

(February 5, 1934)

## Three Dictators: Dolfuss, Hitler, Stalin

BY DR. SHERWOOD EDDY.

CHAIRMAN ARSCOTT:—Gentlemen, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, who is our guest speaker today, graduated from Yale in 1891. In 1896 he went to India. After working for fifteen years among the students of the Indian Empire, he was called to be Secretary for Asia of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. In visiting some thirty countries in Asia and Europe, he worked among students of industrial, political and social life. Referring to Dr. Eddy, a professor of technology says. "In his work among young men in this country and Asia, Dr. Eddy has been one of the most stimulating and constructive men of this generation. He has been a powerful influence for good as a national force as well as in the lives of individuals. He is a Liberal in the best sense. The subject of his address today is: "Three Dictators: Dolfuss, Hitler, Stalin." He has first-hand information by reason of his visits to the countries under these dictatorships. I am going to ask him to address you now.

DR. EDDY:—Gentlemen, on the tenth anniversary of Mussolini's Dictatorship and Fascism in Italy, they claimed that seventeen countries had already witnessed the breakdown of parliamentary government and the setting up of some form of dictatorship. If it is true, it is a striking phenomenon of this twentieth century that we lightly accept this thing in the easy, optimistic, evolutionary manner of the nineteenth century, when democracy was almost considered a part of our religion. If we think of these three dictators, Hitler of Germany, Dolfuss of Austria and Stalin of Russia, they are all three more or less insignifi-

cant men, at first sight, not brilliant men like Mussolini or Lenin or Trotsky.

To begin with Hitler, we can only see the situation in Germany if we see it against its proper background. It seems to me, that Germany today is a sick, shell-shocked nation. She fought half the world almost to a draw; she went through the loss of defeat; the puerile treatment of the Versailles Treaty; defensive inflation that wiped out middle class men like ourselves with bankruptcy; the occupation of the Ruhr and Rhineland; the depression with six million or a third of her workers unemployed and wages have been less than two and a half dollars—not a day but a week. With the breakdown of parliamentary government, with forty-two ineffectual competing parties, the Reichstag was on the verge of the precipice of bankruptcy and despair. Then came Hitler. Someone had to try and save Germany and you cannot blame the Germans for trying to save themselves. We know the Anglo-Saxons would not have taken it lying down. The Germans felt that they were betrayed and that the fourteen points which were the basis of the Armistice were broken. They felt that the promises made in connection with the Versailles Treaty had not been kept; that the Allies never did disarm but steadily increased their armaments until in the time of President Hoover the world was spending seventy per cent. more on armaments than had been spent in 1913 prior to the war.

We are always in danger, my friends, of underrating a man like Hitler. He must have something to have raised a party within a decade from seven members to a twelve and a quarter million vote by constitutional means, winning almost every election for ten years. Even his enemies admitted to me—and I like to give the devil his due—even his enemies admitted that he had some good points and that he had done some good things. He is an earnest well-meaning man, simple and puritan in his tastes, intensely patriotic, intensely nationalistic and slightly socialistic. He has a shrewd peasant common sense, and is a brilliant orator. He is a bad prophet, if you will, but hopes for deliverance for his people. He has done some

good things. He has raised a new movement that takes the magnitude of the Renaissance. Indeed under all these dictators, in Germany, in Italy, in Russia, there is a terrific youth movement going on today. They say he has raised a new spirit of hope, but whatever good he has done, I believe he is the most dangerous man in the world today, and most threatens the world with war.

When we are over there, they give us receptions in Germany, sometimes the Government and sometimes the Employers' Association, and we have thanked them for their hospitality. This year I felt I could not just thank them. As we were talking in a party of men, I said, "Tell me, we have got to know where you are going." I said, "Are you giving justice to your people or only to a favored few? Are you giving justice to the Jews, Socialists, Liberals and Radicals? Have you denied all liberty of speech and press? We have just left Britain where the Archbishop of Canterbury had taken the chair at a meeting of protest against persecution of Jews. Did you know anything about it?" They had not heard about it.

I think this is most dangerous, the people not knowing what is going on in the world. The people even said, "Tell us what is going on in Germany; we cannot find out." The news in the daily papers is suppressed. "In textbooks," I told them, "You are instilling hatred into the childhood of Germany against the Jewish race rather than appreciation of their great leadership in Germany from the time of Moses and Mendelssohn down to Einstein."

I had hoped the stories of atrocities had been exaggerated but found that they had not. I heard of an aged couple. The man was put out of a university because he was Jewish. They were persecuted until they went quietly away and committed suicide. I also learned of a boy of twelve who wants to commit suicide because one of his two parents is Jewish. He is spat upon in school and treated like a dog and says there is no hope in life and wants to commit suicide. There is a whole gamut of despairing people from the age of twelve to eighty-five.

What will happen in Germany? I think one of three things will probably happen. *First*, the movement may

fail economically in which case there will be a split between Hitler's conservative right wing and more radical socialist left wing; or, *two*, Hitler may involve Europe or the world in war. I would not say he will. I am still an optimist. Even if the disarmament Conference breaks down, the chances are for peace in this decade. No one country wants war and certainly not Germany. I do not say he will involve the country in war but he may. Anything might happen as in Austria where he has stirred up trouble. *Thirdly*, Hitler might learn some lesson—some wisdom. Only two or three years ago Mussolini was the most dangerous man in the world, rattling his sabre worse than the old Kaiser ever did, threatening boastfully that his aeroplanes would darken the Sun. Yet, today, Mussolini is playing the part of the peacemaker and statesman of Europe. So even Hitler may learn some lesson. I most devoutly hope so.

Little needs to be said of the little vest-pocket chancellor, Dolfuss in Austria. He seems to be a little would-be national Hitler, who would like to run Austria for himself rather than let Hitler get it. Austria is chiefly dangerous because it may furnish what would be a spark to set off the powder mine of Europe.

Much more significant is this dictatorship under Stalin in Russia. Stalin is a ruthless, Asiatic, Georgian peasant, son of Siberia, quite hard, quite cruel, a man who is said to have died a hundred deaths for his cause. He is not afraid of death. When he was a theological student, he was hounded by the Czar's police for twenty years, in prison, in poverty, in exile and was forced to lead the simple life. He still lives the simple life. But with all his faults. I believe that Stalin is probably the best dictator Russia could have today. He has not the half, no, not the quarter of the brilliance and genius of Trotsky, who is a much more dangerous man. Stalin would like to make good in Russia; pay her debts and fulfil her treaty obligations. He is for peace, is a shrewd politician and has cool-headed common sense. He has the backing not only of the Inner Ten of the Political Bureau but of every legislative and executive body. But dictatorship in

Russia is not a one-man dictatorship like that in Germany, in Austria or in Italy. It is not a hand-to-mouth, casual, accidental thing, but based on a philosophy, widely held by several hundred million people, long prepared for. It is a dictatorship rather of a class that theoretically embraces nine-tenths of the people, of the workers in industry and agriculture or the proletarian class.

Russia you have got to get, as in the case of Germany, in its proper background. It is not a question merely of the character of this dictator, Stalin. Russia is the biggest thing on the map. It is four times the area of the rest of Europe combined—larger than the States and Canada together—nearly a sixth of the habitable globe—the largest country in the world—vast in resources. It has the largest white population in the world—one hundred and sixty-five million—increasing at the rate of ten thousand a day or three million five hundred thousand a year, while the rest of Europe combined is only adding three million a year. When Russia, with the largest country in the world, tries the boldest experiment in history, something is going to happen for good or evil. I believe both—good and evil. I believe greater evil will come out of Russia than ever came out of the French Revolution, and I believe greater good will come out of Russia than ever came out of the French Revolution.

I went back to Russia this Summer for the tenth visit. I made two under the Czarist régime and eight under the present. Each year I look to see whether they are gaining or losing ground. Last year, they were, on the average near famine in the south, and in the midst of an economic crisis that occurred last Winter and Spring. It was wholly, I am sorry to say, a man-made famine. Officials of the government had exaggerated reports on the harvest and passed on these reports to the government. But it was found out and the officials were tried and shot. It was wholly a man-made famine.

This year, that was last Summer, they were just reaping the largest harvest in all of their history. As you travel hour after hour, day after day, across Russia by train, it looks like one unbroken harvest field, clear to the

horizon, almost no fences, just one great farm in every direction for five thousand miles. As we went through the villages, we heard of a village where every man but one was said to have died from famine—that out of a population of one thousand one hundred, one thousand and ninety-nine had died and there was only one man living. We decided to go out there; and we went to the registry of births and deaths and learned that a third had died from typhus. Characteristically, they had closed the school and church and public meeting places. They inoculated the whole population. They do nothing by halves. They stamped out the typhus. From hunger or famine there was not one single death, showing us the ease with which rumor flies in Russia or about Russia.

Now there are three evils under this system, so great, that I, for one, could never accept it. *First*, the denial of liberty. There is no political liberty practically: *Second*, the violence and compulsion of a system of continuing revolution that never ends until the last enemy is dead. Very few people, for instance, are allowed to move in Russia. How would you like it? I would not stand for it. I would not live there for anything—violence, revolution—continuing revolution. *Third*, the dogmatic atheism and anti-religious zeal required of every member of the Communist Party. I do not say every member of the population. There are only three and a half million members of the Communist Party. It is a little party, hard to get into and hard to stay in.

The churches are open every Sunday night and every Sunday morning. I dropped in one night. There were one thousand worshippers in the church and it is the most beautiful service in the world. They guaranteed liberty of conscience and liberty of worship, but no prophetic voice is allowed in Russia. Anyone who has a prophetic message is sent away for five years to a farm in Siberia. The dogmatic atheism and anti-religious zeal that is required of every member of the Communist Party is intolerant, it seems to me. I could never stand for it. I just break clean with the whole system. Well, you say, if it is as bad as that, it must be bad. Every country is a mixture

of good and evil. Russia stands like a chemical laboratory—a mixture of nitric and sulphuric acids. I know no bounds to its death-dealing qualities. But there are no more useful reagents than these powerful acids. The same is true of Russia. She has a death-dealing power and is a most powerful international agent that will more force the rest of us to put house in order than any country in the world. I think we will have to learn some lessons in time. Whatever I have said, however, I am not holding up these things as an example but rather that they may drive us back to our own ideals.

Here are some of the lessons we may learn. *First*, here is a people trying to build a new social order based on justice, to do away for ever with unemployment, poverty and slums, where none shall have cake but all shall have bread. They have done away with unemployment. There is plenty of employment but less real wages. Men can throw up jobs and get work elsewhere. For every man looking for a job, there are four jobs looking for him. They cannot get workers fast enough for the boot and shoe industry. They are producing five times as much as they did under the Czarist regime, when women went barefoot and men wore birch bark. Every woman wants shoes and clothes. Every man wants boots and shoes. With the rapidly rising standard of life, with free education established within three years, they all want these necessities and even luxuries and they cannot supply them fast enough. We are suffering from over-production and they are suffering from under-production. They need some of our products.

This raises the question of whether Roosevelt did wisely or not. I think of the French Revolution and the question that faced Washington and Jefferson. France came red-handed from the guillotine. They killed the King and Queen as Russia did the Czar and Czarina. Washington and Jefferson did not like it. But they said, this Republic has come to stay so it is better we get their trade before some other country. I think Mr. Roosevelt did well for two reasons: *First*, it will make the recovery in trade and, more important, I think it will make for

peace. In facing the rise of Japan and her apparently militaristic ambitions in the Far East, it is important that the nations stand together. I was speaking to a Russian writer and editor who stated that the great danger of war in the East came from Japan. "She seized our railway. We offered to sell it for a song," he said. "But if Japan sets foot on Russian soil we will fight. Japan would win the opening battles of the war but we would win the war as with Napoleon. He won the opening battles but lost the closing battles and lost everything for ever." I believe Japan would. I asked a Japanese general to look at the map and asked him how a vast country with one hundred and sixty-five million people could be defeated. "We would take them one by one," he said. "We would take China then Russia." But I would hate to try it against a country that could mobilize twenty million people who can fight like wild cats and they have two million women who are in target practice and who can dig trenches. Japan would be strained to provide two million. The Japanese general did not say it was private and so I mentioned it in a speech and apparently the Japanese general is troubled. He wrote to ask me to correct a wrong impression and assured me he was only joking. So I want to correct this. It is only a Japanese joke.

Russia is trying to build a new social order based on justice and a classless society, where there shall be no more rich or poor, black or white, Jew or Gentile, but one of comradeship and so-called brotherhood. They want to change the world. They have got beyond race and color prejudice more than any other country. In Russia there are about three thousand engineers from North America. Everybody sits down to eat in one dining room and one day an American negro was assaulted but not by the Russians. They said, "You cannot do that in Russia. You can lynch them in America, but you cannot touch the hair of the head of a man in Russia—black or white." They sentenced the guilty man to three years and then they decided that they had to remember the past of this man, that he probably never had a chance, that he came from a land of race prejudice and his sentence was commuted and he was banished from Russia for ten years.

Here is a country trying to build a new social order based on a classless society. There are a lot of things going on in Russia but there is no time to speak of them. Let me close by asking this—what is the significance of these three dictatorships?—of that great experiment going on in the world, over in U.S.S.R.—the experiment of Mr. Roosevelt in the U.S.A., and the experiment of Hitler in Germany? Let us take these two: in the U.S.A., an experiment for liberty and in U.S.S.R., an experiment in justice. Over in the States, shall I say liberty without justice? Unless you mean by justice, unemployment, slums, poverty, thousands losing their homes? In North Dakota out of seventy-seven thousand farm homesteads, forty-four thousand foreclosed. If it is justice they do not know it. Liberty without much justice! Over there in Russia, justice without much liberty! In my judgment, neither is good enough.

Now, my friends, I have good news for you. I am an optimist. I was an optimist in the City of Toronto just forty years ago in 1893 when fifteen thousand students set out on a missionary crusade from Canada and the States to evangelize the world in this generation. I was an optimist then, and I am an optimist now. My friends, we are nearing the end of an epoch; we are approaching the threshold of a new day. We are already in the midst of the greatest transition of all history, bar none—greater than the Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution the American Revolution or the Russian Revolution. We shall see greater changes in the next two decades than we have ever seen.

My friends, it is coming. It will include justice and liberty. It must be one of socialist control and individual initiative. It must be more. It must include the five great achievements of humanity. It will not be easy, however, every period of transition has been fraught with suffering. This will be no exception. Millions will perish from famine, flood and civil war. It will include Greek culture in free thought and love and Roman law and order and Hebrew moral and spiritual insight and fourth, a scientific mastery of the laws of nature and the building of a ma-

chine to produce material necessities for all; and, fifth, social justice, (my heart leaps at the thought) for all and not for the favored few. Culture, law and order, moral and spiritual insight, scientific achievement and social justice. It is coming—it is coming—as sure as the rising of tomorrow's sun. When? I do not know, but things seem to be moving very fast, perhaps dangerously fast. It is coming. How? I do not know. Will it be violent or non-violent? I do not know. That will depend upon us. My dear friends, it is coming, violent or non-violent. I pray God we may see it in time and through our own members—our religion, our constitution and our Anglo-Saxon traditions—give justice and liberty and give them in time—for it is coming as sure as the rising of tomorrow's sun. I thank you.

CHAIRMAN ARSCOTT:—Dr. Eddy, you have given us a very excellent address. We are passing through a period when questions of great moment are presenting themselves one by one on the stage of public thought and people are most anxious to become informed regarding them. You have dealt with one of these subjects in a most admirable way today. You have given us a very vivid and enlightening account of your personal observations of the situation in three countries—Germany, Russia and Austria. We have been delighted with your address and I extend to you our thanks.