brutal form - Society
vs. man; Man vs. Society.

The Answer. Religion's Answer. Balance!

Two Goals - Freedom & Responsibility, Egoism & Altruism
But Respon. - not then Coercion - but voluntary. If
education is altruism - disposition & tendencies
which have good of others as their object.

Self-interest cannot be separated from interest of
man from into happiness by adding to the happiness of the

✓ p. 20

Current Religious Thought

Is It the Golden Rule?

George Arthur Buttrick

The Signs of the Times

Fulton J. Sheen

What Does God Do?

Frederick W. Norwood

Poems of California

Robert E. Brown

Einstein's View of Deity

Table of Contents

Faith Grows	i
Managing Our Anxieties	1
<i>Rev. James Gordon Gilkey, D.D., minister, South Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass.</i>	
The Signs of the Times	5
<i>Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, professor of philosophy, Catholic University of America</i>	
The Master Calleth	8
<i>Rev. Harrison Ray Anderson, D.D., minister, Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago</i>	
The "Standardized Parts" of our Wonderful World	9
<i>W. F. G. Swann, D.Sc., Director, Bartol Research Foundation, Swarthmore, Penna.</i>	
Setting Our Own House in Order	10
<i>Robert M. Hutchins, LL.D., president, University of Chicago</i>	
Poems of California	13
<i>Rev. Robert E. Brown, D.D., late professor of practical theology, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology</i>	
What Does God Do?	15
<i>Rev. Frederick W. Norwood, D.D., minister, St. Andrew's-Wesley United Church, Vancouver, B. C.</i>	
Planning for Eternity	18
<i>Alexander D. Lindsay, C.E.B., LL.D., master, Balliol College, Oxford University, England</i>	
Preserving the Genius of Americanism	20
<i>Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, D.D., The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio</i>	
Scriptural Action	23
<i>Rev. Roelif H. Brooks, D.D., rector, St. Thomas' Church, New York</i>	
Is It the Golden Rule?	24
<i>Rev. George Arthur Buttrick, D.D., minister, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York</i>	
A View of Deity	27
<i>Albert Einstein, D.Sc., life member of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, N. J.</i>	

Current Religious Thought

HERBERT D. RUGG, Editor

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Faith Grows

Dr. Einstein's inability to believe that God is a person who has the free will and the affection "to accord man solace, help and guidance," — a personal God who is free and disposed to do as described by Dr. Norwood, — may later give way to a larger faith.

After the Nazis came into power, Dr. Einstein stated: "As soon as the Nazi revolution broke out, I expected to find the universities defenders of freedom. But not so; very quickly they took refuge in silence. I then turned to the editors of powerful newspapers who but lately in flowing articles had championed liberty. These men were reduced to silence in a few weeks. I then addressed myself to authors individually, to those who had passed themselves off as the intellectual guides of Germany and had discussed freedom in modern life. They in turn were dumb.

"Only the Church opposed the fight which Hitler was waging against liberty. Till then I had no interest in the Church but now I feel a great admiration and am truly attracted to the Church which has had the persistent courage to fight for spiritual truth and moral freedom. I feel obliged to recognize that I must admire what I used consider of little value."

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by powerful. anti-soc. interests

A soc. environment - not cramped - across

letterers - emancipate him for full, larger

participation - Free, Co-operation Freedom

Not Survival of Fittest.

make all men F.T. to Success

CONSCRIPTION OF CAPITAL

BY ARTHUR FEILER

The Totalitarianism of Modern War

ON THE twenty-third of August 1793, when the coalition of European monarchies was advancing upon the borders of the young, revolutionary republic of France, the Committee of Public Safety proclaimed: "All France, and whatsoever it contains of men or resources, is put under requisition. The republic is one vast besieged city. . . . The young men shall go to battle: it is their task to conquer; the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, provide subsistence; the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals; the children shall scrape old linen into surgeon's lint; the aged men shall have themselves carried into public places and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young, preach hatred to kings and unity to the republic."

"Tyrtaean words which tingle through all French hearts," comments Carlyle. This was indeed a proclamation of levy in mass: "From all hamlets toward their departmental town, from all departmental towns toward the appointed camp and seat of war, the sons of freedom shall march; their banner is to bear: '*Le peuple français debout contre les tyrans.*'" This was totalitarian conscription of the whole country "and whatsoever it contains of men or resources." The armament industry still played a very insignificant part in that time of simple economy. "Two hundred and fifty forges shall, in these days, be set up in the Luxembourg Garden and round the outerwall of the Tuileries to make gun-barrels, in sight of Earth and Heaven." Nevertheless, the whole of the populace, men, women and children, and property as well, was requisitioned. The modern state, the birth of the nation, much more than modern economy, engendered the concept of modern war, of total war.

This fact must be kept in mind nowadays when, for instance, we hear Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy describing in horror and fear "what happens when war is declared": "Democracy—our freedoms—all become jeopardized. . . . [To give] to the government the power to take over every person and all property, that is to go totalitarian."¹ Of course it is, in the sense that a total national effort is necessitated. There is no other way out. This fact should have been known long before General Ludendorff wrote his book on total war, even in that part of the world where the book is little known. Modern war and modern defense have to be totalitarian, because the threat itself is totalitarian. One must be aware of the compelling need, and one must not be afraid of a word. As a matter of fact, in spite of total requisition England has certainly not become a totalitarian state in the true meaning of the term. England's parliament and England's parliamentary government in this war are proof of that. The great task in every country is to prevent the state from remaining totalitarian after the war.

Modern war, that is to say, is by necessity a "war of an entire people against another entire people." Consequently every element of vigor of a people at war must be at the disposal of the warring state: not only the soldiers, but also the civilian population; not only the people, but also the material elements of strength—the stocks on hand, the soil, the productive plants, the means of transportation, the monetary and financial apparatus, everything. "The entire economy must utilize all its knowledge and organizational skill, all its stocks, machines and means of transportation, and its connections abroad as well, in order to solve the difficult task of satisfying as far as possible and without friction every need of the fighting army and of the people as a whole."² This quotation is chosen at random, and many others of the same kind could be cited. The unhappy fact is that they speak the truth.

¹ In his broadcast of October 29, 1940.

² Guido Fischer, *Wehrwirtschaft* (Leipzig 1936) p. 12.