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Men who serve - the working man, 1930.

.....
"MEN WHO SERVE---THE WORKINGMAN."

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING,

MARCH 2nd, 1930, CLEVELAND, O.

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It goes, of course, without saying that our entire civilization rests upon work; that everyone who contributes to the assets of civilization does so through work; but among the contributors to civilization the most indispensable are the economic workers,--those who, by their physical labor, produce the necessities and the comforts of civilized life. It goes too without saying that no civilization can ever be elevated beyond the need of labor. Labor may be lightened by labor-saving machinery, and the products of labor may be increased tremendously through machinery.

But no machine in and of itself ever raised a bushel of corn or sewed a single garment or erected a single structure. All the wealth that we have, all the wealth that we are likely to have, is the product of human labor, assisted or unassisted by machinery. Therefore it goes without saying that labor is prior to the machine, and, as Abraham Lincoln already pointed out, that labor is also prior to capital, for capital, when all is said and done, is the fruit of labor, assisted by engineering, management and financial enterprise.

The story of our entire civilization can be told in terms of the struggle of the workingman of all times for justice and freedom. One need not be an economic determinist to realize that at the heart of

almost
every major movement in civilization was some economic urge, and that the significant battles of mankind have been those which had to do not with dynastic struggles or political imperialism or religious rivalry, but ~~these~~ which had to do with the struggles of the masses of the earth for a place in the sun.

Now there is no single graph by which we can indicate the successive stages in the evolution of *the status* of the workingman through ~~machinery~~ *history*. The condition of the laboring masses of the world ~~varies~~ *ed* in different countries and different places, and their progress ~~is~~ *was* not like a steady, ascending incline, but a rather broken and discontinued ~~evolution~~ *one* like every other experience of the human race.

But by and large it may be said that ~~his~~ *their* progress can be indicated in the successive stages of slavery, serfdom, dependent wage earning ~~er~~ to the present status *when* ~~for~~ the workingmen are beginning to obtain a share and a voice in industry and a measure of economic independence. The struggle has been a long and bitter and bloody one, full of uprisings, rebellions, revolutions ~~and~~ strikes, ~~and~~ boycotts, ~~and~~ legal battles and political affrays. And the struggle is not yet ended.

Our purpose ~~this morning~~ in this series of lectures on Men who Serve is not to trace this struggle of the workingman for justice and freedom, but to indicate

Labor in the U.S. can mark down some very definite gains in his economic advancement, which were of course more in evidence in the years before the depression than the ethical implications in the present status of the ^{own} workingman, particularly in our country. Let it be said at the outset that the condition of the workingman today, especially in the United States, is without precedent in the history of the world. At no time since the beginning of time did the workingman enjoy ^{higher} a standard of living as he enjoys today, -- shorter hours of labor, better conditions of employment, ^{and} increased wages, ^{for} his labor. ^{Hundreds} ~~Tens~~ of thousands of workingmen today in our country own their homes, ^{have bank savings,} have within their homes electrical appliances which lighten the burden of house ~~keeping~~, own their automobiles, ^{their} own insurance policies, -- ^{things} ~~facts~~ which were unknown in the ^{status} history of the workingman ^{in the past} ~~conditions in any period~~ anywhere in the world.

The workingman today finds a measure of protection in his ~~own locally~~ recognized organization. ^{his union} He can ^{in many instances} act today cooperatively and collectively. Industry today no longer looks upon the workingman -- I mean intelligent and forward-looking industry -- as a ~~human~~ being merely, to be exploited and to be used up, ~~but~~ It has found it wise and profitable to safeguard the workingman, to study his problems of adaptability, ^{and} adjustment ^{of} and fatigue. Legal measures have been enacted to shield the workingman against injury in industry and against accident. In many instances today the workingman ~~as~~ shares in the profits of

industry, ~~whether~~ ^{other profit sharing devices} through bonuses or ~~through the dis-~~
~~tribution of stock.~~

Now these are definite gains, remarkable achievements. The American workingman cannot be classed with those workmen of the past who were described by the poet, ~~you will remember~~, as "dull beasts of burden, stolid and stupid brothers to the ox." And ~~when~~ we proceed to point out, as we shall do this morning, some of the disabilities under which the American Workingman still labors, it is not because we are unmindful of these truly remarkable, ameliorative achievements in the conditions today. Nevertheless, it still remains true that two-thirds of the workingmen's families in ^{our country} ~~America~~, ^{even in} ~~in~~ ^{previous years} ~~still~~ live on budgets below the recognized standards of health and economic well-being. In spite of the high wages that ^{were} ~~are~~ paid here and there, the average workingman in this country ~~still~~ lives on the verge of want, and ~~is~~ frequently, through one cause or another, long periods of illness in the home, or unemployment, ^{has} ~~is~~ actually pushed over that verge ~~of want~~ into the underworld of ^{actual} ~~privation~~, and ~~actual need~~. ^{such as ours} And in a land of vast resources, of ^{and brain power} ~~manpower~~ ^{and} ~~as ours~~, this condition is a standing challenge, a rebuke.

Furthermore, there is ~~only~~ a very small element of security in the life of the American workingman. At any moment he can be thrown out of employment. The

dread of losing his job hangs ^{like a pall} over the head of almost every American workingman. During the economic depression of 1921 wages in this country fell off seven billions of dollars. Now these seven billions of dollars came out of the workingman, out of his food and his clothing and the education of his children and the comforts of his family. There are today possibly from ¹⁰ ~~three~~ to ¹² ~~five~~ million people unemployed in the United States. ~~I guess, at these figures, for no official figures are available.~~
^{Self-respecting American working men} Millions of men, many of them heads of families, ^{are} ~~wandering~~ ^{to-day} ~~our streets aimlessly,~~ drinking of the bitter cup of enforced idleness, ^{having seen} ~~seeing~~ their small, laboriously-acquired savings eaten up ^{their last resources consumed} ~~gradually,~~ and many of them and finally forced to the doors of ~~our~~ charitable institutions ^{and} ~~or to the bread line, and the soup kitchen.~~

~~Now,~~ In a land such as ours, the total wealth of which reaches the staggering figures of ^{in prosperous years} hundreds of billions of dollars, a land in which the crop of our millionaires increased from year to year, the workingman ought not to be called upon to bear this cross of privation and humiliation ~~so frequently,~~ --the cross of unemployment.

The economic insecurity of the American workingman is further intensified ^{by} ~~through~~ the new and amazing technological development of our country. ~~The machine,~~ the automatic machine, is displacing tens of

thousands of our workingmen. Now it is folly ~~and idle~~ to rail against the machine, to hanker after a condition of society when the machine was not, or to maintain that the machine is nothing but a curse to mankind. The machine has brought inestimable blessings to the human race, and particularly to the working class. The machine has ^{to a large degree} emancipated the working ^{man} ~~class~~. If many of our working people today enjoy ^{some measure of freedom, leisure and better living conditions} ~~these conditions~~ to which I referred ~~a moment ago~~, it is largely due to the machine. The machine ~~emancipated the workingman~~, lifted the curse of drudgery, of backbreaking drudgery, from the shoulders of ^{labor}. ~~our working class; and~~ In the long run, ~~in the future as in the past~~, the machine increases jobs rather than decreases ^{them}. The machine multiplies jobs because it produces things cheaper; it increases the demand for these products, and these demands in turn make necessary new factories, new plants and the employment of more men.

^{But in}
~~But, here is the rub. In this~~ process of readjustment between the time that the man is thrown out of work and the period when the machine has created ^{new} ~~such~~ demands ^{when} ~~that~~ more people can be reemployed, there is a long and ^{hard} ~~tragic~~ period during which the workingman suffers exceedingly, and it is no comfort to a man who has been thrown out of work because of the introduction of new machinery in his plant, ~~it is no comfort to him, because he cannot be clad or fed by the thought~~

~~to be told that~~ ⁱⁿ that ultimately, a year or two ~~years~~ or five ~~years~~ hence, ^{a new job for him.} that ~~self same~~ machine will create ~~ten jobs~~ in place of the one which he lost. He is out of work. He is soon in want. There is this lag end of lack of adjustment over a short or long period of time during which the workingman suffers extremely.

And today the total firing rate is far ^{IF} higher than the total hiring rate; and men suffer. ^{The worker's} ~~His~~ economic insecurity is further ^{heightened} ~~intensified~~ by the dread of approaching old age. The speed of our industrial organization demands young people. A man of forty or forty-five is looked upon by many ⁱⁿ of our industries as old, unable to bear the strain and the tension ~~and the~~ ~~speed~~ of our modern machine age; and accordingly he is scrapped. ~~In a period of depression in many industries,~~ ~~though not in all,~~ ^{to-day} The man of forty-five or fifty ^{is} the first to be laid off, and ~~later on he is~~ the last to be taken on.

~~Don't you see what that does to a workingman?~~
There are very few workingmen who can save up enough money ⁱⁿ ~~between~~ ^{between} their productive years of ~~eighteen~~ and forty-five to keep them in a certain degree of ^{independence} ~~competence~~ for the rest of their lives. ~~It is impossible to do that.~~ ^{He} ~~The~~ ^{the average} ~~worker therefore~~ ^{his} ~~therefore~~ looks to ^{an} coming old age with ^{apprehension} ~~dread~~. He sees himself thrown out of his job and becoming a burden upon his family ^{or his community} ~~and a burden unto himself.~~ ~~Old age, then,~~

Old age becomes something to be feared and hated, rather than
hardcore
becomes contemptible, disgraceful. We should think of
old age reverently, a period in which ^{a man may justly} ~~man~~ ^{and toil} retire and
relax from the strain of life ^{and} and enjoy ^{some} freedom and ease.

The proud American workingman is coming to dread that old
age of his because it means for him dependence, want and
humiliation; and in a country like ours, blessed by God
with plenty, in which thousands wallow in superfluity,
this is a brutal and an unbearable injustice.

Now society has obligations to the working-
man, just as the workingman has obligations to society
and to himself, ^{if} and the first obligation of society to the
workingman is to provide him with an opportunity to work.
It is true that society owes no man a living, but it is
also true that society owes a man a chance to earn a
living; that no man who wishes to work and can work should
be forced into idleness and into poverty by the inability
of society ~~or the lack of desire on the part of society~~
to provide him with an opportunity to work. Hence the
problem of unemployment is, to my mind, the most serious
problem which concerns society today. When I speak of
unemployment I am thinking of ^{its} the social menace ^{as well as of its} ~~of~~
^{economic loss} unemployment. I am not unmindful of the great economic
loss involved in unemployment. No intelligent businessman
or industrialist wants unemployment. A factory which
stands idle or which works only part time or part of its
capacity is an economic loss. No one wants unemployment.

~~But it is the unemployed man or woman who~~
~~pays the greatest price for such conditions.~~ *am thinking*
I should
~~I like to have you think of unemployment in terms of what~~
~~it does to a man's character, to a man's morale, how it~~
~~destroys manhood, how it robs a man of his self-respect,~~
~~his dignity, how it breaks up homes, -- for men find it~~
~~the unemployment home, what it does to young men and women~~
~~after a while impossible to stand the strain for providing~~
~~food into idleness and all its attendant evils and temptations,~~
~~for a home when they can't get work to earn a living; what~~
~~employment does in terms of making thrift contemptible in~~
~~the eyes of people, producing shiftlessness, making men~~
~~disgruntled, embittered, unhappy.~~

Periods of unemployment such as we are
passing through today are seed beds for all kinds of
bolshhevik propaganda. Unemployment days are the heydays
of the Red agitator. To him they are a godsend. He finds
during periods of unemployment ready listeners to his
gospel of class struggle and revolution. He has object
lessons; he has arguments; he has ammunition provided him
by the capitalist society.

It was not a pleasant sight to see hundreds
of men beaten and clubbed on the steps of our city hall
a few weeks ago. It is not pleasant to read of these
riots in nearly every large city of America. I know that
many of them are instigated and incited by radicals who
are not at all concerned about the welfare of the working-
man, of ameliorating their condition. In fact, these men

are most unhappy when the workingman is happy under the capitalist system. But does that tell the whole story? Can we really salve our conscience by saying these are communists, bolsheviks, enemies of society? Is that the whole truth? It is not. It is not half of the truth; it is not a fraction of the truth. Most of these men are unemployed men, men who want to work, men who are not enemies of our system, men who have no intellectual criticism to make of our capitalist organization, men who seldom think about the ideologies involved and the theories of economic systems,--just plain, honest workingmen who want a chance to earn and do for themselves and their families; who see want encroaching, coming closer to their door steps; who face tomorrow with dread, thinking that perhaps on the morrow they may have to go knocking at the doors of charitable institutions and begging, the most degrading thing that can happen to a self-respecting human being.

Surely, ~~my friends~~, this problem of unemployment is not an insoluble one. Surely, there is enough, ~~there is sufficient~~ intelligence and vision and courage among ^{our people -} ~~American business men, among American political statesmen~~, to arrive at some approximate solution of the problem. After all, the wealth is here, the skill is here, the man power is here. This land has not been cursed by want. It is not a land whose soil is

ungracious, ^{and} whose mines are barren of wealth, ~~that men are~~

If one-tenth of the ingenuity, the acumen, the courage, the inventiveness, ~~one-tenth of that intellectual capacity~~ which was put into the prosecution of the last war by the leading American industrialists, were put into an earnest and consistent and continuous attempt to solve this ever present problem of unemployment ~~for it is always with us--sometimes more aggravated and sometimes less aggravated~~ that problem could be ^{solved} I am sure, ~~solved~~.

It has been indicated that much can be done by business in the way of adjusting production to actual consumptive needs, in the way of preventing abnormal business expansions and booms with their consequent periods of over-production and economic decline. It has been indicated that much can be done in the way of controlling more intelligently credits, in the way of stabilizing industries which seem to be of a seasonal character. It has been indicated that much can be done in the way of a more intelligent control of public works by our federal, ~~by our state~~ ^{and} ~~by our~~ municipal governments, so that during periods of great business expansion the building of public works could be retarded, and conversely in periods of business decline that building program could be accelerated ~~and speeded up~~. It has been indicated that much can be done in the way of establishing an adequately equipped

chain of labor exchanges throughout the country, so that the workingman can be guided to a job and advised where to find a job; ~~if possible~~ ^{or where he may be} advised to train himself for another kind of employment for which there is a greater demand; or if necessary, to be moved from ^{of} locality to ^{where work is plentiful.} another locality to tide over a period of economic depression.

There are ways, not one way but many ways, by which this problem can be approached and an adequate solution found. ~~But seemingly~~ ^{up to very recent months} we are so engrossed in the business of making money that we never think of such a problem until it is on top of us, and then hastily we look about for measures of relief when these measures ought to be prepared long before the problem is brought to our door. It was wise and statesmanlike of President Hoover to summon the business men of America in an effort to stem the tide of economic debacle. When that was done that economic debacle was already on us. The time to think of unemployment is during periods of great employment, during periods of general prosperity. That is the time to plan constructively, intelligently, deliberately to prepare for an eventuality such as this.

And I, for one, am absolutely of the conviction that the supreme remedy as relief during periods of unemployment is a compulsory unemployment insurance for all American workingmen. Some people confuse that with the dole system. This is the very antithesis of the dole.

This involves giving the workman nothing but what he himself gives to it and his employer. This contemplates a system of insurance like fire insurance and life insurance, whereby a workman during his weeks of employment will set aside a certain percentage of his wage, to be met by a similar contribution from his employer, which amount can be drawn upon during periods of enforced unemployment, after a careful survey and study has been made of the situation by a duly authorized and competent labor bureau.

It is logical, it is economically sound. It is the only alternative to charity and to the dole. In fact, industries today do have unemployment insurance for their stockholders frequently. They pay dividends out of earnings accumulated in previous years when the given year does not warrant the granting of a dividend. It is simply planned to extend that same privilege to a workman so that from money set aside during his period of work he may have something to carry him through his periods of enforced idleness and save him from the need of resorting to charity and eleemosynary institutions.

You will say that means government interference in business. It does. But we are doing that today all along the line, and the business man does not seem to complain of it. Mr. Hoover interfered in business when he summoned the leading industrialists and merchants of America, and proceeded to outline for them what should

be done under given conditions. The Farm Board does interfere in business when it sets about artificially to determine the cost, the prices at which cotton or wheat or wool should be sold, and spends hundreds of millions of dollars in the process. This unemployment insurance involves a minimum of government interference in business, for the government need not be asked to contribute one cent to this insurance program.

Some day I am sure we will come to it. England has twelve million people insured under such a plan; Germany has eighteen million. Their systems are not perfect, but they are approaching their problem intelligently and courageously. And with unemployment insurance some day we shall have a nation wide old age insurance, so that men will not dread the declining years of their lives.

My friends, the struggles of tomorrow, ~~if~~ there are to be struggles, are going to be the economic struggles, and they will be the most relentless of all, -- class against class, group against group. That is the kind of struggle that Russia ^{and Italy and Germany fell victims to} ~~is preaching today~~. We can avoid that tragic contingency if we pit against ^{as against} (this rising menace of) class struggle and class dictatorship--a broad policy of economic liberalism, which is, ~~to my mind~~, in complete consonance with the spirit of America,--a policy of economic liberalism which, while safeguarding for

society the indispensable requirements of social progress,
--private initiative, ^{and} private property, ~~the spirit of~~
~~competition~~, will yet keep the avenues of economic
opportunity open, lift the burdens of our industrial
organization from the shoulders of our womanhood and our
childhood, enable a man who toils honestly to share more
equitably in the good things of life, and protect every
man who toils against the disabilities of sickness and
accident and old age and unemployment.

Only such a program of the broadest economic
liberalism, based, I am sure, upon economic intelligence,
will protect us ~~and other lands~~ against the tragic
eventuality of bitter class struggle and bitter class
domination.

I have spoken of society's obligation to
the workingman. One word about the obligation of the work-
ingman to society himself, and then I am through. It goes
without saying that the workingman owes to society, as
every man owes to society, a full measure of honest work.
No one is entitled to soldier on his job, to give less than
he can give for wages or salaries or other compensation paid.
I believe that the workingman owes to himself, beyond the
task of providing himself with the necessities and a goodly
measure of the comforts of life, --he owes to himself, as
every man owes to himself, the duty of mental and spiritual
development and education. First comes economic

sufficiency. "If there is no bread there can be no education,"-- no development of the human being in any sphere of human enterprise. But having achieved that task the workingman is not done. He owes an obligation to himself. The system under which he lives must not deny him the opportunity of intellectual and spiritual growth, but neither must he himself deny himself an opportunity through indifference or indolence by constricting his life to one activity only. Today, fortunately, the sons of Martha have the same opportunity as the sons of Mary to gain culture, to acquaint themselves with the finest things that have been written by the best minds of the human race. There are schools, there are night schools and colleges, there are museums, there are libraries, there are fine forums, there are fine theatres, there are a thousand and one stimuli to growth, provided a man puts himself in the way of these stimuli.

I regret that in the life of the American workingman there is all too little of this upreaching for the higher levels of life. There are not enough workingman study groups, workingman reading rooms, workingman forums, workingman choral societies. There are not enough of them. They are within his reach, and he himself must take the initiative to achieve those things. A man must have more than one world in which to live, whether that man be a professional man, a business man or a working man; and the

workingman must create for himself that extra world of mind values and soul values in which to live.

When I am speaking of a workingman's development I haven't at all in mind the fact that a workingman should try to raise himself from his condition and enter some other condition of employment,--say the white-collared class of employees,--I haven't that in mind at all. I am speaking of the workingman as a workingman,--the mason, the machinist, the builder, the miner as such, and remaining within their employment, yet building for themselves another world of cultural values in which to fulfill their real destinies as human beings. When that is done there will come about a real dignity to the labor of the American workingman, a dignity which, unfortunately, does not exist today.

You see, the artisan is fast passing out of the picture. The man who wrought with his own hands a completed theme and was able to put his skill and his love and his ambition and his artistic gifts into the thing which his own hands wrought,--that is passing away. Today the workingman has become more or less an adjunct of a machine, tied down to one little incident in a great industrial process; and with the passing of artisanship and craftsmanship a certain measure of dignity and nobility is gone from the life of the American workingman. That dignity and that nobility can be restored only when

with the workingman in his own job there will go a measure of independence and education and culture.

The American workingman can create a new ideology. The Russian workingman is doing that. There is a certain measure of pride, heroic pride which goes with the workingman in the land of the Soviets. He looks upon that same job which the American is doing, the job which is an adjunct to a machine, not as an end in itself but as a means to the realization of a great goal, of a great ideal. Therefore his humble job takes on a dignity in his eyes. He is a creator of a new civilization. Now the American workingman may come to have that same attitude about his job; if his job will bring with it not want, not poverty, not unemployment, not insecurity, but if it will bring with it security and stability, independence, leisure during which he may develop his mind and his soul; then labor will again come to have standing and rank in civilization.

" * * *" was the phrase which I read this morning from the Book of Proverbs. "When you behold a man industriously engaged in his work, enjoying his work, that man can stand before kings." There is a beautiful little saying of the Rabbis with which I should like to close this morning. The Rabbis say, "There is no humbler task in the world than that of a shepherd. All that he has is a wallet and a staff. Anyone can be a shepherd. You require

no skill to be a shepherd. It is the humblest of the
occupations of the human race. And yet," said the Rabbis,
"David called God 'Shepherd.' 'The Lord is my Shepherd.
I shall not want.'"

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Up to now we did not seriously ~~concern~~^{concern} ourselves with these problems. Therefore the horrors of 4 years depression came upon us. Out of suffering and material misery the new death dawned upon us. What in the past seemed negligible - unemployment (unemployed men - now became paramount. The country was on the verge of economic collapse. ~~Courageous~~ ^{Courageous} leadership in the last few months has come to the helm of government. The old ways of drifting and anarchy were abandoned. Old slogans and catch-phrases were thrust aside. The problem was frankly faced - and the N.R.A. is the first courageous, statesman like, large-scale attempt to control by wise direction and coordination our national economy, to reduce unemployment by reducing working hours, ^{and} to stimulate business and hence employment by raising wages.

It is an experiment, to be sure, but a desperately needed experiment, an indispensable experiment, and one in the right direction.

By launching the N. K. G. - America has given evidence, its determination to enter the New Era with a new program adapted to the new conditions - and its capacity to meet new situations without destroying the fundamental traditions, its life and without ^{resorting} ~~resorting~~ to revolution or dictatorship.

An Abstract from the Address
"The Working Man"

By
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
at
The Temple, Sunday, March 2d, 1930.

Sermon 322

The story of human civilization may well be told in terms of the working man's struggle for justice and freedom. One need not be an economic determinist to realize that decisive moments in history have had to do in the main with economics and that the most significant battles of the race were not those of dynasties, empires or religions but of the oppressed masses of the earth for a place in the sun.

The rise of the working man has passed through the stages of slavery, serfdom, dependent wage earners to the present stage where the working men are achieving a share and a voice in industry and a measure of independence.

The condition of the American working man today is in many ways ^{un}precedented in the annals of labor. He enjoys today a higher standard of living, better conditions of employment, shorter hours, higher wages than at any time since the beginning of time. Tens of thousands of American working men own their homes, their automobiles, their insurance policies and their bank savings. Industry in many instances finds it no longer profitable to exploit him. Legal measures have been enacted to shield him from injury and accident. His labor organizations afford him a measure of protection and power. In quite a number of industries the working man shares in the profits of the industry. These are definite and tremendous gains.

But this is not the whole story. Two thirds of the incomes of American families still fall short of the minimum budget requisite for a decent standard of living. In spite of the high wages here and there the average American working man has not yet achieved that economic competence which will give him and his family the necessary minimum of living requirements. Under present conditions millions still live on the verge of want and unforeseen contingencies such as sickness or unemployment frequently force many of them below the line of

of actual want.

Most series of all is the ^{large} ~~small~~ element of ⁱⁿ ~~security~~ involved in the economic status of the American working man. At any moment he can be laid off. Our industrial system passes through periodic cycles of depression and hundreds of thousands of men and women are thrown out of work without warning. In 1921, wages fell off billions of dollars which came out of the food, clothing, comfort and education of the American working men and their families. There are today probably from three to four million men unemployed, tasting the bitter cup of enforced idleness, eating up their meager savings, with many of them being forced to the doors of our charitable institutions and to the bread line.

The working man's insecurity has been heightened by our rapid technological development which makes it possible to displace men by automatic machinery. It is true that in the long run the machine will prove to be a friend of the working man just as it proved to be his friend in the past. But there is a severe and prolonged period of readjustment between the time the man is laid off and the time when new jobs are created by new machinery and invention. The man who loses his job because of the introduction of labor-saving machinery in his industry can not be comforted because he can not be clad or fed by the thought that ultimately that new machinery will create more jobs.

Old age is now adding to the working man's insecurity. The economic dead line has been drawn at forty-five. Men over forty-five must cling desperately to their jobs for once laid off they will find it desperately hard to procure another job. Our working men are coming to dread old age which under our industrial system really begins with middle age. They dread the thought of becoming a burden on their families and a burden to themselves. During his production years, say between 18 and 45 very few working men can save up enough to provide themselves with a competence for the rest of their lives. No man should be asked to bear such a cross of privation and humiliation in the declining years of his life, especially in a land of such amazing wealth as ours.

There is no problem facing the American people today quite as serious and as pressing as ^{the} unemployment problem. Unemployment spells not only a huge economic loss to business and industry but is a real menace to society. Unemployment in the long run undermines manhood for it robs men of their dignity and self-respect. It demoralizes character. It makes for shiftlessness, irresponsibility and resentment.

Periods of unemployment are the seed-beds of bolshevik propaganda. To the red agitator large scale unemployment is a boon and a blessing. It supplies him with argument ammunition and object lessons. He has ready ears into which to pour his doctrines of class struggle and revolution. The thousands who are demonstrating in all of our large cities today demanding work or wages are not all radicals. They may be lead and incited by radicals. They are hard working American men who are out of employment and who see the dark spectre of want and destitution creeping in upon them and their families.

Surely unemployment is not an insoluble problem. Surely there must be enough intelligence, vision and courage among American business men and statesmen to find a solution. The wealth is here. The resources are here. The engineering skill is here. Ours is not a starved land whose soil is ungracious and whose mountains are barren of riches. Why must we wait until widespread unemployment and suffering are upon us before we begin to search for hasty and desperate measures to solve this problem which is ever present in our industrial life?

The real friend of American industry and of our economic system will proceed at once to an intelligent study of the whole subject. They should find ways of adjusting production to actual consumptive needs to prevent excessive business and great expansions which inevitably lead to periods of over-production and depression, to regularize production and to stabilize industries whose character has been seasonal. They will study the problem of shortening hours of labor as a means of providing work for more men. They will face squarely the problem of what shall be done with the men whom labor-saving machinery displaces.

Above all they will proceed to study the problem of compulsory unemployment insurance which seems to be the only alternative to charity and the dole system when prolonged unemployment overtakes our working people.

A prosperous working class means a prosperous country. As a people we have invested tremendous energy and intelligence into the physical side of our amazing industrial development. We have not invested a fraction of that energy and intelligence into the human element involved.

An economic system which can build up a national wealth of hundreds of ~~thousands~~ billions of dollars and yield every year a new crop of millionaires does not justify itself unless it can protect those who in the last analysis of the creators of that wealth, against the disabilities of sickness, accident, old age and unemployment.



1. It goes without saying that our entire civilization rests upon work - that all men who contribute anything to another's life, or another's work - and that the most indispensable among these - are the economic workers - the working men - men who by their phys. labor produce the necessities and comforts of life - The Working Men!
2. No civil. can ever be elevated beyond the need of work. Labor may be lightened by labor-saving machinery, and the product of labor multiplied enormously - but under the most perfect & so. conditions men will have to work. Work by itself will raise the bucket, corn or ~~the~~ ^{seed} potatoes, single garment, or meet a single structure. There is no wealth, except the wealth which ^{working men} ~~produce~~ ^{produce}, with or without the aid of machinery. Labor is thus prim to all machinery, and as humanity pointed out prim to all capital as well. For capital is but the joint of labor assisted by supervising ^{and} management.
3. The story of our civil. may well be told in the terms of the W. struggle for justice and freedom. For by far the largest mass, manhood always was, is to-day disfranchised of W. We need not be an Econ. writer to realize that the decisive ^{most important} ~~most important~~ ^{part} ~~part~~ ^{part} of manhood have had to do in the main with economics, & that the most severe battle of the race - not dynasties, empires, theologies. but there, the oppressed masses for a place in the sun.
 - ① There is no simple graph by which to trace the numerous stages of evolution, the W. Then could be depicted in various diff. countries & in diff. ages. There is no

steadily, abundant incomes & purposes in this or in any other esp. human race. But by and large, freely he said that there has transpired a revol. brotherhood, from slavery, to replacem. to ^{dependent} wage-earning, to a share and voice in industry and a measure of independence. The struggle has been long, bitter and bloody - full of uprisings, revolutions, strikes, boycotts, legal battles, pol. affairs, - and the struggle is not yet ended. Let our purpose to free this struggle. Let to / part, to w. to-day - and, the other implications, his calling.

4. The condition of w. to-day esp. in Am. Unprecedented in many ways. Europe - Tens, Thousands - ^(seems) protected by his organizations - privileged to act cooperatively - Industry no longer just its profitable to exploit him - his needs are studied, problems of fatigue and adaptability. Byat precautions to safeguard his wealth, and to shield him from injury and accident. In some industries he shares in profit - then bonuses and stock participations. Despite fairness and when we point out the disabilities under which restless w. still labors - we are not understood. This is a far cry from "a dull heart, under, stated stupid, choke, thick"

5. Still True. 2/3 Am. w. finishes still less below on budgets which are below those requisite for health and minimum econ. well-being. As (perhaps) the w. has not yet achieved that econ. competence which will put him at the minimum of the necessary living requirements under present conditions. The millions are still in actual want or dangerously near the verge of want. In a land of vast resources, nat. wealth, tech. skill & manpower these

is a challenge and a rebuke.

6. Small element, Security. At any moment he can be laid off. - Our industrial system passes thru plain cycles of depressions. We are thru out of work. In 1921 wages fell off over 7 billion dollars. ^{in other words} That ain't ~~even~~ ^{was} deducted from the ~~the~~ profit, clothing, comfort, ^{any} education, & ~~and~~ the W. & their families. There are to-day possibly 3-4 m. unemployed, wallowing aimlessly about, eating up their meager savings, taking the little cups of unpaid salaries, and many demands to turn, churches, & soup-kitchens. In a land ~~where~~ ^{where} the per capita wealth is over 3000 net-worth reaches the stage of famine, hundreds of billions, dollar - the W. should not be forced to bear this cross of privation and ignorance.

7. His Econ. uncertainty increased by Machine. Centen. machinery is displacing human labor by the tens of millions. Not railing against Machine. I tell you! Emancipated W - Over, dredging - will increase jobs - True, Part. But there is a severe ~~persecuted~~ ^{persecuted} per. of readjustment. The ~~group~~ cannot be comforted with their ~~entire~~ job by technological ~~improvement~~ ^{improvement} his industry cannot be comforted for he cannot be glad or proud by the fact that ultimately there will be more jobs. "Today W's living rate resulting from new mach. exceeds W's living rate".

8. Old-Age - Speed. Over 45, Older men just to be laid off & lost to the father on - This disfranchises age. Many seniorized people - age is retarded. Men hope

to return to a sp. of competence & respect. Burden on family
& money. degrades human life! But. Apr. 18-45
no w. can save up enough to provide for himself
from that time on to his death. — In a land where
no. / millennium ministry — this is a brutal injustice!

9. Soc. has obligation to W. W. has obligation to Soc. & family.

1. Problem, Unemp. Most serious — Continuous — It is a
Social Menace — not to speak of Econ. loss. — But. I feel I suffer
ethically. An element that is that seem, a working 30-40
% is a loss to industry. No except, unless he be skilled,
worker for Unemp. — But the real diff. is with the man
out of a job!

2. Unemp. undermines manhood, demoralize character, rob
a man, his dignity, self-respect, make for stupidity,
resentment. Breaks up homes. And drives men to char. mot.
When the very drugs, the hell cup of life:

3. Seed-bed of Bolshev. propaganda. U. people are hey-day
free-aptates. In every city, are involved, they are
breaching gospel of class struggle to people, unhappy,
desperated, crushed and humiliated. They write
them to notes. Not a very pleasant sub. as steps
of the City Hall, men clubbed & beaten, crying
for work & wages. But. are not concerned with welfare.
They are unhappy when things go well with us
a cap. country. But we supply them with arguments
& ammunition, when we turn our million men
to listen to their red preachments.

Y. surely V. is not an insoluble problem. surely there is
enough intelligence, within recovery among Am. bus. ~~men~~ ^{men}
to find a solution. If a 1/2% emergency - percentage
of war - the wealth is here - the resources are here -
there is not a sterility, poverty-stricken land, unpopulated
mountain ranges & riches. Why must we wait - Hoover -
last, desperate measure -

① It has been indicated that much can be done then
adjusting production to actual consumption needs, to
prevent excessive business expansion & boom, with
their consequent over production & depression, to
to study sales ^{extensively} to regulate credit, ^{more intelligently}
regulate production, to stabilize industries where
character is seasonal,

② It has been indicated that much can be done then
the intell. control of public works - retarding ^{boom} building in
periods of uncontrolled bus. expansion & accelerating -

③ It has been suggested that shortening working hours
will provide work for more men.

④ labor Exchanges - chain & ad hoc. equivalent labor exchanges.
- bluffers & turned - advise us. where to seek help, where
labor is in demand, move groups from one locality to another
to tide over periods.

⑤ Insurance. As measure of relieving distress. (last dollar!)

Compulsory Un. Ins. as in Eng. a firm - by private

Charges - per - accident, ill excess by, in. Reimburse

3. Bus. 1. 2 alternatives. Charity. a insurance!
to collect Govt. interference - Hoover - farm board - stabilize collateral what

⑥ Old age insurance.

10. Study 10, to-morrow. Economic!

11. W. now to Sm. a full measure, service.

To Henry -

① To earn a living -

הכנסה פרנסה

② Must seek real good, life in mental & sp. develop.

System must not deny, but neither must be hurry.

than in idleness - consecrate his life!

③ Joe, Martha have chance - Leisure

④ White-collared Clerk - In his calling, as W. -
a man -

⑤ Mrs. W. has clubs - Indigestion -

⑥ Too few reading groups, training, study groups, Leisure
chambers -

12. Artisan is gone. But dignity has not gone from leather -

Russia - Pride - New ideology setting - When

W. will have leisure, educat. uplift - will talk good

① 2 1/2 public not - 1 1/2 hours not but 1 1/2 hours -

② Shepherd humble - Staff wallet - any body -
no talk - good.